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THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE:

A Monthly Periodical

DEVOTED TO THE

LITERATURE, HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, FOLK LORE, TRADITIONS,

AND THE

SOCIAL AND MATERIAL INTERESTS OF THE CELT AT HOME AND ABROAD.

CONDUCTED BY

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

The History of the Camerons.—By the Editor. 1, 49, 97, 145, 193, 245, 293, 341, 393, 463, 493, and 554
A Legend of Girnigoe.—By H.R.M. 13
The Lower Fishings of the Ness, II.—By C. Fraser-Mackintosh, F.S.A. Scot., M.P. 18
Departure of an Emigrant Ship 23
The Ethics of Political Economy.—By Malcolm Mackenzie ... 24, 72, and 132
The Name Riach or Reoch.—By Thomas Stratton, M.D. 27
A Run Through Canada and the States.—By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A. Scot. 28, 85, 180, and 217
The Literature of the Crofter Question 35
Celtic Mythology.—By Alexander Macbain, M.A. 36, 65, 124, 167, 210, 275, 323, 427, and 460
The Crofter Royal Commission 44
"Peermen" and their Relations.—By Mary Mackellar 45
A Tale of the Strathnaver Clearances.—By Annie Mackay 57
Sutherland Evictions and Burnings—Testimony of Living Eye-witnesses 60, 112, and 173
Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club 80
A Tradition of Lochaber.—By Mary Mackellar 81
Proposed Testimonial to Professor Blackie ... ... 90 and 482
Celtic and Literary Notes ... ... 94, 138, 178, 290, and 392
The Highland Bagpipe.—By H.R.M. 109
Ancient Celtic Tenures.—By H. C. Macandrew, Provost of Inverness 116 and 157
The Glasgow Lochaber Highlanders 131
Woods, Forests, and Estates of Perthshire, by Thomas Hunter—A Review ... 140
The Highland Land Law Reform Association of London 175
Highlanders of New Zealand and their Distressed Countrymen at Home ... 177
Lays of Hame and Country, by Alexander Logan—A Review 179
The Highlands and Highlanders of Scotland, by James Cromb—A Review ... 187
Lays of Leisure, by William Allan—A Review 189
Golden Wedding of Cluny Macpherson, C.B. 190
Proposed *Scottish Highlander* ... ... 192, 226, and 292
The Feather Bonnet and the Highland Regiments 206
Fairies in Sutherland.—By Alexander Mackay 207
An Awkward March.—By H.R.M. 227
The Gaelic Society of Inverness—12th Annual Dinner—Full Report ... 231
Do. do. —13th Annual Assembly—Full Report ... 474
The Origin of Three Gaelic Proverbs.—By H.R.M 255
The Disarming Act and the Proscription of the Highland Dress.—By J. G. Mackay ... ... 257 and 310
Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., F.S.A. Scot.—A Biographical Sketch.—By A.M. 265
Do. do. —A Portrait 358
Henry George at Inverness 283
The English Poetical Works of Evan MacColl—A Review 286
The History of Civilization in Scotland, by John Mackintosh—A Review ... 288
Donald Og MacAulay.—By MacIain 315
More About Sellar and the Sutherland Clearances 319
Macdonald of Scotus and his Son in 1745 322
Old Highland Remedies.—By H.R.M. ... ... 330 and 354
The Chief of Grant and the Seafield Estates 334
Dugald Buchanan's Spiritual Songs, translated into English verse, by L. MacBean—A Review 336
Crofter Eloquence in the Isle of Skye 337
Joseph Anderson, LL.D., on Early Celtic Art 357
Report of the Royal Commission (Highlands and Islands)—An Analysis.—By A.M. ... ... 359, 406, 445, and 504
Dissents from do., by Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and Lochiel 383
Dr Mackenzie Chisholm 391

	PAGE
Royal Recognition of a Gaelic Bard	392
"Nether-Lochaber"	392
The Queen's New Book in Gaelic	434
Gaelic in Schools	435
Royal Reasons for adopting the Catholic Religion	439
The *Greenock Telegraph* on Mackenzie's Analysis of Report of Crofter Royal Commission	444
Historic Scenes in Glendochart.—By Coir-an-t-Sith	483
A Legend of Ardnamurchan.—By H.R.M.	488
Henry George on the History of the Highland Clearances	489
Boyd's Visitors' Guide to Oban, by "Stravaiger."—A Review	490
Anecdotes of the Highland Regiments.—By William Mackenzie	491
Poems, by John Campbell—A Review	492
The Translator of the New Testament into Gaelic	513
The Gaelic Origin of Local Names.—By A.M.	517
"Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe"—A Cameron Warrior. By the Rev. Professor Malcolm Campbell Taylor, D.D. ... ... 525 and	565
"Colonel Ann" Mackintosh and Cumberland	530
An Incursion of the Frasers to Athole.—By H R.M.	531
The *Scottish Review* on the Report of the Crofters' Commission	533
The Toronto Caledonian Society	535
Suaicheantas nan Gael, or the Badges of the Highland Clans in Gaelic and English	536
Land Law Reform Demonstration in Dingwall ... ... 537 and	572
Miscellaneous Notes	539
John Mackintosh, author of "The History of Civilisation in Scotland."—A Biographical Sketch	541
The Seaforth Highlanders.—First Offence in the Ranks	547
Bruce and the Brooch of Lorn.—By the Rev. Allan Sinclair, M.A.	548
The Legend of Cumyn's Cairn.—By H.R.M.	562
To the Reader	571
The Killin Collection of Gaelic Songs and Music	576
Administration of Justice in the Isle of Skye	580
Glencairn's Duel.—By M. A. Rose	584

CORRESPONDENCE.

The "Clachnahagaig" Stone.—By Angus Mackintosh ... ... 83 and	144
Feudal Relations of Landlord and Tenant.—By John D. Macpherson ...	84
The Rev. Donald Munro, M.A., High Dean of the Isles.—By Alexander Ross	142
Historical Chairs.—By C. B. Strutt	282
Peermen and their Relations.—By James Linn	285
Murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure.—By Nether-Lochaber	352
The Last of the MacMartin Camerons.—By Colin Chisholm	442
The Dance of "Seann Triubhais."—By Kenneth Matheson, jun.	443
The Camerons of Letterfinlay.—By Catherine Cameron	516

POETRY.

A Canadian Farewell to Lord Lorne.—By William Murray	17
Oran Ceilidh, le Mairi Nic Ealair	48
Marbh-rann do Chalum Ruadh MacCoinnich; le Ruairidh, a Bhrathair ...	92
The Highland Widow.—By Kenneth MacLachlan	165
The Last Sabbath in Strathnaver before the Burnings.—By Annie Mackay ...	228
To the Gael.—By William Allan	264
Tuireadh air son Prionnsa Donnachadh Diuc Albani, le Mairi Nic-Ealair ...	335
The River Beauly.—By Evan MacColl	390
Belle Borne Brook.—By Dr J. Murdoch Harper	426
Oran do'n Ridire Coinneach MacCoinnich, Triath Ghearrloch, le Mairi Nic-Ealair	480
Cumha do Dh-Fhear Lonndabhra, le Ailean Dall	514
The Sailor's Return.—By Kenneth MacLachlan	523

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

X.

SIR EWEN CAMERON—*Continued.*—REMARKABLE INCIDENTS IN HIS EARLY CAREER.

LOCHIEL, having returned to Lochaber, found Macdonald of Glengarry and Keppoch willing to join him in the common defence of their properties; and for this purpose they met at Glenturrit, when they agreed to raise their men and meet upon a moor above Aberchalder, a few miles from Fort-Augustus, whenever they heard of the enemy's advance. Lochiel, in the meantime, allowed most of his men to separate and go home, but hearing of the approach of the English sooner than he expected, he determined to march for the place of rendezvous with about four hundred of his followers whom he had still about him, thinking that, by the assistance of Glengarry and Keppoch, he might be able to engage the enemy successfully. On his arrival he was disappointed to find only Keppoch there in terms of the agreement previously come to, and that Glengarry was "walking and discoursing with the English Commander in the very centre of his troops," encamped on the plain below, and numbering 1500 men and several troops of horse. Lochiel

became exasperated, and expressed his suspicions even of Keppoch's fidelity, with the result that the latter resented the charge by leaving the field and marching his men home.

The English soon after raised their camp and marched for a wood at the end of the Pass of Clunes, where they halted, and their Commander, Colonel Brayn, sent a messenger to Lochiel requesting permission to walk peaceably through his country, assuring him that he had no design of injuring either himself or his people, if he was not provoked by their conduct to attack them. Lochiel was personally in favour of attacking the English in the Pass, where he would have great advantages over them and could keep them until more of his men should arrive from their homes. His leading men strongly advised him against this course, and they were supported in their views by General Drummond, who accompanied Lochiel, with the view, it is said, to command the confederated clans when they met, to prevent disputes among themselves; and Lochiel, unwillingly, gave way to the counsel of his friends. He, however, closely watched the movements of the enemy, who, after encamping for a night at Inverlochy, began a return march to Inverness, neither inflicting nor receiving any injury in the district of Lochaber during their long march there and back.

In consequence of Glengarry's defection on this occasion, Lochiel and he were never afterwards completely reconciled. When the estates of Glengarry were subsequently forfeited, Argyll got a gift of it, and gave it afterwards to Lochiel, who, notwithstanding the old difference, granted it in turn entire to its original owner.* After this Lochiel joined Glencairn's army, and took part in several lively skirmishes between him and the English soldiery in which the young chief and his followers displayed their usual gallantry, but nothing specially remarkable is recorded of them at this period.

In 1654 General Middleton arrived from Holland, and succeeded Glencairn in the command of the King's troops, whereupon he at once wrote to Lochiel as follows :—

"HONOURED SIR,—The King is very sensible of your affection to him, and I am confident how soone he is in a capacity, will liberally reward your services. I doe

* The author of *Lochiel's Memoirs* says, "Argyll's disposition of it to Lochiel is still extant, and is to be seen in the hands of M'Kenzie of Rose-End."

not at all doubt of your constant resolution to prosecute that service vigorously with all your power for the King's interest and your country's honour, and I doe assure you that no man shall be more ready to assist you in anything than, &c.

(Signed) "JOHN MIDDLETONE.

"TOUNG, March 1654."

"*P.S.*—I expect that you, with your friends, will not faill to come considerably, to join me, as soon as you are advertized by the Earl of Glencairn of his march towards me."

Lochiel soon after joined Middleton "with a full regiment of good men," whom he almost immediately led into action, maintaining their previous renown for intrepidity and courage against the enemy.

By General Monk's tactics, who arrived in the North in April 1654, Middleton's forces were reduced to very severe straits, being hemmed in on all sides, without provisions, and having no garrison or safe place of retreat. They were thus constantly obliged to fight and defend themselves in the open country, occasioning many severe conflicts between them and the English. On these occasions young Lochiel was always to the front, and often signally distinguished himself. "His men seemed to be spirited by his example, and in the end became so hardy and resolute that they despised all danger while he was at their head. There was little blood drawn during that campaign where he was not present, for he chose to be in that part of the army that opposed General Morgan, who, being an active and brave officer, seldom allowed rest to his enemies." Lochiel was thus gaining in reputation every day, becoming almost adored by his trusting followers.

Monk used every means in his power—terrorism or conciliation, as best suited the circumstances—to divide and break up the Highland army, and, having succeeded with many of the other chiefs, he was naturally anxious to secure Lochiel, the most distinguished for bravery and courage of them all. He spared no temptation to bribe him into submission, and made him so many insinuating offers and proposals "that several of his best friends were surprised that he so much as hesitated to accept them. Among others he offered to buy the estate of Glenlui and Locharkaig for him; to pay all his debts; and to give him whatever post in the army he pleased." All this, however, proved ineffectual, and Monk determined to plant a strong garrison at Inver-

lochy, in the very heart of the Cameron country, so that Lochiel's estate would thus be entirely at his mercy, or he would force the Chief and his men home to defend it. He succeeded in the latter, for Lochiel, hearing of Monk's intention, marched straight into Lochaber, where he raised additional men, determined to fight the enemy on their way from Inverness, whence, he was informed, they were coming across the country. Meanwhile, however, on the advice of Argyll, who supplied men to pilot them, the English came round by sea, in five ships, and landed safely at Inverlochy, in their own boats, with a year's provision and ample materials to construct a fort. Colonel Brayn, who had led the English through the same country the previous year, was appointed Governor of the garrison, which consisted of 2000 effective troops, commanded by the most skilful and resolute officers in Monk's army, and attended by a large following of workmen, servants, their wives and children.

The extensive woods which then abounded in the district furnished the Governor with such plentiful material that, in less than twenty-four hours after landing, he had his troops fully secured against all danger from attack. Lochiel arrived in the neighbourhood next morning, and, having personally reconnoitred the situation from a neighbouring eminence, he satisfied himself of the impossibility of successful attack, and resolved to retire westward to the woods of Achadalew, three miles from the garrison, on the northern shore of Lochiel. Having taken counsel with his friends here, he resolved upon dismissing his men for a few days to enable them to remove their cattle further away from the enemy, and to obtain provisions for themselves, which, in consequence of their long absence, became quite exhausted. He only kept thirty-two young gentlemen and his own servants about him as a body-guard, numbering in all thirty-five, or, as another authority says, thirty-eight persons. He could not have fixed on a more suitable place to await the return of his followers, not only having, where he halted, a means of safe retreat into the wood, in case of a sudden surprise, but having the English garrison so well in view that the smallest party could not be sent out of it without his having timely notice of its proceedings. At the same time, he managed to get spies admitted into the garrison who kept him fully informed of everything that took place,

though by their cunning familiarity with the soldiers, and frank offers of their services in any capacity in which they could be of use, they were never in the least suspected.

Through these emissaries he received private notice that the Governor, encouraged by Lochiel's dismissal of his men, was that very day, the fifth after his arrival, to send out a detachment of 300 men, attended by several workmen, to bring in some fresh provisions, as well as to fell a quantity of old oak trees, which, he was informed, were to be found in great numbers on both sides of Lochiel. Though the Chief was displeased at himself for dismissing so many of his men, yet, pushed on by curiosity, he ascended an eminence, from whence he had a full view of all the enemy's proceedings, and soon after he discovered two ships, full of soldiers, sailing towards the wood, where he and his men were concealed. These vessels, as he afterwards found, each contained an equal number of troops. One of them anchored on his, and the other on the opposite, shore of the Loch. Resolving to have a nearer view, he, under cover of the wood, managed to post himself so near the spot where they landed, that he was able to count them as they drew up, their number being about 140 men, besides officers and workmen with axes and other instruments. Having thus fully satisfied himself, he returned to his friends, and asked their opinion as to what was best to be done, "now that such a party of the enemy had offered their throats to be cut," as he expressed himself. The majority of his party were young men, fiery, hot-headed, full of vigour and courage, and fond of every opportunity of pleasing their brave Chief, whom they almost adored. These youthful spirits, discovering his inclinations, were for attacking the English at once at all hazards; but the few older and more experienced attempted to dissuade him from this by all the arguments they could suggest. They said that the great inequality of their number rendered the attempt mad and ridiculous; that, supposing the enemy to be cowards, yet they were strangers, and the very despair of the impossibility of escaping in a strange country by flight would oblige them to fight desperately for their lives; and, being more than four to one, it would be surprising if they did not surround their assailants and cut them to pieces; but in this particular case the combat would be still more hazardous and desperate, for the enemy

were all choice old troops, hardened and inspirited by long practice and success in war, and commanded by experienced officers, who knew well how to employ these advantages; that it would be a sufficient proof of their own courage to fight such an enemy upon equal terms; upon the whole, that their best advice was immediately to dispatch such persons as their Chief should fix upon to call in the assistance of more men, and on the arrival of these to fight when they had a reasonable chance of success on something like equal terms.

A few were present who had served under Montrose, and Lochiel asked their opinion separately, but they declared that they never knew even Montrose to engage under so great a disadvantage as to numbers; besides, they looked upon this enemy as far superior to any that Montrose ever had occasion to fight; for, though he seldom fought but where there were some regiments of old soldiers against him, yet the greater portion were generally such as enlisted not out of zeal for the Covenant, but were otherwise forced, and, therefore, not to be compared with veteran troops.

But, notwithstanding all this, Lochiel was so determined that he would not be dissuaded from the hazardous attempt. "Whether impelled by an excess of courage, or by a youthful spirit of emulation (for he had Montrose always in his mouth), it is certain that he never appeared absolutely inexorable but on this occasion." He upbraided his friends as enemies to his and their own glory, in magnifying danger, where, he said, there was so little reason; and alleged that he had allowed the same enemy to escape on a previous occasion, at the Pass of Clunes, by their advice, when he had an opportunity of cutting them to pieces; and that, had they been then treated as they ought to have been, and as they deserved, they would neither have had the boldness to fix themselves in the heart of his country nor the insolence to cut down his woods without his leave; but they should not again have one tree of his without paying for it with their blood; that if they were not chastised, the Camerons, who were now the only free people within the three Kingdoms, would soon find themselves in a miserable state of servitude, at the mercy of bloody enthusiasts, who had enslaved their country and imbrued their impious hands in the blood of their Sovereign, and

still thirsted for that of his few remaining subjects; that, however they magnified the enemy's courage, yet it might be remembered by several of those present, that they had oftener than once tried their own with success in conflicts more hazardous; and, particularly, at Braemar, where he himself defended a pass with a handful against an army of English. He further pleaded, that the enemy, being in absolute security, would be so confounded and stupified by a bold, sudden, and unexpected attack, that they would imagine every tree in the wood a Highlander holding a broad-sword in his hand, and cutting their throats; that the enemy had no other arms but their heavy muskets, which would be useless after their first fire; and that it would be the Camerons' own faults if they allowed the English time to fire a second time; that supposing he and his party should be obliged to retreat, which was really the worst that could happen to them, it was easy for them to retire further into the wood, through which the enemy dare not follow them for fear of ambush; and even though they should, yet the Highlanders, who were much nimbler, had the neighbouring mountains for security; that, as to the proposal of sending for more men, they knew that to be impracticable, for those living in the neighbourhood were now in the remote mountains with their cattle, and the rest lived at too great a distance to afford assistance on such short notice; but that he truly believed there was no need of their aid, for if every one there would undertake to kill his man, which he expected each would do with his shot, he would personally answer for the rest!

Lochiel delivered himself of this oration in such a manner that none of his party made any further opposition to his wish. They all declared that they were ready to march whenever he should command them, though it were to certain destruction, on condition that he and his younger brother Allan, who was yet but a stripling, would agree to absent themselves from danger, as all the hopes of the Clan depended on their safety; so they entreated him to be prevailed upon in what they urged was so reasonable a request. Lochiel could not patiently listen to the proposal regarding himself, but commanded that his brother, who would not otherwise keep out of the fray, should be bound to a tree; and, that since he could not spare any of his men, a

little boy, who came accidentally among them, should be left to attend him. These orders were executed ; but the brave youth soon forced the boy to unloose him, and subsequently had the good fortune to save his brother's life.

In the meantime Lochiel's scouts brought him word that the enemy, having continued for a short time where they landed, marched slowly along the shore about half-a-mile in a westward direction, and were now at the village of Achadelew, where they were pillaging the houses and capturing the poultry. Lochiel, judging this, while they were in disorder, the proper moment for attacking them, drew up his men in a long line, one deep, and desired them to march slowly, so as not to disorder themselves, while entangled among the trees, till they came in view of the enemy, and not to fire a shot until they touched the breasts of the enemy with the muzzles of their pieces. About half his men had bows, and were excellent archers. To these he gave similar orders, and mixed them with his musketeers. But his men were too young and too forward to observe the first part of these orders with the necessary exactness. They marched so quick, or rather ran at such a pace, that Lochiel, who, by some accident or other, was obliged to stay a little behind, ran a great risk, before he could overtake them, of being shot from a bush, where one of the enemy lurked ; but his brother Allan luckily came up at the very moment and shot the fellow dead while he had his gun to his eye, levelled directly at Lochiel, who had never observed him.

The English, who, it seems, had been warned in time by some of their own stragglers, were in good order when the Camerons came in view, and they received them somewhat rashly with a general discharge of their muskets, but at such a distance that they did no harm, and the Highlanders were up with them before they could load a second time, pouring their shot into their very bosoms, and killing more than thirty of them on the spot. They then fell on them plying their broadswords with incredible fury. The enemy sustained the shock with great bravery, though with little success.

This manner of fighting was new to them. At first they acted entirely on the defensive, and, by holding their muskets before their foreheads, endeavoured to defend themselves from the terrible blows of the broadsword. But the Highlanders strik-

ing them below, they were soon obliged to change that method. Some of them used their swords, and struck at their enemies with strength and fury, but their blows were mostly ineffectual. The Highlanders received them on their shields, and the mettle and temper of the enemy's blades were so bad that they bent in their hands and became useless, thus exposing them to certain death. Others of them thrust their bayonets into the muzzles of their pieces, as the custom then was, but they were no less unsuccessful, for the more violently they pushed the more firmly their weapons entered and stuck in the Highlanders' leathern targets, and left their users naked and defenceless. Those that clubbed their muskets did more mischief, but fared little better in the end, for, though they made some sure blows, yet the firelocks were at that time so clumsy and heavy that they seldom could recover them for a second stroke; besides, the Highlanders, covering themselves with their targets, generally broke the force of the blow. But the superiority of their numbers gave the enemy such an advantage as to keep the conflict for a long time in suspense. Though their ranks were often pierced, disordered, and broken, yet they as often rallied and returned to the charge, which exceedingly surprised the Highlanders, who were not accustomed to such long and doubtful actions, and it is more than likely that, had the English weapons been equal to the courage of those who wielded them, the Highlanders would have paid dear for their rashness.

But the numbers of the enemy at last decreasing by the slaughter of their best men, they began gradually to give ground, but not to run, for, with their faces to the Camerons, they still kept retreating in a body, though in disorder, and fighting with invincible obstinacy and resolution. But Lochiel, to prevent their escape to their vessel, fell upon the following strategem:— He commanded two or three of his men to run in advance of the retreating enemy, and from a bush to call out so as to make them imagine that another body of Highlanders was intercepting their retreat. This took so effectually that they stopped, and animated by rage, madness, and despair, they renewed the fight with greater fury than before. They were still superior in numbers to the Camerons by more than half, and wanted nothing but good weapons to make Lochiel repent that he had intercepted their escape. They had no longer any regard for

their own safety, and with their clubbed muskets delivered such strokes as would have brought their enemies to the ground, if they had been aimed with as much discretion as they were forcibly applied. But this served only to hasten their destruction, for, exerting all their strength in giving these ineffectual blows, the sway of their heavy muskets, which generally struck the ground, rendered them unable to recover themselves. The Highlanders made use of the advantage and stabbed them with their dirks or poniards while they were thus bent and defenceless, whereby they quickly diminished their numbers, and forced them again to flee as best they could.

Being thus broken and dispersed, "they fled as fear or chance directed them. The Highlanders pursued with as little judgment. In one place you might have seen five Highlanders engaged with double that number of Englishmen ; and in another, two or three Englishmen defending themselves against twice as many of their enemies." But the greater number made to the shore, where we shall leave them for a moment and follow the young Chief, who in the meantime had a most curious adventure.

He followed a few that fled into the wood, where he killed two or three with his own hand, no one having pursued in that direction but himself. The officer who commanded the invaders also fled in the same direction ; but, concealing himself in a bush, Lochiel did not notice him, and, observing that he was alone, started suddenly out of his lurking-place, attacked Lochiel on his return, and threatening, as he rushed furiously upon him, sword in hand, to revenge the slaughter of his countrymen by the Chief's death. Lochiel, who also had his sword in his hand, received him with equal resolution. "The combat was long and doubtful ; both fought for their lives, and as they were both animated by the same fury and courage, so they seemed to manage their swords with the same dexterity. The English gentleman had by far the advantage in strength and size ; but Lochiel, exceeding him in nimbleness and agility, in the end tripped the sword out of his hand. But he was not allowed to make use of this advantage, for his antagonist, flying upon him with incredible quickness, they closed and wrestled till both fell to the ground in each other's arms. In this posture they struggled and tumbled up and down till they fixed in the channel of a brook, between two straight steep banks, which then, by the drought of summer,

happened to be dry. Here Lochiel was in a most desperate situation, for, being undermost, he was not only crushed under the weight of his antagonist (who was a very big man), but also badly hurt and bruised by the sharp stones in the bed of the rivulet. Their strength was so far spent that neither of them could stir a limb ;" but the Englishman, being uppermost, at last recovered the use of his right hand, seized a dagger that hung at his belt, and made several attempts to stab his adversary, who all the time held him fast ; but the narrowness of the place where they were, and the posture they were in, rendered the execution very difficult and almost impracticable while he was so closely embraced. He, however, made a most violent effort to disengage himself, and in that act he raised his head and stretched his neck, when Lochiel,—who by this time had his hands at liberty—with his left suddenly seized his opponent by the right, and with the other by the collar, and, jumping at his extended throat, which he used to say God put in his mouth, he bit it quite through, and kept such hold of it that he brought away his mouthful! "This," he said, "was the sweetest bite he ever had in his life!" The reader may imagine in what a state he would be after receiving such a gush of warm blood in the face as naturally flowed from such a wound. However, he soon had an opportunity of washing himself, for, hastening to the shore, he found his men chin-deep in the sea, endeavouring to destroy the remainder of the enemy, who still attempted to recover their vessel, at anchor near the shore ; and, wishing to save the few remaining of the foe after such a victory, he, with great difficulty, staid the fury of his men, and offered quarters, when all, being about thirty-five in number, submitted. The first that delivered his arms was an Irishman, who, having briskly offered his hand to Lochiel, bade him adieu, and ran away with such speed that, though he was hotly pursued, he managed to effect his escape to Inverlochy, three long miles from the village where they first engaged, while he had also the river Lochy to cross before he was in complete safety. It is said of this fellow that, when saying his prayers, "which every soldier in those religious times was obliged to do," remembering the danger from which he had escaped, always put up the petition—"That God, in his mercy, would be pleased to keep him out of the hands of Lochiel and his bloody crew!"

Before the others gave up their arms one of them attempted to shoot Lochiel, who, having by good fortune, observed him while he had his gun to his eye, plunged himself into the sea at the moment when the ungrateful rascal drew the trigger. This the Chief the more easily effected, as he was already chin-deep in the water; but even then his escape was so narrow that a part of the hair from the back of his head was shot away, and the skin a little ruffled by the ball.

After this the Camerons showed no further mercy. They flew upon the enemy like tigers, cutting them to pieces wherever they came at them. In vain did Lochiel interpose his authority; they were deaf to everything but the dictates of fury and revenge. Nor, indeed, did the English, after so manifest a violation of the laws of war, seem to expect anything else, for one of them, whom the Camerons supposed from his dress to be an officer, having got on board the ship, resolved to accomplish what the other had failed in, and that he might take surer aim, he rested his gun upon the side of the vessel. Lochiel noticed him, and, judging that he had no chance of escape "but by ducking, as he did before, kept his eye fixed upon the finger that he had at the trigger. But his foster-brother, who was close by, happening at the same time to take notice of the danger his Chief was in, and preferring his safety to his own, immediately threw himself before him, and received the shot in his mouth and breast. This is perhaps one of the most astonishing instances of affection and love that any age can produce. If fortitude and courage are qualities of so heroic and sublime a nature, what name shall we invent for a noble contempt of life, generously thrown away in preservation of one of a much greater value?" Lochiel immediately revenged the death of this brave youth with his own hand, and, after the utter destruction of the whole party, excepting the Irishman and another man, whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, he carried his body three miles on his back, and interred him in the burial-place of his own family, in the most honourable manner he could, in the circumstances, contrive. Lochiel only lost four men, and his devoted foster-brother, who sacrificed his own life to save that of his Chief, during the whole of this remarkable engagement. A few more interesting details connected with it must be left over until our next.

(To be continued.)

A LEGEND OF GIRNIGOE.

TOWARDS the middle of the 17th century the family of Sinclair, who were Earls of Caithness, lived in a castle about two miles from the spot where the town of Wick now stands. This castle, which took its name from the family to whom it belonged, was, from the effects of time, tempest, and siege, rapidly falling into decay, and it was quite evident that it would not be habitable much longer. The inmates of Castle Sinclair, at the time of our tale, were the Earl and Countess of Caithness, a son about five years of age, several domestics, and about two score men-at-arms.

The Countess of Caithness was the daughter of Sir Hugh Oliphant of Oldwick Castle, and had been wedded to the Earl at the early age of eighteen, but not early enough to prevent her from giving her heart to another. Whilst in her father's castle, Sir Dudley Merton, a young English Knight, was cast ashore by a storm upon the coast of Caithness, and was hospitably entertained by Sir Hugh. An intimacy was formed between Sir Dudley and the daughter of his host, which soon ripened into love, but Sir Hugh, though hospitable, was ambitious, and wished to see his daughter some day Countess of Caithness, so that when Sir Dudley asked the hand of the Lady Norna from her father, he was met with a scornful refusal, and ordered at once to leave the castle. The disappointed lover said a sorrowful farewell to the lady, and departed southwards. Soon after, the Earl of Caithness, a stern, morose man, about fifty years of age, sought the Lady Norna's hand in marriage, and much against her will she was wedded to the Earl, and her father's ambitious hopes were fulfilled.

Transported to the Earl's dark and gloomy residence she pined for her first and only love, the young Southron, and until the birth of her son, which took place about a year after her marriage, she lived a melancholy and lonely life. The Earl cared little for his young wife, whom he had married merely to strengthen his power with the family of Oliphant, and her days were spent in a chamber assigned to her, with no company save

that of her little son, William, whom she idolised, and an old man-servant, named Rory Gunn, whom she had brought with her from Oldwick Castle, and who was devotedly attached to his young mistress. The Earl spent most of his time in making forays upon the neighbouring coasts in a large galley which he possessed.

On one occasion he had been absent upon an excursion of this sort for several days, and the Countess was seated at her window in a turret of the castle, watching the sun as it sunk down towards the horizon, when the door of her chamber opened, and gave admission to a young stranger. He was encased in a complete suit of chain armour, which showed off his lithe and sinewy figure to perfection. His head was protected by a steel casque, the vizor of which was raised, exposing a countenance at once manly and good-humoured. The Countess in her pre-occupation had not heard him enter, but on the word "Norna" being pronounced by the stranger, she turned round quickly, and ejaculating "Dudley," fell senseless to the floor. Her little son, who was playing on the floor when Sir Dudley entered, now ran to the aid of his mother, and she soon came to herself, and entreated Sir Dudley to depart from the castle at once, ere the Earl should return. The Knight disregarded her entreaties, and related how he had travelled there alone that he might claim his Norna, and take her to his English home as Lady Merton.

"Sir Dudley," said the Countess, "I am the wedded wife of another man, and nothing more must pass between us. Leave the castle, I beseech you, or the consequences will be terrible."

In the excited state she was in the Countess had not heard the scraping of the galley upon the shingle outside, as it was drawn up on dry land, nor the voices of the rowers as they put away their oars and lowered the mast of the galley. Sir Dudley, moved by her entreaties, was saying farewell to the Countess, and was on his bended knee before her, in the act of kissing her hand, when a heavy step came up the stairs, the door of the chamber flew open, and the Earl entered.

"Ha!" he cried, "so this is the way you take advantage of my absence! By Saint Andrew, you shall not do so again. What, ho! men-at-arms!"

At these words several armed men poured into the chamber,

and stood like statues, awaiting further orders. Sir Dudley had drawn his sword, and was ready to act on the defensive. The Countess had fainted, and was in blissful unconsciousness of what was happening around her, whilst the little boy stood crying beside the prostrate form of his mother.

"Seize that fool," cried the Earl, pointing to Sir Dudley, "and keep him a close prisoner till I have prepared his doom. As for the Countess, I will deal with her."

The men-at-arms dashed at Sir Dudley, who made good play with his sword, and for a few minutes the chamber rung with the clash of steel, but, at length, Sir Dudley's sword was knocked out of his grasp, and he was seized and hurried away, leaving, however, two of his assailants bleeding on the floor.

The Earl then imprisoned his lady in her chamber, of which he kept the key himself. He took his little son out with him upon his excursions in the galley, the lad bidding fair to become as great a pirate as his father. Removed from the gentle care of his mother, he soon forgot all she had taught him, and the Earl became proud of his young cub, as he called him.

Soon after the event narrated here, the Earl procured the services of Queen Mary's architect to plan a new castle for him. The spot chosen for the site of the proposed castle was an immense point of rock called Girnigoe, a little distance from Castle Sinclair, bounded on one side by the open sea, and on the other by a "geo" or deep gully, up which the sea rushed with the speed of a mill-race. The Earl immediately impressed into the work all the retainers upon his property, and the work was commenced by the building of a dungeon on the face of the rock towards the sea. The walls of this prison were nearly a yard thick, and it was entered by a steep and narrow stone staircase, at the foot of which was a deep slit in the wall to admit light to it. To the right was a thick door, which gave immediate access to the dungeon. The interior was lighted also by a loophole in the wall, but the small portion of light which it admitted served only to show the darkness. On the completion of the dungeon, the Earl ordered them to place the unfortunate Sir Dudley in it, and leave him to his fate, whilst they proceeded with the remainder of the castle. Into this hole, therefore, was Sir Dudley thrust, and abandoned to a most terrible death. When he felt the

approach of the grim despoiler, he exerted his remaining strength to scrape with a nail upon the wall of his tomb the words, "1635 NAE HOPE,,' and these words are still to be seen by the traveller who inspects the ruins of Girnigoe Castle, if he has the courage to descend into the dungeon with a light.

In the course of two or three years, the new castle was finished, and it was far larger and stronger than the old one. The unhappy Countess, who had been a close prisoner in Castle Sinclair ever since the fatal day when she was discovered with her old lover, was now transported to a chamber in Girnigoe Castle.

Amongst other improvements which the architect had introduced into the building of the castle, was a secret staircase leading down through the rock to the sea, and at the bottom of this staircase, in a deep, dark cove, was moored a small boat. This was intended to facilitate the escape of the inmates of the castle, if at any time it should be surrounded by enemies. The Countess's old servant, Rory, who was still retained in the castle, was constantly revolving plans in his head for getting his mistress out of it, and back to Oldwick, where she would gain her father's protection. But the Earl always kept the key of her chamber in his belt, except when food was sent up to her, when it was intrusted for the time to the care of a man-at-arms. At last a brilliant idea struck Rory, and he determined to lose no time in putting it into execution. One evening the Earl was coming downstairs from the top of the turret, where he had been taking a survey of the neighbouring coast, when Rory came up the stairs, and pretending to slip on a step, stumbled against the Earl, nearly knocking him down. Rory instantly recovered himself, and humbly begged pardon for his awkwardness, but in that short minute, when he fell against him, he had managed to abstract the key from the Earl's girdle unnoticed. Giving him a few hearty curses, the Earl went out of the castle and set out in his galley, and Rory knew that he would not return till morning, should he not discover the loss of the key. No time was to be lost; Rory immediately liberated the Countess; and taking her unseen outside the castle, brought her to the secret staircase. Here they descended, and after placing the lady carefully in the stern of the boat, he took the oars, and speedily rowed away from the

castle. The night was dark and cloudy, and the wind was rising fast. The little boat began to pitch wildly about on the crests of the waves. Still Rory kept on rowing, until the wind had increased almost to a gale. His hands were now powerless with exertion, and he let the boat drift as it would. Suddenly a vivid flash of lightning illumined the scene, and exposed to his eyes the form of the Earl's galley, not a hundred yards away, whilst at the same time the Earl himself, who was standing at the helm, observed the boat with Rory and the Countess. Muttering a deep curse, he steered straight for the boat, and watched with a pitiless and malignant eye the remains of the little craft, with his much-wronged wife and her faithful servant, disappear beneath the keel of his galley. H. R. M.

A CANADIAN FAREWELL TO LORD LORNE.

God bless and prosper thee, Lord Lorne!
Whate'er thy new career
Right well and nobly hast thou borne
Thy princely part while here.

Placed high in this conflicting land
O'er Party's surging roar,
With skilful and impartial hand
Thou hast controlled thine oar.

Succeeding, as thou didst, a chief
Unmatched with us before,
No wonder had'st thou struck a reef
Ere thou had'st reached the shore.

But thou has weathered rocks and tide,
Pleased Colony and Crown,
And filled all Highland hearts with pride
O'er thy well-earned renown.

Return to our beloved Queen,
Receive her thanks with ours,
And give her, what we ne'er shall screen,
Our loyal love in showers.

And thou, too, Princess, still shall reign
In each Canadian heart;
"Soft winds soon waft thee back again,"
We utter as we part.

God bless you both in heart and home,
Wherever you may dwell.
Our hearts are yours where'er you roam,
And so we say FAREWELL!

WILLIAM MURRAY.

ATHOLE BANK, HAMILTON,
ONTARIO, October 1883.

THE LOWER FISHINGS OF THE NESS.

By Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, F.S.A., Scot, M.P.

II.

III. Minor Disputes.—Of old the Coble proprietors acted together in the letting of their fishings. The late H. R. Duff of Muirtown, in 1822, declined concurring with his co-coble brethren, the result being that it was found he could not be compelled to concur.

In course of the Canal operations the river was much interfered with, temporary embankments and channels being necessary. Immense damage was done to the river bed, the dykes, cruives, etc., at the Islands by a sudden and great flood, on the 11th December 1809, carrying from Dochgarroch downwards these temporary embankments, and "fir and forest trees of very great growth cut in the woods of Borlum for Canal purposes." Thomas Davies, residing on the Green of Muirtown; William Hughes, then presently residing at Dochgarroch; and Matthew Davidson, residing at Clachnaharry, were proceeded against, and had some difficulty in arranging with the Heritors, and with Messrs Forbes, Hoggarth, & Co. of Aberdeen, and Mr James Richardson of Perth, their Tacksmen.

The following is part of the complaint of the tacksmen of the fishings:—

"That the petitioners are tacksmen of, and in possession of, the salmon fishings on the River Ness, comprehending the cruive fishing, and fishing by net and coble on and in the island opposite to the lands of Mr Grant of Bught, and which fishing has been supported and upheld principally by means of two extensive dykes forming a bulwark fence on the north and south side of the said island, from the west extremity thereof, and thereby taking the water in a great body off at the west extremity, and discharging it towards, and at the east through the cavities of the said bulwark gradually into the body of the river, and thereby excluding the free access of the salmon westward. That the respondents (Davies, Hughes, and Davidson) sometime ago entered into a contract or agreement with the Commissioners for making the Canal in the County of Inverness, or agents employed by them, for altering the course of the River Ness, running between the lands of Borlum and Dochgarroch, and they accordingly employed a great number of people, and formed a channel principally through the lands of Borlum, under fir and forest trees of very great growth, and about the end of November or beginning of December finished the acqueduct, and closed up the old channel of the river, and introduced the water into this new channel.

That the trees which were cut on the said lands of Borlum, were partly employed in bounding the banks of the aforesaid acqueduct, and closing up the old channel of the River Ness, and the trunks of these trees were left in the channel of the said acqueduct to be disposed of as the elements would direct.

"That on the eleventh day of December last, or some day in that month, a considerable flood came into the River Ness, the consequence of which was that owing to the insufficiency of the aforesaid embankments of the river in the aforesaid situation, the same gave way, and the water carried down not only all the wood used in the embankment, but also the trunks of the aforesaid trees, wantonly and improperly left in the aforesaid acqueduct or channel, and carried along with it the gangways used in the operation, and which was also improperly left after the operation in which they were used, had been finished. That these trunks of trees, logs, and spars of wood, with the stones and shingle in the embankment, and the said gangways having, by the violence of the water been carried down to the lands of the Bught, they received a re-inforcement by breaking the works at the mills of the Bught, all which were thrown on the cruives, dykes, and carries in the aforesaid island, whereby the great dyke separating the south run of water, running along the said island, from the main body of the river, was broke, and an opening of about ten feet made opposite to the west corner of the lands of the Haugh. And the same dyke was broken, and an opening of about forty feet made nearly opposite the bridge on the Altnaskiach Burn, whereby the greatest part of the water in the foresaid run came in torrents in these channels. That another part of the said trunks of trees, logs of wood and timber, gravel and stones that accompanied them, made their way to the north of the said island, and, near to the house therein, broke the dyke dividing the north channel of the river from the main body of it, and made an opening of about ten feet in it. And in like manner broke the said dyke opposite to the cross road separating the Infirmary lands from those of Ballifeary, and the consequence of this was that the body of the water of the said north channel rapidly discharged itself in these places. That besides this the said dykes are daily giving way from the effects of the said body of trunks of trees, logs, wood, and rubbish coming with violence upon them."

IV. The Lower Heritors and the Dukes of Gordon.—The contentions twixt these parties lasted over half a century. The fishings belonging to the Castle of Inverness were commonly called the Castle Shot, and of old the Fore Shot. Without going further back than the original Charter of the Castle Lands to the Earl of Huntly in 1509, it is found that the description of these fishings is "*cum piscariis sub Castello de Inverness dictis terris spectan.*" The ordinary and plain significance of the word "sub" is "under," and as the bounds of the Castle were well defined, being surrounded with a wall, it might have been thought the limits of the fishing, viz., *ex adverso* of the river wall, could not be seriously questioned. But this was not to be. In 1724, Alexander, second Duke of Gordon, setting forth that he stood heritably infeft, and seized in "All and Haill the Castle Lands of Inverness, with the fishing under the Castle Wall of Inverness,

lying within the Sheriffdom of Inverness," raised process of declarator against the Heritors of fishings, to have it found and declared that he had the only good and undoubted right to the said fishing under the Castle Wall of Inverness, and that the same extends on the water of Ness the full length of the banks thereof, as the same is meithed and marched by the pursuer's lands above mentioned, and possessed by him and his predecessors past all memory of man, and that the Heritors on the Ness and their predecessors have done wrong in their violent molesting and impeding the pursuer and his tenants from the said fishing under the Castle Wall of Inverness in 1714 and 1715. A lengthened proof took place, in which the Heritors contended at first that the Castle Shot was included in the Charter of 1591, at least that possession had followed; but by the evidence it appearing, that the Heritors had no exclusive possession, and in particular, that in 1688, when the deceased William Mackintosh of Borlum was Bailie to the Duke of Gordon, and living in the Castle of Inverness, he, Borlum, had fished that part of the river under the Castle Wall of Inverness, and that "the entry to the said fishing was from the south end of the Castle Wall, to the end of Bailie Fowler's house, now possessed by Jonathan Thomson, near the Bridge," the Heritors did not contest the matter further, though they thought some of the expressions used in reference to the extent of the Duke's rights, were too vague. The Duke of Gordon got decree with £5 of expenses, and the Heritors having thereafter agreed to lease the Castle Shot for one year, matters stood over for about forty years. In 1766 the war broke out with great violence in the time of Alexander, 4th Duke. First an attempt was made, and processes intent to show that the one year's tack had been continued tacitly, with the view of saddling the Heritors with the arrears of the Castle Shot rent for forty years. This was resisted at once successfully by such of the Heritors of 1766 as were singular successors, and finally with equal success by the heirs of the Heritors of 1724. Next a process was raised in which the Duke, altering the words in his charter from "under the wall of the Castle," to "opposite the wall of the Castle," and for which he was severely called to account, claimed the West bank also of the river, which would have had the effect of destroying the Trot Shot.

The fishing heritors, founded on the ancient charters to the Town by Kings William, Alexander II., and David, whose charters were confirmed by James III. in 1464, and so anxious, it was stated,

"Were our Sovereigns to preserve the privileges of the burgh, particularly the fishings, that in March 1474 King James granted a deed, whereby he appointed a particular miln upon the river to be demolished, as destructive to the Burgh's fishing on that river, and in place of that miln made a grant of his own milns."

They go on to say that,

"The Castle Shot appears to have been originally an encroachment upon the Town's right, but to which it is probable the townspeople at first submitted *ex gratia* for the accommodation and pleasure of the Constable or heritable Governor of the Castle and his family while residing there, and which indulgence has given occasion to the family of Gordon, who held the office of Hereditary Keeper of the Castle, as well as heritable Sheriff of the County of Inverness, to get a grant of this fishings of the Castle Shot, inserted in their charters, posterior to many of the ancient grants of the fishings in general made to the Town of Inverness."

The following reference to the fabrics of the Castle is worthy of preservation :—

"About the year 1724, it is stated, or soon thereafter, the Government thought fit to build a fort where the old Castle stood, which occasioned much stones and rubbish to be thrown down into the river under the Castle wall, and the rebells in the 1745, having taken and blown up that fort, still more rubbish was thereby thrown into the river."

The view of Inverness in Sclezer's work, was probably copied from some work published abroad, and as it shows Cromwell's fort entire, must have been taken twixt the years 1651 and 1661. The Castle there shown is a tall, handsome structure. In Sandby's publication about 1744, a copy of which is in possession of Mr Noble, Inverness, the elevation is quite different, and no doubt depicts the Castle erected in 1724, destroyed 1745-6. At the small cost of two shillings and fourpence, we lately became possessed of a view of Inverness in 1747, wherein the Castle is shown unroofed and dismantled, but a great portion remains, and is much more like the earlier structure shown by Sclezer than the later by Sandby.

In this contest, the Duke was most properly unsuccessful. Again, the Duke attempted to extend his fishing rights *ex adverso* of the Haugh lands, and would thus have the river from the Stone Bridge to the extremity of Wester Haugh, at the spot where once stood the little public-house near the Islands. In

this severely fought action, the Duke was again unsuccessful in every point. The extent of the Castle bounds was well known, being 4 acres, 2 roods, 30 falls Scots measure, its South-West boundary being a line drawn from the present principal entry at the head of Castle Street to the river. Immediately adjoining, and now forming part of the Castle enclosures was the Balloch Hill, belonging to the Town, and having a certain frontage to the river, so the Duke necessarily failed in establishing a right opposite that part. Old views of Inverness show a depression where the Castle and Balloch Hills met, long obliterated ; and the cutting out of View Place, and artificial sloping south-westward, has so completely altered the appearance of the Balloch Hill, that it is not now a distinctive object. Latterly the Balloch Hill was used as a horse market. All this locality has been much altered. Anciently, Domesdale Street, afterwards called Castle Street, did not terminate as at present, one branch leading to Culduthel, etc., the other to the Haugh by View Place. Neither did the old Edinburgh Road turn off abruptly as at present from the Culduthel Road. Two at least of the houses at the top of Castle Street on the east side stand on Castle precincts, and the old Edinburgh Road struck off from Castle Street behind those houses, joining the present road near Clay Potts. Adjacent to the Balloch Hill came the two Haughs—Easter and Wester—these being divided by the burn of Altnaskiah. The Duke founded on Charters of 1662 and 1684, wherein, in the list of Castle lands, occurs the word "Haugh," and that they were really, though not nominally, included in the Charter of 1509 ; but the fishing Heritors, though several decreets were pronounced against them, fought with determination, and proved beyond doubt ultimately that the lands of Haugh were not expressly or by implication included in the original Charter to the Earl of Huntly in 1509, though they surreptitiously found a place among the Castle lands in the Charters of 1662 and 1684, and *de facto* did not belong to the Gordons until long after the date of the Town's Golden Charter of 1591.

The first noted mention regarding Haugh, which appears to have been a six merk land, and to have been possessed along with Knockintinnel and Culcabock, occurs in an instrument of sasine in favour of Alexander Hay of Mains, dated 7th November 1498.

In 1532, William Hay of Mains sold the lands of Haugh to John Grant of Culcabock and of Glenmoriston. Grant's descendant sold Haugh to the Earl of Huntly in exchange for the undoubted Castle lands of Meikle and Little Hilton. Grant's charter to these excambed lands is dated 12th May 1623, and some time thereafter they were, *inter alia*, acquired by the Robertsons of Inshes. The Duke of Gordon had, as these facts were clearly proven, to submit; further discredit being thrown on his Charters of 1662 and 1684, in respect they still comprehended Hilton, though Inshes had been some time in possession, and his charters confirmed by the Crown.

In 1796, the Duke of Gordon sold to David Davidson, first of Cantray, for £10,500, with the exception of the Castle Hill, the last shreds remaining of the great Castle lands, originally a magnificent estate within the parishes of Dalarossie, Dunlichity, Dores, Bona, and Inverness, then belonging to him, viz., Porterfield, parts of Altnaskiah, Haughs, the Castle Shot Fishings, all in the parish of Inverness; Bunachton, in Dores; and Drumboy, in Dunlichity; the present annual pecuniary value of the property belonging to the Gordons in this quarter having dwindled to one penny Scots for the blench superiority of the Castle Hill.

C. FRASER-MACKINTOSH.

DEPARTURE OF AN EMIGRANT SHIP.—The following is a graphic description of a scene at the Pier of Helmsdale in the beginning of January 1841, on the departure of an emigrant ship :—

"As the morning waned, every moment added to the throng that crowded the pier; party after party arrived with their friends, and the whole of the inhabitants of Helmsdale seemed to have assembled to witness the departure. It was a bustling, yet melancholy, sight. The emigrants were taking leave of friends they could never expect to meet again—of a country they could never expect to see. The nervous agitated looks of the men, the short, quick, broken steps, the conferences restlessly broken, and as restlessly renewed, all told of the deep agonising feelings they were in vain striving to overcome. The grief of the women was loud and open; clinging to the relatives they parted from, they poured forth, in almost unintelligible ejaculations, their agony at leaving the glens where they were born, and where they hoped to die, mingling in the same breath their blessings and their prayers for those whom, although they could never more see, they could never forget; while the children, stupified and bewildered at the scene around them, clung to their mothers, and wept with them. But the tide served, and the boatmen were impatient. An effort was made to throw some appearance of heartiness and good spirits into the last moments many were to spend on Scottish ground. Hands were wrung, and wrung again; bumpers of whisky tossed wildly off amidst cheers and shouts; the women were forced almost fainting into the boats, and the crowd upon the shore burst into a long, loud cheer, in which even the phlegmatic Dutchmen joined; and they were under way, while the poor forsaken dogs stretched their heads after their masters and howled piteously. Again and again was that cheer raised, and responded to from the boat, while bonnets were thrown into the air, handkerchiefs waved, and last words of adieu shouted to the receding shore; while, high above all, the wild notes of the pipe were heard pouring forth that by far the finest of pibroch tunes, '*Cha tile sinn tuillie*' (we return no more)."—*Inverness Courier.*

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Peasant Proprietary.

It is due to the readers of this patriotic magazine to explain that a short absence from home prevents me from sending a consecutive chapter for the present number. In addition to this, the subject matter of it—the component parts of profit, and the *cause* and laws of interest—requires careful examination and extensive reference, as the subjects themselves, and those connected with them, have not only been a great difficulty to all authorities on political economy, but are still unexplained, owing, I think, to not being referred to fundamental natural law.

After the elucidation of the fundamental laws which constitute political economy a science—and the most important of all sciences—practical politics will naturally follow in a subsequent part of these papers; but in the meantime, and as the subject is an urgent one in connection with the Highlands, I would reproduce in these pages the following letter which I addressed to the Editor of the *Glasgow Herald*. The question of paying off the National Debt, and replacing it by a National Land Fund has been for some time the subject of my thoughts, and I am convinced that, socially and financially, its importance cannot be over-estimated :—

THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS.

Sir,—Kindly permit me to make a few remarks which have been suggested by the leading article in your issue of the 2nd August relative to the case of the Highland crofters. Being entirely of your opinion as to the worthlessness of the theories of political economists, I prefer to look at the case of the Highlands as a matter of practical business a light, indeed, in which the judgment of your Glasgow readers is of the shrewdest and best.

The most striking and instructive fact that has come to light in the evidence taken by the Royal Commission is the contrast between the condition of the freeholders of Orkney and that of crofters and tenant-farmers. There, in the very north of Scotland, exists the same state of comfort and contentment as obtains in these beautiful Channel Islands, our most southerly group. The opening of the Fisheries Exhibition —mainly through the excellent influence of our Royal Princes—may be regarded as a most useful and significant event at the present time, by which the attention of the country is directed to the importance of this national industry, and I observe that one

of the main complaints of the crofters is the want of harbours. Now, in this little island of Guernsey we have a population of freeholders and traders numbering nearly 35,000, or over 1200 to the square mile, and, instead of being "congested," labour is both dear and scarce. Sutherlandshire has a "congested" population of just 12 to the same area, and no harbours. Here we have the best harbour of refuge in the English Channel, built at a cost of over £300,000 by the inhabitants. The amount required was over-subscribed for, and with the balance they built a beautiful market at a cost of £30,000. It is estimated that the average wealth per head of the population is double that of the United Kingdom.

The part of your temperate article to which I desire to direct particular attention is the felt difficulty as to the "remedy." Allow me to quote your remarks on this important subject, not for the purpose of animadversion, but with a view, if possible, to throw a gleam of light upon a very difficult problem. You say:—"Mr Ferguson points for a solution to the few yeomen in Orkney who own their holdings, and have no cares and no grievances. A very pleasant idyllic picture was certainly presented to the Commissioners, which shows us what thrift, and industry, and long possession of small farms with prudence can do. But the State did not buy their farms for these happy Orcadians, and did not supply the stock for them. How are we to provide the crofters of Lewis and Skye with equally free lands, well stocked, and with the same thrift and prudence? It is all very well to say here is the solution, but how is it to be applied? Is the State to buy out the landlords, and give sufficient farms to the crofters, stock the farms for them, and set them agoing rejoicing as small and independent lairds? The working men of the country in that case will have to pay for making the crofters happy and prosperous, and probably working men will ask what have the crofters done that we should so handsomely provide for them. If, on the other hand, the crofters are to pay back the money advanced by the State, the State will become the landlord and the receiver of the rents. What advantage will that be?" Pardon me for saying so, but if you had more faith in the Highlanders you would not think so much of the "hill Difficulty."

I am very much mistaken if the consent of the British workman, to whom you point, and very justly so, as the most interested outside party, is not the easiest part of the business. I should like to feel equally certain about the consent of the House of Lords The "farmers' friends," who now find that the current of public opinion and feeling is running strongly against them, and seeing that no permanent relief can be extended to agricultural industry without some extensive scheme of finance, are taking the British workman into their confidence. and are acting upon his fears by shedding crocodile tears over him. We do not hear very much about him from that quarter when Afghan, African, and Egyptian wars are to be waged. The twenty millions that were spent on the Afghan wars is more than what may be required to expropriate Highland proprietors *en bloc* for constituting the remnant of the gallant Gaelic race into freeholders. We must therefore ask the British workman if he is equally willing to advance twenty millions, not as a gratuity, but at 3 per cent., on the security of the Highlands. Hard-pressed as the poor fellows have been, the crofters are not much in arrears for rack rents, and, perhaps, less so than large farmers, whilst many of them, I am glad to know. have money on deposit in the banks, which. as well as their labour, they are not free to deposit in a much safer bank—the soil of their country for fear of confiscation.

The economic law to which you refer in another part of the article, as having brought about the present crisis, does not appear to have affected freeholders. Does

this not prove that it is not an economic but a very wasteful law? The answer comes readily enough to everybody's lips, "It is the rights of property." But in what do these consist? If landlords are supposed to be carrying on a business, the only commercial definition I can give of them is that they are land usurers – a thing that has been hateful to God and man since the world began. By the operation of this economic law sheep-farming paid the landlord better than a peasantry, and now deer forests pay better than farming. Therefore it will pay the proprietors of Lewis (to which island, by the way, Mr Gladstone was so thankful for defending him from the waves of the Atlantic – a piece of good luck which was hardly vouchsafed to the Royal Commissioners) to convert it entirely into a deer forest and grouse moors, and get the population to emigrate. But then its trade with Glasgow would cease, and Stornoway would dwindle down to the size of Ullapool. Under these circumstances to expect that landlords will meet the demand of the crofters by enlarging their holdings is hopeless, and it is equally hopeless to expect that any measure on the lines of the Irish Land Act will meet the case.

Of course, it would be foolish to expect that the crofters could at once by a *coup d'etat* be placed in equally comfortable a position with the freeholders of Orkney and the Channel Islands, or that they could get land without paying for it. You are supposing a case which they themselves do not suppose or anticipate. There are crofter-fishermen in the Island of Lewis who are able to pay down for as much land as they care to occupy. The price at which that estate was bought was under ten shillings an acre. Supposing it to have doubled in value, a crofter could have ten acres of moor land for ten pounds, which, by the labour of himself and family, he would in the course of time raise to the value of twenty pounds per acre. It will not pay the capitalist to do it, but it will pay the poor man handsomely if he can call it his own for ever, but not otherwise. The reason is apparent. The capitalist has to pay for adult labour, whereas the labour of the crofter's wife and children is as effective as his own in removing peat banks and clearing the ground of stones They will be able to stock and improve their own farms if they get what they want—more ground and elbow-room - and in course of time there is no reason why they should not be as comfortable as the freeholders of Orkney.

But in order to accomplish so desirable an object, they must be made freeholders at a quit-rent, after the manner of the Prussian legislation; and, to go on the lines of the British Constitution, it is only necessary to put the ancient prerogative of the Crown in motion by resuming the Highlands as a State domain for the purpose of re colonisation in freehold, after the example of Frederic the Great, father of his country. Why should not we have a Victoria the Great, the mother of her country? Indeed, it would be but a well-deserved tribute of respect to her personal worth to second her well-known affection for the Highlands and to confer freedom upon that portion of her people. Let Caledonia be free! Freedom and security in perpetuity will act like magic, as it has done elsewhere, in calling forth industry and producing thrift. In a condition of freedom the bones and sinews of Highlanders will exert themselves as well in peace as in war, and no better security, in both fields, can the British workman find anywhere, whilst the certain future "unearned increment" will go to reduce his taxes Nor is it the crofters alone who stand in need of this blessing. The large farmers have had as little security for their capital in improvements as the crofters have had in respect of their labour, and the houses of the former are perhaps as much in want of repairs as those of the latter.

What I should propose to the British workman is to make it a test question at

the next election that a bill for the resumption of the Highlands in the name of the Crown be brought into Parliament, under which the Government should expropriate all landlords except those who farm, or are willing to farm, their estates by means of paid labour, leaving their manorial residences, home farms, and policies to large owners. That a loan bearing 3 per cent. interest be issued to the public as the opening of a general national land fund capable of any expansion that may from time to time be found necessary for enabling farmers to become freeholders of their holdings. If the Highland landlords should stand too much on the validity of their original titles, on examination it may be found that most, if not all of them, are very largely tainted with fraud, force, and high treason.—I am, &c.

Guernsey. MALCOLM MACKENZIE.

THE NAME RIACH OR REOCH.—In the *Celtic Magazine*, Oct. 1883, is a query about this name. The Gaelic Riabhach means greyish. It was applied to some one, say Donald Macgregor, when he arrived at the age of forty or fifty, to distinguish him from some younger person bearing the same Christian name, and also a Macgregor. In English the name is spelled Riach, Reoch, Reik, Reikie : near Dunkeld a resident there is satisfied with spelling it Rake. Rough (Perthshire) is perhaps the same. The clever and popular writer, Angus B Reach, was a Riach. Perhaps some of those called Rich belong to this name What is the best way to spell the name in English? As Riach is nearer Riabhach, it is better than Reoch. When our Scotch names go south across the Border, they suffer many things : the natives there, with a real or a pretended inability to sound *ch* guttural, make it either a *k* or *ch* soft ; sometimes they drop it altogether. Thus Tulloch is altered to Tullock and to Tulloh. Kinloch is made Kinlock. Strachan is made Straghan and Strahan. Murdoch is turned into Murdock and Murdo. Rolloch was made Rollock and Rollo. Malloch appears as Mallock. Are the Riachs a clan? This question is asked by your correspondent. The descriptive word Riabhach was used in the same way as Dubh, dark ; Donn, brown-haired ; Ban, light-haired ; Buidhe, light-haired ; Gorm, having blue eyes ; Mor, More, big, tall ; Beag, Begg, short ; Kitto, Ciotach, left-handed ; Cam, deformed ; Borrie, Bodhar, deaf ; Glas, grey, pale ; Og, young. Several others might be added. When a person lived in a district where all were Macgregors, and many of them named Donald, people got tired of giving a person any more names than his Christian name and his name of description. If he emigrated he might go on with the name of Donald Riach, leaving out his family-name or clan-name of Macgregor. It would be a mistake to suppose that Riach is a clan name. In theory all Macgregors are related to each other. Calling the number of clans twenty, you may have twenty groups of Riachs who are not related to each other. I apologise for making this note so long, and for telling many readers what they knew before. Fragments about Scotch national matters and family-names are read with interest by Scoto-Australians, and in many a Canadian log-house the exile from Lochaber has his youth renewed by the matter in the *Celtic Magazine*. I know that many are very sensitive about remarks made on the spelling of their names. I cheerfully take the risk. I have never observed the name connected with Ireland. "Riabhach" might try to discover in what localities in Scotland the name is found, and put the same on record My own district is the triangle formed by Dunkeld, the parish of Caputh, and the town of Perth. There are some instances in Perth and at Birnam, but the name is rather rare.

Devonport, Devon. THOMAS STRATTON, M.D.

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

IX.—Chicago.

Shortly before reaching Chicago—which we did between eight and nine in the evening—a gentleman decorated with a stout leather strap, on which some fifty or seventy brass checks were strung, asked each passenger to what Hotel he proposed going, and on being told, handed him one of the checks and demanded fifty cents in return. He was the agent of an Omnibus Company in Chicago which carries passengers and their baggage to any of the Hotels in the city, however near or distant, for a uniform charge of half-a-dollar. As things go in Chicago, the charge is not unreasonable, and the arrangement is convenient, especially for strangers. On the advice of my friend, the Inspector, I chose the Grand Pacific Hotel, and when we got into Chicago I handed my baggage check to one of the Hotel Porters, and thus relieved by the admirable system of American railways in dealing with baggage, of all impedimenta, I soon found myself in my room in the Grand Pacific—a large and finely appointed house in the centre of the business portion of the city. On the table lay a history of the great Chicago fire and of the rebuilding of the city, and near the window hung a patent fire escape, consisting apparently of a block and tackle enclosed in a linen or canvas bag, on the outside of which directions for its use were printed. I afterwards ascertained that every bedroom in the house was similarly furnished.

Chicago, the busy, aggressive, prosperous Chicago, is not to be seen by night. A walk through the city after ten o'clock disclosed this much. The men who have made Chicago are not then about. Public Drinking-bars, Singing and Dancing Saloons there are, however, in plenty, and well patronised, too, by all appearance. Poverty and wretchedness manifest their presence as elsewhere. A two hours' walk through the streets disclosed the fact that unless a stranger chooses to go deeper into Chicago night-life than is safe, he will learn little of the city by wandering about

after dark. As I came to this conclusion, the row of Electric lamps in front of the Grand Pacific showed me where my temporary home was, and I made for it. An hour spent in the large entrance hall of the Hotel, studying American Hotel life, and moving about among the two hundred or so guests, who are scattered about in all sorts of attitudes smoking and talking, is much more pleasant, and probably more profitable, than an hour abroad in the streets at night. Right in front is the Hotel office, where the clerks stand behind the counter on which lies the Hotel Register. To the left is the Tobacconist's counter, where a brisk business is being done ; and further on the Barber's shop, in front of which is a Hosier's shop, also entered from the Hotel. To the right of the entrance, and inside the Hotel, is a small office where carriages can be hired, and round a corner, and further in on the same side, is a shop where all the newspapers and magazines of the day can be purchased. Liquors can probably be had, but the Bar is not in sight. None of the smokers are drinking—drinking is not a feature of American Hotel life. In the Hall there is a fountain where iced water can be had by turning on a tap. This is occasionally resorted to by the thirsty, but apparently nothing else is drunk. At the Bar counter, had I seen it, I should probably have seen, as I did elsewhere, a few thirsty souls, but they are the minority. The American makes his Hotel his home for the time, and he does not think it his duty to drink there oftener than he would at home. The absurd idea, so common on this side of the Atlantic, that he is bound to drink for "the good of the house," does not seem to occur either to him or his host. I do not say that Americans drink less than we do, probably they do not, for their public drinking bars are numerous, and apparently well patronised, but in their principal hotels the sale of drink is in practice kept apart from the ordinary business of the house, and the guest who wishes to have a drink is expected to go to the Bar for it.

Before going to my bedroom I visited the Reading-room—a large hall on the first floor over the entrance Hall—and looked through that day's Chicago newspapers. American journalism I was not unfamiliar with, but the freedom with which the Chicago editor expresses himself is enough to send a cold shiver down the back of one accustomed to the "pink of propriety"

journalism of Great Britain. A "leading" paragraph in the *Chicago Herald* of that day, referring to a series of evangelical services to be held in a few weeks, said the "regular army" was to be reinforced by eleven hundred clergymen from other parts—that a reconnaissance had been made of Satan's intrenchments, and Chicago had been found the weakest point. Ecclesiastical meetings, of which a considerable number were reported in one of the papers, were dealt with in a manner more amusing to the general reader than to the gentlemen who took part in them. Ministers had just returned from their holidays, and if the reports were to be judged from, reverend gentlemen had a woful tendency to get up in the middle of an anxious discussion on a difficult question of Church policy, and make a speech on the number and size of the fish they had caught on the river or lake near which they had spent their holidays, or on any other subject than the one under discussion.

In the morning one of a series of tramway rides brought me to the Chicago river, where among the crowds of ships, barges, and boats, a little squat-looking steamer—cargo or tug-boat I know not which—presented what I thought at the time a perfect type of the city to which she belonged. She came up the river puffing and snorting and making a noise which, even in the incessant din all around, stood out prominently as the greatest of all; rushing along at a rate which seemed perilous to herself and to the other craft on the river, and yet so skilfully navigated that she left them all behind without injury to herself or them. Such a tub of a thing she was too, no fine lines or attempt at beauty about her, simply an ugly boat with a good engine and boiler inside, and a man in charge who was determined to go ahead. After watching her until she disappeared round a curve in the river, I mentally ejaculated, "Well done, Chicago!"

After a while I found myself near the shore of Lake Michigan, with a net-work of railway lines in front, a canal or dock beyond, and some ten or a dozen Elevators on the other side. To get to the Elevators was my object, and after dodging two or three trains and a number of unattached cars, I managed it. The Elevator is a Warehouse furnished with certain machinery. The machinery is merely a feature of the warehouse, but so important a feature that grain warehouses with an elevating arrangement

are known throughout Canada and the States as "Elevators." The manner in which grain was received and disposed of at the Elevators, had been repeatedly described to me, but it was still somewhat of a mystery, and I wanted to see the system in operation. I selected one of the largest Elevators in the neighbourhood, a building apparently between 120 and 150 feet in height, and on making my wish known to the gentleman in charge, he very courteously took me over the building. It was my good fortune to see a train of grain-laden cars delivering their contents at the Elevator, and a ship being loaded with grain. The cars, which were loaded in bulk, were drawn up in front—a long shoot was lowered from the Elevator into the first car, the machinery inside was set in motion, and in an incredibly short time the car was empty. The other cars were treated in the same way, and in almost less time than it takes to tell it the contents of that train were inside the Elevator. Inside, the grain is first received into a weighing bin, where it is weighed so carefully and accurately that the *shortage* on a train load of grain delivered in bulk at Chicago, after a journey of a thousand miles, is seldom more than a few pounds. From the weighing bin the grain is transferred to immense storage bins, some of which are fifty to sixty feet in depth. There the grain, if in good condition when received, will be kept for the first ten days for a cent and a quarter per bushel, while for each additional ten days, or part of that time, the charge is half-a-cent per bushel. The charge for storing condemned or unmerchantable grain is two cents per bushel for the first ten days, and half-a-cent for each five days or part thereof afterwards. From the middle of November to the middle of April the charge is limited to four cents per bushel, if so much is incurred, so long as the grain remains in good condition.

The delivery of grain from the Elevator is equally expeditious. The ship or car to be loaded is brought to the Elevator, the shoot is lowered, the bins deliver their contents, and the loading is done so expeditiously that a locomotive bringing up a train of empty cars may wait while they are being filled.

It may be said that this system makes no provision for keeping one man's grain apart from another man's. Well, neither it does, but that is of no consequence, so long as the grain in each bin is of one "grade." All grain coming into Chicago is, before

being received into an Elevator, examined by a State Inspector and graded. The best quality is "No. 1," the next, "No. 2;" and grain which is not up to the standard of one of the numbered grades (which in the case of barley run as low as No. 5), is graded as "Rejected." The Certificate of the Inspector is presented at the Elevator, and the grain received and stored in bins, containing, or ready to receive, other grain of the same grade. A purchaser does not see the grain he buys in bulk, nor does he even see a sample. Does he want Wheat, he buys "No. 2 Spring;" Corn, "No. 2 Yellow," and so on; in every case he knows exactly what he has bought, and has no occasion to see it. Upon this system of State Inspection the grain trade of Chicago depends, to the Inspectors Chicago has entrusted her commercial honour, and her success proves that they have faithfully discharged their trust.

Shortly before noon I went to the Board of Trade building with Mr Bird, a member of the Board, to whom I had been at my own request introduced. Mr Bird procured me admission to the portion of the building sacred to members of the Board—a place where no dweller in Chicago other than members may penetrate. It was a long, well-lighted room, in which were perhaps from two to three hundred gentlemen walking about. There were three parts of the room where apparently something more lively than a conversation was being conducted. I went to the nearest of these, and found it something like a square platform with the centre scooped out. Three or four steps led up from the floor along the whole length of its four outward sides, and a similar number of steps led along the whole length of each of its inward sides, down to the floor level, a small square piece of the floor being visible in the centre. On the top and inside steps were a number of men gesticulating in a somewhat lively manner, and addressing each other in tones so loud and emphatic that I at first thought there was a fight. But they were only a few of the Bulls and Bears trying to make or break the market. Down in the centre, on the floor level, was one man who, with his coat over his left arm and his white hat in his left hand, was wielding his right hand, in which he held a few slips of paper, like a pump handle, and crying out as rapidly as he could utter the words, "I sell September," "I sell September," "I sell

September three-eighths ;" and he continued to yell these words until, with the perspiration running down his face and his voice gone, he retired to make room for somebody else who took up the same cry. All this time some fifty others, and sometimes double that number, were standing on the steps and all round on the floor outside yelling, "I sell September," "I sell October," "I sell year ;" or, "I buy September," "I buy October," or, "I buy year," with some fraction added. Occasionally one of the crowd would retire to recruit, but his place was not left vacant for a moment—a fresh comer took up the cry and the fearful din went on undiminished. After a while I sought out my friend to tell me what all this meant. His explanation was that to sell or buy "September" or "October" was to sell or buy grain deliverable at any time during the month named, the particular time being in the option of one of the parties—whether the seller or purchaser I forget. In selling or buying "year," delivery is to be taken before the end of the year, the option being as before. The fraction named in the offer is the fraction of a cent, and is used for brevity, the whole number of cents in the price per bushel being understood ; usually, if not invariably, it is the number of whole cents in the last quoted price. The hours for business in the Board of Trade are from 10 or 11 A.M. till 1 P.M., and transactions entered into during that time have certain privileges in the way of dispensing with formalties which other transactions have not. When a broker wishes to buy, he selects one who is offering to sell for the month in which he wants delivery, looks at him as he yells and holds up his finger, the other stops his cry and holds up his finger too, the buyer says, "How much?" the seller says, "five," "fifty," or "a hundred," as the case may be, according to the quantity he wishes to sell—thousand of bushels being understood. Suppose the seller says "a hundred," and the buyer wants only fifty thousand bushels, the latter says, "I take fifty ;" each makes a note on one of the slips of paper he holds in his hand, and the bargain is closed. A bargain of this kind, to be enforced by the Courts, must have been transacted in Board hours. At any other period of the day a transaction of similar magnitude would require the ordinary legal formalities. When delivery comes to be taken the thing is arranged with equal simplicity. The purchaser hands his cheque

for the price to the seller, and receives in exchange—his grain do you suppose? Not at all,—an Elevator certificate or delivery order is what he obtains. This he gives to the agent of the Railway or Shipping Company which is to carry the grain to his customer in the Eastern States, or to New York, Montreal, or Boston, for shipment to Europe. The Company presents the certificate, gets the grain, and carries it to its destination, and the whole thing is done. Thus without ever seeing the grain purchased, or even a sample of it, the Chicago broker buys in the course of a year hundreds of thousands of bushels of all sorts of grain and ships it to his customers in all parts of the world, without the slightest fear that anything less valuable than he has bought and paid for will be delivered to him. And his confidence is amply justified.

Towards one o'clock the din increases to such an extent that conversation in even the most distant part of the large room could only be carried on by a series of shouts. New comers were constantly arriving and hurrying to one or other of the centres of disturbance, and as if there was not sufficient noise there already, the younger arrivals signalised their arrival by a leap as far into the crowd as they could propel themselves, and a whoop which sounded like a reminiscence of the not long past time when the site of the city was the heritage and possession of the Red Indian. A minute or two after one, the day's transactions are posted up in the Board room, and to one who has seen nothing but gesticulation, and heard nothing but yells of "I sell" and "I buy," their magnitude is a surprise. In the course of the year 1881 Chicago received by rail and ship about one hundred and forty million bushels of various kinds of grain, besides about five million barrels of flour; and its shipments in the same year amounted to over one hundred and thirty million bushels of the former, and over four and a-half million barrels of the latter. In addition to this there is an immense business done in Lumber, Seeds, Hides, Butter, Cheese, Cattle, Sheep, and Hogs—the shipments of Hog Products alone during the year mentioned considerably exceeding one thousand million pounds. When it is remembered that not only is the bulk of this business done in the Board of Trade, but in addition to it a practically incalculable amount of speculative business, which is never represented by receipts or deliveries of anything more substantial than the amount of the wager—that is the difference be-

tween the price at the date of sale and that of delivery, it will readily be understood that during the few hours in each day when regular business is done, the Board of Trade is a lively corner. And it is a lively place. The Paris Bourse is a peaceful retreat compared with the Chicago Board of Trade when there is a "corner in wheat." Yet in the middle of their greatest excitement, they are ever ready for fun. If an unfortunate stranger in the balcony set apart for visitors who are not taken on the floor by a member commits the mistake of throwing himself back on his seat and putting his feet on the railing in front of him (a favourite attitude with Americans) every Broker on the floor forgets business, and turns round to yell "Boots, boots, boo-boo-boots!" until the astonished visitor, who usually has no conception that this is not a part of the mad performance he has been previously watching, either, more by accident than design, shifts the offending members to the floor, or, keeping them too long in the objectionable position, is gently but firmly expelled, for shocking the feelings of the gentlemen beneath. Such is the Chicago Board of Trade as it struck a stranger; but what of Chicago itself? We shall see in our next.

K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

THE LITERATURE OF THE CROFTER QUESTION.—In *Good Words* Sheriff Nicolson gives a graphic sketch of "The Last Cruise of the *Lively*;" and we note with special satisfaction the kindly and sympathetic tone in which he speaks of the crofters. Their representatives everywhere, he says, with occasional exceptions, merited the compliment which was paid to their predecessors by Sir John M'Neill in 1851, when he reported that they gave their evidence "with a politeness and delicacy of deportment that would have been graceful in any society, and such as, perhaps, no men of their class in any other country could have maintained in similar circumstances." Sheriff Nicolson says "the only persons whom the chairman of the Commission had to admonish anywhere for objectionable expressions were not crofters but educated men." Yet it is this valuable class of the community upon whom a leading Liberal journal [the *Scotsman*] is constantly pouring contempt and scorn, and who are driven to such extremities by the Highland lords of the soil, that there is no alternative for them save starvation or exile. "The Isle of Skye in 1882 and 1883," a new volume by Mr A. Mackenzie, of Inverness, gives a detailed account of evictions in that island which affected directly no fewer than seven hundred families, each, on an average, representing at least five persons, thus making a grand total of more than 3500 souls, not less than two thousand of whom were evicted, during the last half century, from the property of Macleod of Macleod. "What physical misery," exclaims Mr Mackenzie, "what agony of soul, these figures represent, it is impossible even to imagine!" Nor does this exhaust the woeful story; for a terrible amount of suffering has been inflicted, apart altogether from the cases of expatriation, on the hundreds of poor people removed from one portion of the island to another—many of them robbed of their hill pasture, and left to comparative starvation, with their cattle, on wretchedly small and unprofitable patches among the barren rocks on the sea-shore. And all this misery and agony have been inflicted to gratify the inhuman selfishness of some two or three persons, who, by the mere accident of birth, enjoy a power which they could never have otherwise secured for themselves.—*Christian Leader.*

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A.

VII.—Druidism—*(Continued.)*

Such is the history of Druidism in Gaul and early Britain: of its course in Ireland we have no direct information. It is only when Christianity has been long established, and Druidism a thing of the remote past, that we have writers who speak of the Druids; and in their eyes the Druids were but magicians that attended the courts of the pagan kings. The lives of the pioneer saints, Patrick and Columba, are full of contests between themselves and the royal magicians, who are called in the Gaelic *Druid* and in the Latin versions *Magi*. But in all the numerous references to them in Irish chronicles and tales there is no hint given of Druidism being either a system of philosophy or religion: the Druids of Irish story are mere magicians and diviners, sometimes only conjurors. But as such—as magicians—the Druids play a most important part in Irish pagan history, as chronicled by the long posterior Christian writers. From the primæval landing of Partholan with his three Druids, to the days of Columba, we have themselves and the bards exercising magic and divining powers. The second fabled settlers of Ireland, the Nemedians, meet the invading Fomorians with magic spells; but the fairy host of the Tuatha De Dannan are *par excellence* the masters of Druidic art. Their power over the forces of Nature—over sea, wind, and storms—shows them plainly to be only degraded gods, who allow the sons of Miled to land after showing them their power and sovereignty as deities over the island. The kings and chiefs had Druids about them to interpret omens and to work spells; but there is no reference to these Druids being a priestly class, and their power was limited to the functions of mere divination and sorcery. Two of the most famous Druids were Cathbadh, Druid of Conchobar Mac Nessa, the instructor of Cuchulain, who, among many other things, foretells the fate of Deirdre and the sons of Uisnach, even before Deirdre was born; and Mogh Ruith of Munster, who single-handed opposed Cor-

mac and his Druids, and drove them by his magic fire and storm-spells out of Munster. The Druids of King Loegaire oppose St Patrick with their magic arts; one of them causes snow to fall so thickly that men soon find themselves neck-deep in it, and at another time he brings over the land an Egyptian darkness that might be felt. But the saint defeats them, even on their own ground, much as Moses defeats the Egyptian magicians. St Columba, in Adamnan's life of him, is similarly represented as overcoming the spells of the Northern Druids. Broichan, Druid to King Brude, caused such a storm and darkness on Loch-Ness that the navigation appeared impossible, until the saint gave orders that the sails should be unfurled and a start made. Then everything became calm and settled. We are also told in many instances how the Druids worked these spells. A wisp of hay, over which an incantation was made, when cast on a person, caused idiocy and deformity. The Druidic wand plays an important part, a blow from it causing transformations and spells. It must be remarked, too, that the wood used for wands and Druidic rites and fires was not the oak at all, as in Gaul: sacred wood among the Irish Druids would appear to have been the yew, hawthorn, and, more especially, the rowan tree. Divination was an important feature of Druidic accomplishments, and there were various forms of it. Pure Druidic divination sometimes consisted in watching the Druidic fire—how the smoke and flame went. Sometimes the Druid would chew a bit of raw flesh with incantation or "oration" and an invocation to the gods, and then generally the future was revealed to him. Sometimes, if this failed, he had to place his two hands upon his two cheeks and fall into a divine sleep, a method known as "illumination by the palms of the hands." Fionn used to chew his thumb when he wanted any supernatural knowledge. The bards, too, were diviners at times, a fact that would appear to show their ancient connection with the Druids. The bardic divination is known as "illumination by rhymes," when the bard in an ecstatic state pours forth a flood of poetry, at the end of which he brings out the particular fact that is required to be known. Connected with this is the power of poetic satire. If a man refused a gift, the bard could satirise him in such a way that personal injury would result, such as blisters and deformities.

Irish Druidism consists, therefore, merely of magic and divination; it is not a philosophy, nor a religion, nor a system. It is quite true that we have, at least, an echo now and then of the time when Druidism in Ireland and Scotland was something different, and when even human sacrifices were offered. Columba, in commencing the building of his church at Iona, addressed his followers in words which clearly point to human sacrifice. "It is good for us," says he, "that our roots should go under the earth here; it is permitted that one of you should go under the clay of this island to hallow it." The story goes on to say that Odran arose readily, and spoke thus: "If thou shouldst take me, I am ready for that." Columba readily accepted his offer, and "then Odran went to heaven, and Columba founded the church of Hi." It is said that a human being was slain at the foundation of Emain, the mythic capital of Ulster; and in Nennius we have a remarkable story told of King Vortigern. He was trying to build a castle on Snowdon, but somehow, though he gathered ever so much material, every time it was "spirited" away during the night. He sought counsel from his "magi" (the Irish translation calls them Druids), and they told him that he must find a child born without a father, and must put him to death, and sprinkle with his blood the ground where the castle was to stand. Nor is tradition of the present time silent on this matter. It is said that Tigh-a-chnuic, Kilcoy, in the Black Isle, had its foundation consecrated by the slaughter of a stranger who chanced to be passing when the house was to be built, but unfortunately his ghost used to haunt the house until he was able to disburden his woes to somebody, and he then disappeared.

The sum and result of our inquiry into Druidism may be given in the words of Professor Rhys:—"At the time of Cæsar's invasions, they were a powerful class of men, monopolizing the influence of soothsayers, magicians, and priests. But in Gaul, under the faint rays of the civilization of Marseilles and other Mediterranean centres, they seem to have added to their other characters that of philosophers, discoursing to the youths, whose education was entrusted to them, on the stars and their movements, on the world and its countries, on the nature of things, and the power of the gods." Whether the doctrine of the transmigration of souls was really of native origin or borrowed from

the Greeks, must remain an open question. Some think it unlikely that the central doctrine of Druidism should have been derived so late in the history of the nation, or derived at all, from a foreign source, and they appeal to the fact that Britain was the home of Druidism, a country which could have had little intercourse with Marseilles. But in connection with this idea of its British origin, it must be remembered that at a certain stage of culture, nations are apt to consider their neighbours, provided they are in a lower stage of civilization, much more religious than themselves. The Romans always believed the Etrurians to be more versed in religious matters than themselves. So, too, the Gauls probably looked on British Druidism, with its "pristine grimness" of practices, as the source of their own, while in reality their own was doubtless an independent but more enlightened development. Professor Rhys considers Druidism to be of a non-Aryan character, and calls it the religion of the pre-Celtic tribes, from the Baltic to Gibraltar. Now, in what we have left us recorded of Druidism there is absolutely nothing that can be pointed to as non-Aryan. The strong priestly caste presented to us in Cæsar, as divided off from the nobles and the commons, can be somewhat paralleled in the Hinduism of India with its rigidly priestly caste of Brahmans, who monopolised all religious rites. And Brahmanism is an Aryan religion. Among the Gauls, from the superstitious cast of their minds, a priestly class was sure to rise to a position of supreme power. Their human sacrifices can be matched, in some degree, by actual instances of such, and by rites which pointed to them as previously existent, among other Aryan nations, including those of Greece and Rome; only here, as before, the impressionable and superstitious character of the Gauls drove them to greater excesses. The doctrine of the transmigration of the soul is a tenet of both Brahmans and Buddhists, of Aryan India, and it found its classical development in the views of the Greek Pythagoras. The position and fame of the Druids as magicians is, as Pliny points out, of the same nature as those of the Magi of Aryan Persia. Some again think it absurd that if the Druids were such philosophers, as they are represented to have been, they would be so superstitious as to practise human sacrifices, and other wild rites. But there is no incongruity in at once being philosophic and superstitious;

the human mind is very hospitable in its entertainment of quite opposite opinions, especially in moral and religious matters; for there is a wide difference between theories of the intellect and practices prompted by the emotions.

Celtic Religion in Britain and Ireland.

In tracing the history of Celtic religion, we have established that the religion of the Gauls fully represents the pagan religion of both the great branches of the Celtic race — the Brythonic (Gauls and Welsh) and the Goidelic (Gaelic races). From Cæsar's account of the religion of the Gauls to the first native notices of even the history of Celtic Britain and Ireland, there is practically a period of a thousand years. During the interval, Christianity had established its sway, nominally at least, over the whole land, and paganism was for centuries a thing of the past. It may, however, be remarked that one or two Latin ecclesiastical histories appeared in the eighth century—notably the works of Adamnan and Bede, but we in vain scan the pages left us of their works for any definite information as to the previous religion. Gildas, a century before either of these writers, makes only a passing reference to the old faith. "I shall not," says he, "enumerate those diabolical idols of my country, which almost surpassed in number those of Egypt, and of which we still see [circ. A.D. 560] some mouldering away within or without the deserted temples, with stiff and deformed features as was customary. Nor will I call out upon the mountains, fountains, or hills, or upon the rivers, which now are subservient to the use of men, but once were an abomination and destruction to them, and to which the blind people paid divine honour." Our knowledge of the local development of Celtic religion in Britain and Ireland cannot be obtained directly from contemporary history: we have, it is true, some British inscriptions of the Roman period, which give, mid a host of minor and local deities, one or two important gods. But our information must be drawn, nearly all, from the heroic poems and tales, which do not date much earlier than a thousand years ago; and most are far later than this period. For information as to the ritual of the old religion, local customs and superstitions—Beltaine bannocks and Samhuinn fires—form our only guides.

It will also be necessary to discuss separately the remains of the religion of the early Welsh and the early Gaels. The religion of the former we shall name "British," of the latter, "Gaelic." And it must be remembered that the Welsh are doubtless the remnant of the Gaulish population which, about the time of the Roman conquest, must have occupied England (except Cornwall and Wales) and Lowland Scotland. Gaul and England had, therefore, practically the same people and language in the first century of this era, and there now remain of them still speaking the language, the Bretons of France and the Welsh of Wales, from which country they drove out or absorbed the previous Gaelic population in the fifth century of our era, or thereabouts. The "Gaelic Religion" will include the early religion of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland.

British Religion.

The gods of Britain suffered what appears to have been the "common lot" of gods; they were changed into the kings and champions, the giants and enchanters, of heroic tales and folk-lore. In the words of the poet:—

> "Ye are gods, and behold, ye shall die, and the waves be upon you at last.
> In the darkness of time, in the deeps of the years, in the changes of things,
> Ye shall sleep as a slain man sleeps, and the world shall forget you for kings."

The great deity, "Belinus," appears in the pages of Geoffrey, of Monmouth, as a mere mortal conqueror. In company with his brother, Brennius or "Bran," he marched to the siege of Rome, when "Gabius and Porsena" were consuls! Gargantua appears twice as a British King, under the title of Gurgiunt. Camulus, the war-god, who gave his name to Camulodunum, now *Col*-chester, is presented as Coel Hen, "Old King Coul" of the song, who gave his name to the Ayrshire district of Kyle. The god, "Nodens," is the Nudd of Welsh, and King Nuada, of Irish story; and Lir, the sea-god, is immortalised in the pages of Shakespeare as an old British king. Some of the gods fight under Arthur's banner, and perish on the battlefield of Camlan, along with him. There is, consequently, a considerable amount of confusion in the Welsh tales, which does not appear in the more consistent tales of Ireland. Probably, there were kings of the names of Beli, Coel, Urien, and Arthur, and there certainly were

kings and chiefs, of the names of Brennus, Cassibelaunus, and Caractacus, but their history is irretrievably mixed up with that of deities and demigods, possessed of similar names. Thus, Bran the Blessed, is a son of Lir, a personage of such gigantic proportions that no house could hold him, and evidently a degraded god, possibly a war-god. He next appears as father of Caradoc for whom he is sent as hostage to Rome, when the latter is conquered by Claudius. In Rome he is converted to Christianity, which he introduced into Britain, and hence his name of "Bran the Blessed." And again he is brother of Belinus, and the same as the Brennus of the Roman historians, who sacked Rome in B.C. 390. It is, therefore, a matter of great difficulty to take either history or myth out of the confusion in Welsh poetry and tradition, caused by a little knowledge of classical and Biblical history, a history which is interwoven with native myths and facts.

The inscriptions of Roman times show that the religious condition of Britain then differed in no respect from that of Gaul. The local deities were assimilated to the corresponding deities of Rome, and we have in Britain combinations like those met with in Gaul : the Roman deity has the corresponding British name attached to him on the votive inscription by way of epithet. Thus, at Bath, altars are dedicated to Sul-Minerva, Sul being a goddess unknown elsewhere. On the Roman wall, between the Forth and Clyde, the name of Mars-Camulus appears on the inscriptions, among many others to the "genii" of the places, the spirits of "the mountain and the flood," and to "Sancta Britannia" and "Brigantia," the goddesses of Britain and the land of the Brigantes respectively. The most interesting inscriptions were those found in the temple of a god discovered at Lydney Park, in Gloucestershire, One inscription bears to be to the "great god Nodon," which proves the temple to have been dedicated to the worship of Nodon, a god of the deep sea, figured on a bronze plaque as a Triton or Neptune borne by sea-horses and surrounded by a laughing crowd of Nereids. This deity is identified with the legendary Nudd, known in Welsh fiction only as the father of famous sons and in Irish story as King Nuada of the Silver Hand, who fought the two battles of Moytura, and fell in the second before "Balor of the Evil Eye," the King of the Fomorians.

Passing, however, to the Welsh legends and myths preserved in the "Ancient Books of Wales" and in the prose "Mabinogion," we can easily eliminate three principal families of deities, the children of "Don," of "Nudd," and of "Lir." Of these the first are purely Welsh, the second—the children of Nudd—have Irish equivalents both in name and office, while the children of Lir belong equally to both nations. The family of Don is evidently connected with the sky and its changes. He has given his name in Welsh to the constellation of Cassiopeia, called Llys Don, the court of Don. The milky way is named after his son, Gwydion, Caer Gwydion, the city of Gwydion; and his daughter Arianrhod, "silver-circled," inhabits the bright circle of stars which is called the Northern Crown. With the name Don may be compared that of the father of the Irish hero Diarmat, son of Donn. Gwydion is the greatest of enchanters—a prince of the powers of air. He can change the forms of trees, men, and animals, and along with "Math, the son of Mathonwy," his master, styled by Professor Rhys, the Cambrian Pluto, though rather a god of air than earth, he forms a woman out of flowers. "They took the blossoms of the oak, and the blossoms of the broom, and the blossoms of the meadow-sweet, and produced from them a maiden, the fairest and most graceful that man ever saw." Amaethon, the son of Don, is a husbandman—doubtless a god of weather and crops. He has a fight with Arawn, king of Annwn, or Hell, for a white roebuck and a whelp, which he had carried off from the realms of darkness. The battle is known as the "battle of the trees," and in it Gwydion, by his divinations, won the victory for his brother, for he guessed the name of the person in the ranks of his opponents, which had to be guessed before either side won.

Nudd, like Don, is eclipsed by his family. He appears to have been god of the deep and its treasures. His son Gwynn, known always as Gwynn ap Nudd, is the Welsh king of the Fairies in the widest sense of the word. It would appear that Gwynn is no less a person than the god of the next world for human beings. He answers, therefore, to the king of "Tir-nan-og," "Land of Youth" of the Irish legends, and "Tir-fo-Thuinn" of the Gaelic stories—the land below the waves. The son of the deep-sea god is naturally enough made lord over the happy realm

under the waves of the West. Christian bias, however, gave Gwynn a more sinister position. We are told that God placed him over the brood of devils in Annwn, lest they should destroy the present race. A Saint of the name of Collen one day heard two men conversing about Gwynn ap Nudd, and saying that he was King of Annwn and the Fairies. "Hold your tongue quickly," says Collen, "these are but devils." "Hold thou thy tongue," said they, "thou shalt receive a reproof from him." And sure enough the Saint was summoned to the palace of Gwynn on a neighbouring hill top, where he was kindly received, and bid sit down to a sumptuous repast. "I will not eat the leaves of the trees," said Collen ; for he saw through the enchantments of Gwynn, and, by the use of some holy water, caused Gwynn and his castle to disappear in the twinkling of an eye. The story is interesting, as showing how the early missionaries dealt with the native gods. Gwynn, according to St Collen, is merely a demon. His connection with the lower world is brought out by his fight with Gwythyr, the son of Greidwal, for Cordelia, the daughter of Lir or Lud. She is represented as a splendid maiden, daughter of the sea-god Lir, "a blossom of flowering seas," at once a Venus and a Proserpine, goddess of the summer flowers, for whom there is a fight between the powers of the worlds above and below the earth respectively. Peace was made between these two deities on these conditions : "that the maiden should remain in her father's house, without advantage to either of them, and that Gwynn ap Nudd, and Gwythyr, the son of Greidwal, should fight for her every first of May, from thenceforth till the day of doom, and that whichever of them should be conqueror then, should have the maiden."

THE CROFTER ROYAL COMMISSION has completed the taking of evidence throughout the Highlands, finishing up in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Whatever may be the outcome of its labours, so far as the Report and proceedings thereon in Parliament are concerned, the Commission has already done unspeakable good, by exposing the evils of Highland estate management to the world. The Report will be looked forward to with great interest, but whatever it may recommend, public opinion will assuredly force a very great and early change in the relationship between landlord and tenant in the Highlands, to the advantage of both.

"PEERMEN" AND THEIR RELATIONS.

I THINK it may be useful to follow up Mr Linn's delightful paper with the little knowledge I possess on this head. I have a right to speak on the subject, seeing that in my very early life—when about six years of age—I acted the "Peerman" often when living at my grandfather's house in Corriebeag. I have held the fir torch in the byre when the servant was milking the cows, and I have accompanied her to the river, holding it when she went for her stoupfuls of water. At the slack time of the year the men of each household went to dig the roots of the fir trees out of the bogs, and they were placed uncut to dry, on what was called a "farradh." When winter came and lights were required, stock after stock was taken down and cut into neat, small candles, and if there was a very knotty stock it was called "stoc suiridhich," and carefully laid aside, to be given to some young man when his patience as a husband was to be tested, by the calmness he manifested over this very trying and difficult ordeal. A "leus," or torch of fir, was a sure protection against ghosts or evil spirits.

When, at that time I referred to, I lived at Corriebeag, Locheil-side, the nearest house to us was occupied by a woman who was considerably above a hundred years old. She had all her faculties and the force of a young woman until within three days of her death.

She was not an amiable woman, her temper was something awful, and she could improvise and compose verses of the most sarcastic and scurillous sort up to the last day of her life. When the centenary of Prince Charles Stuart's raising his standard at Glenfinnan was held at that historic spot, the ladies and gentlemen driving past little dreamed that in a little hut by the roadside a withered old crone lived who actually remembered the gathering they commemorated, and who had seen Bonnie Prince Charlie at the head of his men. This old woman's grandson and his wife lived with her, and when the great-grandchildren were born she was sorely exercised on their account, in case the fairies might steal them, and among the other spells used by her to save her descendants from so sad a fate, she charred a piece of fir in

the fire, and made the sign of the cross with it daily on the infant. At the Dark Mile near Loch-Arkaig there are two hillocks, called respectively Tor-a-Mhuilt and Tor-a-Chrònain. The low wailing sounds heard there—the sobbing of the winds, the rustling of the leaves, the wimpling of brooks, and the waving of the branches of the trees, made the poetic and imaginative people of the country think they were hearing the dead holding converse in low whispering tones with one another.

They put it thus in a saying that has been handed down—

"Tor-a-Mhuilt is Tor-a-Chrònain,
Far am bi 'na mairbh a comhradh."

The road leads between these low hills, and one night when a man was passing there, carrying the head of an enemy he had slain, a voice came to him alternately from each hill, saying "Fag an ceann," "Leave the head;" to which request he each time replied, "Cha'n fhag mi 'n ceann," "I will not leave the head.' At length the cry from each hill was "Mur bhi' dhomhsa an leus giubhais tha os do chionn dh'fhagadh tu dà cheann," "If it were not for the fir torch you hold above you, you would leave two heads." That meant, of course, that he would leave his own head as well as the other. But he had taken the precaution of having a fir torch to light him on his way, as well as to protect him from harm, and his faith had its reward.

I have seen the bark of the birch used for light. They did not go to the wood to seek it for that purpose, but if a birch tree was being used, the bark was retained for light, along with the fir, or alone. The bits were dipped in grease or oil, each being called "beileag."

The Gaelic name for the "roughy," or "ruffy," is "buaichd," and I have often seen one made to give light during supper and the reading of the chapter; it was, of course, blown out when all knelt in prayer. Another improvised light of this sort is the "coinneal ghlas." The grease is placed in a piece of old white cotton, and rolled into the shape of a candle. It gives a splendid light, but does not last long. I heard the following anecdote told about the "coinneal ghlas," or "grey candle:"—Some Englishmen were passing the night at King's House, in the Black Mount, and were complaining bitterly of the miserable light afforded them by one lean, sputtering tallow candle, when a

Highlander joined them. He, too, said he thought they were badly used in being supplied by this light, that only made the darkness visible, and on going out for a moment, he asked the landlady to make six large candles of the "coinneal ghlas" kind, and bring them to him all lighted when he called for them. He returned to the Englishmen; and, by-and-bye, they rose to go to bed, and the Highlander said he had to sit up late, having some writing to do; and added—"I must get better light." "If you can," said one of the strangers, with a sneer. The Highlander forthwith ordered in "six candles with the wicks on the outside." "Candles with the wicks on the outside," echoed all the Englishmen simultaneously in great surprise, and when they saw the blaze that surrounded the Highlander with those candles on his table, they went off to bed muttering something worse than "Well, I never." They did not know that the candles were blown out the moment after they left the room, nor how short a time they would last, even if they were left lighted.

The lowest form of artificial light in the Highlands was the following:—When the fire was getting spent, two or three fresh peats were put on, and when the side next the fire of those got charred, the cry "Tiondaidh foid," "Turn a peat," was given to the person most conveniently situated for that performance. Even that was better than the contentment with total darkness that existed in some districts. I have heard it said that in Blarmacfaoildeach, in Lochaber, when supper was ready, that the goodwife of the house used to go about groping for a hand, saying "Fair do lamh;" and having found the searched-for member, she placed a bowl in it, saying "So do shuipeir." Verily, it might be said of each one who partook of that meal, "Great is thy faith."

It is interesting to know that it was cannel coal that Robert Burns used, and that by its light he wrote the greater number of his poems. The iron with which he used to break off the charred parts, in order to get a fresh blaze, was long in the possession of an old lady who is a personal friend of mine. She spent some years of her girlhood with Bonnie Jean, as companion to the poet's grand-daughter Sarah, and she gave this interesting bit of iron to some museum—I think in Jedburgh.

MARY MACKELLAR.

ORAN CEILIDH.

LE MAIRI NIC-EALAIR.

O seid a suas, a phiop nam buadh,
'S gu'n toir sinn cuairt air dannsa,
Oir ged tha fuachd a' gheamhraidh cruaidh.
Gu'm faigh sinn duais 'san t-samhradh.

O cairich mòine, a bhean chòir,
Air cagailt mhoir gun ghainntir,
'S bidh 'chuideachd òg a' toirt le deoin
Duinn orain a bhios seannsail.

Gheibh sinn sgeul, air laoich na Feinn',
'S mu dhaoine treun ar seorsa,
'Ni 'sinn le cheile lan do dh-eud,
'Sa ni air euchd sinn deonach.

Is gabhar leinn ar n' orain bhinn,
Is cha bhi sinn fo anntlachd,
'S mur cheileir seinn aig eoin a' ghlinn',
Bidh 'ribhead ghrinn a' channtair.

'S ged nach 'eil flùr, air gleann no stùc,
'S na h-eoin gun dùrd 's na cranntan,
Is glasan ùr gu daingean, dlù,
A' ceangal lùb gach alltain.

Ged a thà gach gleann co fàs,
Is sneachda bàn air beanntan,
Thig fraoch fo bhlàth, is coill fo bharr,
A nuair thig blàths na Bealltuin.

'S bidh eoin nan geug le coireal reidh,
'Cur sùrd air seisdean bainnse,
'S bidh torman ciuin le 'orain ùr',
Aig sruthain dhlù nan ailtan.

O biomaid aoibhneach, cridheil, caoimhneil,
Fad na h-oidhche gheamhraidh.
Gun ghò, gun fhoill, mar eoin na coill,
A' feitheamh soills' an t-samhraidh.

Cuir tuille mòine, a bhean chòir,
Air cagailt mhoir gun ghainntir,
Is bidh 'sinn comhla làn do shòlas,
'S ni sinn ceol is dannsa.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XI.

SIR EWEN CAMERON—*Continued.*—REMARKABLE INCIDENTS IN HIS EARLY CAREER.

LOCHIEL having disposed of the enemy at the battle of Achadalew, as described in our last, proceeded to count the number of his opponents slain, and found not less than one hundred and thirty-eight lying dead on the scene of the conflict, not a soul having escaped except the Irishman already mentioned, and another who subsequently became Lochiel's cook, and acted most loyally as his servant ever after. Lochiel having lodged the night after the battle in the house of a woman on Lochiel-side, whose son was among the few slain of Sir Ewen's followers, took his prisoner along with him, when the woman, taking into her head that the stranger, who accompanied Lochiel, was the man who had killed her handsome and brave son, immediately attacked him, and would have strangled him had not Sir Ewen interposed, separating them, and sending his prisoner, under guard, to another house for the night. He found him ever after most zealous and trustworthy, ready to do anything his master required of him, often at the risk of his own life. The author of the *Memoirs*

relates two stories which well illustrates the difference between the ideas and tempers of the two classes of men—the Highlanders and their English enemies. The courage of the Southrons, he says, was merely mechanical, flowing from discipline and habit, and serving simply for their bread, while that of the Highlanders, was "from the notions they have of honour and loyalty, and of the services which they think they owe to their Chief, as the root of the family, and the common father and protector of the name. As this has something of greatness and generosity in the principle, so the actions flowing from it participate of the same spirit. Of this we have already had an illustrious example [in the case of Lochiel's foster-brother]; and, indeed, the almost unparalelled bravery of the Camerons, during the terrible and extraordinary skirmish described, exemplify the same in a number of persons. Nor did it less appear in the generous emulation that inspirited them to exert the utmost efforts of their strength and courage before their young Chief. One of them having shot an arrow at too great a distance, and Lochiel observing that it did not pierce deep enough to kill the man, cried out that 'it came from a weak arm,' at which the Highlander thought himself so much offended that, despising all danger, he rushed among the thick of the enemy, and recovering his own arrow, plunged it into the man's body to the feathers. This action would have cost him his life if Lochiel had not quickly detached a party to his relief." The character of the English soldiery our author illustrates thus:—"After their defeat, being hard put to it by the pursuing enemy, they plunged into the sea in hopes of recovering their ships. One of them, observing that a piece of beef and some small biscuits had dropped out of his pockets by the floating of the laps of his coat, he, preferring the recovery of his provisions to the safety of his life, fell a-fishing for them, and had his head divided into two parts by the blow of a broadsword as he was putting the first morsel of it into his mouth." Not one of them, however, called for quarter, and in the confusion of retreat not one parted with his arms, but with his life. "They were pitied more than blamed. They did all that men could do in the circumstances they were in. Not a single man of them betrayed the least cowardice, but fought it out with invincible obstinacy while any of them remained to make opposition, and their frequent attempts

on the Chief's life, even after quarters were offered, show that their fortitude and courage remained so firm to the last, that they disdained to be survivors of a defeat which they looked upon as shameful and ignominious. In short, they were not conquered, but destroyed." This proves that the Highlanders had a very sturdy enemy to deal with, apart altogether from the great inequality of numbers they had to contend against.

Colonel Bryan, Governor of Inverlochy Castle, was quite oblivious of what was taking place within some three miles of his garrison, until a few of the workmen, who had fled from Achadalew, when the fight commenced, had reached the Castle; but before the garrison could turn out the Irishman, already referred to arrived, and informed the Colonel that the whole of his party had been cut to pieces. The men in the other ship—which during the engagement had been on the opposite shore, a little westward of Achadalew—discovered that their friends had been engaged with the Camerons, and they thereupon sailed in the direction of the scene of carnage, but did not go ashore until Lochiel had retired with his men, when the English landed "and beheld the dismal fate of their countrymen, whose bodies they put on board the other empty vessel, which they hauled along with them to Inverlochy." On their arrival they were met by the Governor and his officers, whose astonishment, upon seeing the dead bodies exposed, was inexpressible. Our author informs us that "the deep wounds and terrible slashes that appeared on these mangled carcases seemed to be above the strength of man. Some had their heads cut down a good way into the neck; others had them divided across by the mouth and nose; many, who were struck upon the collar-bone, showed an orifice or gash much wider than that made by the blow of the heaviest hatchet; and often the shearing blade, where the blow was full, and met with no extraordinary obstruction, penetrated so deep as to discover part of the entrails. There were some that had their bellies laid open, and others with their arms, thighs, and legs lopped off in an amazing manner. Several bayonets were cut quite through, and muskets were pierced deeper than can be well imagined. The Governor and many of his officers had formerly occasion to see the Highlanders of several clans and countries, but they appeared to be no extraordinary men, neither in size nor strength. The

Camerons they had observed to be of a piece with the rest, and they wondered where Lochiel could find a sufficient body of men of strength and brawn to give such an odd variety of surprising wounds. But they did not know that there was as much art as strength in fetching these strokes, for, where a Highlander lays it on full, he draws it with great address the whole length of the blade, whereas an unskilful person takes in no more of it than the breadth of the place where he hits. He is likewise taught to wound with the point, or to fetch a back-stroke as occasion offers, and as in all these he knows how to exert his whole vigour and strength, so his blade is of such excellent temper and form as to answer all his purposes." This is how the terrible nature of the wounds were accounted for. When the actual facts regarding this sanguinary conflict became known, the conduct of the Highlanders became the subject of admiration throughout the whole kingdom. "Lochiel was by all parties extolled to the skies as a young hero of boundless courage and extraordinary conduct. His presence of mind in delivering himself from his terrible English antagonist, who had so much the advantage of him in everything but vigour and courage, by biting out his throat, was in every person's mouth." The devoted self-sacrifice of his young foster-brother, to save the life of his Chief, was also the theme of admiration and astonishment among those unacquainted with the affection and devotion of the Highlanders to their chiefs, especially in the case of a foster-brother.

Mrs Mary Mackellar, so well acquainted with the history and traditions of her native district of Lochaber, relates the following curious incident:—Sir Ewen used to say that the only time he ever felt the sensation of fear was in connection with the incident of biting out the Englishman's throat in the ditch at Achadalew. When at Court in London, many years after this, he went into a barber's shop to have his hair and beard dressed, and when the razor was at his throat the chatty barber observed—"You are from the North, sir." "Yes," said Sir Ewen, "I am; do *you* know people from the North?" "No," replied the irate barber, "nor do I wish to; they are savages there. Would you believe it, sir; one of them tore the throat out of my father with his teeth, and I only wish I had the fellow's throat as near me as I have yours just now." Sir Ewen's feelings may be more easily

imagined than described as he heard these words and felt the edge of the steel gliding over the part so particularly threatened. He never after entered a barber's shop.*

Almost immediately after the Achadalew affair, Lochiel resolved to join General Middleton, requesting those of his people who lived near Inverlochy to make peace with the Governor, who demanded no other terms than that they should live peaceably towards himself and his garrison. This agreement was soon arranged, and the people thereby secured from ruin during their leader's absence from the district. The Governor was put off his guard, and he began to send out parties for wood and other materials to strengthen his fortifications. Lochiel, however, was kept well informed of what was being done, and, returning to the district, he, one day, posted himself with a body of his most resolute followers, less than half-a-mile to the westward of the stronghold. He was not long here, when, the same morning, a body of two hundred men were sent out from the garrison in Lochiel's direction. On observing them he detached twenty of his men to a secret place to their rear—between them and the garrison—with orders to rush out and meet them in case they should retreat, as they naturally would, in that direction, after they were attacked in front by the Camerons. They marched in good order to the village of Achintore, when Sir Ewen and his band furiously rushed forward, scattering them in all directions; for the memory of Achadalew was enough to strike terror into their hearts, when they were so suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by a force the strength of which they could not know. The men in ambush rushed out to meet the flying enemy, gave them a full charge of their firelocks in front, and then charged them with their broadswords, killing at least half their number. The remainder who escaped were pursued to the very walls of the fort, while many of them were taken prisoners and distributed among such of the Camerons as lived a considerable distance from the Castle.

Lochiel with his devoted and gallant band then returned northwards, and found General Middleton, by whom they were received with great demonstrations of delight and triumph. Nothing of importance took place for a considerable time after

* "Guide to Fort-William, Glencoe, and Lochaber," p. 54.

this. Lochiel was, however, constantly in action, daily becoming a greater terror to the enemy. Middleton was anxious to force on a battle, but his principal officers openly opposed him, and ultimately his army almost melted away.

Meanwhile Lochiel received intimation that the Governor of Inverlochy was taking advantage of his absence, and, for the purpose of providing the garrison with an ample supply of fuel for the incoming winter, was cutting down a considerable portion of the Lochaber woods. Annoyed at these proceedings Sir Ewen asked and received permission from General Middleton to return home with about a hundred and fifty of his men, leaving the main body of his followers at head-quarters, to avenge the conduct of the Governor in stealing his wood. He started at night, marching by unfrequented paths through the mountains, and soon arrived in the neighbourhood of the English garrison without his movements having been discovered by the enemy, and he was soon informed by his friends of circumstances which enabled him successfully to execute his designs of revenge without any delay.

The woods on which the English were employed were on the shoulder of Ben Nevis, about a mile eastward from the garrison. Lochiel marched to this place, called Strone-Nevis, early next morning after his arrival, posted his men, and gave them the necessary instructions. He kept sixty of them under his own immediate command, placed in a tuft of wood at a point opposite where the soldiers sent out from the garrison, with the hewers of the wood, always took up their position. Two other bodies of thirty men each he told off to his right and left, respectively, in places where they were completely concealed, commanding them to rush forth as soon as they heard the concerted signal, which was to be a great shout of "Advance, Advance!" as if the wood was full of men. The remainder of his men took up their position in a pass between the wood and the garrison, where they were to lay in ambush, and not to move unless they saw that the enemy were making a strong resistance when attacked by the Highlanders in front; but if they noticed them running away they were to rush forward to meet them and place them between two fires, give them a volley in front, and then attack them with their swords, killing as many of them as they could, but giving quarter to any who threw down their arms.

About four hundred of the English marched forth from the garrison, and took their usual position, quite innocent of the danger which immediately awaited them. Everything turned out as Lochiel anticipated, and a general slaughter at once ensued. The Highlanders, issuing forth from their places of concealment, made a great noise, which was loudly echoed by the surrounding mountains. This, accompanied by the simultaneous sounds of a great number of bagpipes, frightened the enemy so much that they made no resistance; for they thought themselves surrounded by large bodies of Highlanders pouring in upon them from all sides, and they resolved that the best way to save themselves was by flying at their highest speed. More than a hundred of the English were killed on the spot, and the remainder, having been attacked by those lying in ambush, between them and the garrison, a second slaughter at that point was the result. Not more than a third of the four hundred men escaped; and these were pursued to the very walls of the fort, all in such a short time that it was matter of history before the Governor actually knew that his men had even been attacked. Not a single English officer escaped, the reason being that they were the only persons who had the courage to offer any resistance to the Highlanders. Among them was a great favourite of the Governor, who became so exasperated at the loss of his friend and that of his men that he was furious with rage, and swore immediate revenge upon Lochiel and his clan.

For this purpose he next morning ordered out his whole garrison, consisting of about fifteen hundred men. Lochiel had, as usual, timely notice of his movements, and, betaking himself to stronger and higher ground, kept in view of the enemy, as he himself marched round the mountains with pipes playing and colours flying. He tried to induce the English commander to follow him and so get entangled in the woods or in the narrow paths and other obstructions abounding in the neighbourhood, where Lochiel could successfully attack, but the Governor was too wary. After traversing many difficult and rugged paths he returned, and by the help of good guides, found his way to the garrison, with all his men, but heartily fatigued and disgusted with his fruitless expedition. The Camerons, who closely followed, repeatedly insulted them, and whenever the nature of

the ground favoured them, and they came inconveniently near, they invited them to "advance," for their Chief was there ready to receive their Governor, if he wished to speak to him ; and such other tantalising and insulting remarks.

The name of the young Chief had now become such a terror that the men of the garrison were careful to give him as few opportunities as possible of annoying them, though he occasionally managed to capture or kill small parties of them. Many amusing and curious adventures, in which he took the leading part, are still the talk of the district, and the following, recorded by his biographer, is worth giving :—"A good part of the revenue of his estate being paid in cattle, and commonly sold to drovers, who disposed of them to others in Lowland markets, he employed a subtle fellow, who haunted the garrison, to whisper it adroitly among the soldiers, that a drove belonging to him was on a certain day to pass that way, and that, Lochiel himself being now returned to General Middleton, it might easily be made a prize of. The fellow managed it so that it came to the Governor's ears, who gave private orders to seize the cattle. Against the day prefixed, Lochiel ordered some cows with their calves to be driven with seeming caution and privacy to a place at a proper distance from Inverlochy ; but before they came there the calves were taken from their mothers, and driven separately a short way before them, though always in their sight. This, as it gave from a distance the appearance of two droves, occasioned a reciprocal lowing and bellowing, which, being reverberated by the adjacent hills and rocks, made a very great noise. The soldiers were quickly alarmed, and ran, without observing much order, as to a certain prey ; but Lochiel, who lurked with his party in a bush of wood near by, rushing suddenly upon them, with loud cries, had the killing of them all the way to the garrison." The Governor became so enraged at the frequent tricks played upon himself and upon his men by Lochiel that he set such a close watch on him that he narrowly escaped being killed or captured on repeated occasions soon after. A few of these hairbreadth escapes, and how he finally arranged favourable and highly honourable terms with the Governor of Inverlochy, will be detailed in our next.

(To be continued.)

A TALE OF THE STRATHNAVER CLEARANCES.

My great-grandfather, Roderick Mackay, rented the fertile farm of Mudale, at the head of Strathnaver. It was a beautiful spot by the side of the river, and the home was endeared to my ancestor by its being the place where his father and father's fathers had lived and died for generations. The house was comfortable and substantial, and it was famed far and near for its hospitality; no stranger having ever been turned from its door without having his wants supplied. Nor did this kindness overtax them, for they had food in abundance. They had flocks and herds, and lived in ease and comfort.

It used to be told of him that, instead of a regular stock-taking, he once a year gathered his sheep, cattle, and horses into a curve of the river, and, if the place was anything well filled, he was content that he had about the usual number, and did not trouble about figures. He went with his surplus stock occasionally to the southern markets, and was entrusted with buying and selling for his neighbours as well—not on the "commission agent" system of the present day, but as an act of goodwill and friendship.

My great-grandmother was a "help-meet" in all things to her husband. They had one son and two daughters, the youngest of whom was my grandmother. They were honest, God-fearing people, loved and respected by all who knew them, and leading a life of peace and contentment, expecting to end their lives among their friends, in their dear home, as their forefathers had done. A small cloud, not bigger than a man's hand, was hanging, alas! over Strathnaver. Practical men from other lands were scouring hill and dale, and casting covetous eyes upon the beautiful and fertile valley, while accepting the hospitality of the noble people whose destruction they were planning. The small cloud spread with frightful rapidity, and a storm burst over Strathnaver that laid happy homes in ruins, extinguishing the light of joy for evermore in hundreds of human hearts. My great-grandfather, being a rather extensive landholder, was the first to suffer, and his death-warrant could not have caused him

greater dismay than the notice to quit his home. His flocks were scattered, and had to be sold for whatever they could realise. His house—the home of his ancestors—was burned before his eyes. His effects were turned out to the roadside, and his wife and family left without shelter. By permission of the incoming tenant they were allowed to take possession of a small sheep-cot near their former happy home. My great-grandmother, a brave woman, did all she could to cheer her husband in his sorrow, and the son strove to save all he could from the wreck, but the old man would not be comforted. He went about in a dazed condition, which was most pitiful. He would neither eat nor drink, and continually asked if they thought he would get leave to be buried in Mudale, beside his people. Nothing could rally him, and in a short time he died. His wife then broke down completely, and did not survive him long. They both died in that small sheep-cot, or as I used to hear my grand-aunt, their daughter, put it, "Ann am bothan fail." They got their wish as to their last resting-place, for they sleep in peace with those who went before them, ere the inhuman laws of men made that beautiful valley what it now is—a wilderness.

My grandfather, Ian Bàn Mackay, lived in Rhiphail, about twelve miles further down the glen, and he also, like the rest of his kith and kin, was doomed. He had served in the Reay Fencibles, and for his good conduct was made confidential servant to the Colonel of the regiment, who was himself a Mackay. When my grandfather was evicted my mother was twelve years of age, and she vividly remembered the incidents as long as she lived. The family were shifted from one place to another, until in two years they had no less than five removals. Ever as they went the black flood of eviction followed them, until at last they landed, or stranded rather, on the stony braes of Tongue. There they had to build some kind of abode and subsist as best they could. Their eight milk cows had dwindled down to one; for they had to part with them from time to time to obtain the bare necessaries of life.

A short time after their settlement at Tongue the potato crop failed, and the grain crops as well, when the ever-to-be remembered famine set in with all its horrors. The disasters and miseries of that time have been described by several—foremost

among them the great Hugh Miller. I only relate what concerned my own immediate relations, as I often heard it told, amidst tears, at our own fireside. My grandfather found it hard to provide for his family in these times, and at last it became impossible. It was reported that relief came, and that at Tongue House, a mile distant, there was food enough for all who required it. My grandfather was urged to go to the factor for assistance, but he was a Mackay and a soldier, and the bread of charity was to him a bitter morsel. One morning, however, things came to a crisis—the last spoonful of meal had been made into gruel for a sick child, the last fowl was killed and cooked for the family, and starvation stared them in the face.

My grandfather had then no alternative but to go to Tongue House. He found, however, that the corn there had more restrictions than that of Egypt. He found the factor did not believe in giving charity in a charitable manner. He was severely examined as to his character and conduct, as to his present ability or future prospects of paying for the meal. If he could not pay it then, the factor demanded a guarantee that he would pay it in future. At last he consented to give one boll of meal to my grandfather, and in exchange he was to get the one milk cow of the family. The cow was named "Shobhrag" or "Primrose," from her yellow colour. Owing to the scarcity of food, she had to be milked many times in the day, and so one of the children, a precocious little girl of seven, called her "Shobhrag nam beannachd" (the Primrose of blessings). The name stuck to her, for she was dearly beloved by the family. She was a gentle creature, who did not run away or get into trouble like other cows; and she was petted and made of by the children, whilst to the parents she was the one link that bound them to happier times. No wonder if the father's heart was heavy as he thought of his sad bargain, and wondered how he could break the news to the family. On his way home he met the Rev. Hugh Mackenzie, minister of the parish, who, on hearing the sad story, went and paid for the meal, and so "Shobhrag" was spared to them in their grief. Mr Mackenzie sent also seed corn and potatoes, and gave his own horses to plough their land, while he personally attended the family when afterwards stricken with fever—the sure concomitant of famine. Every member of the family hovered for a time

between life and death. The good clergyman supplied wine and other articles of nourishment, and gave medicine, of which he had considerable knowledge. There did not seem much to live for; but then, as now, people were tenacious of life, and in course of time the family recovered. Better times came; but too late for the head of the house; he never recovered from the shock of his severe trials, and he died a comparatively young man.

I remember my grandmother, a sadly depressed woman, with a world of sorrow in her faded blue eyes, as if the shadow of the past was always upon her spirit. I never saw her smile, and when I asked my mother for the cause, she told me that that look of pain came upon my grandmother's face with the fires of Strathnaver. Strange to say, when even my mother was in her last illness in May 1882—when the present was fading from her memory—she appeared again as a girl of twelve in Strathnaver, continually asking, "Whose house is burning now?" and crying out, now and again, "Save the people."

Edinburgh. ANNIE MACKAY.

SUTHERLAND EVICTIONS AND BURNINGS.

Testimony of Living Eye-Witnesses.

Mr John Mackay, C.E., Hereford, the well-known friend of the Highlanders, himself a native of Sutherlandshire, sends us the subjoined important documents. He writes in the following terms:—"While at Bettyhill in August last, during the sitting there of the Royal Commission, I had the pleasure of meeting several old men in the neighbourhood. On entering into conversation with them, upon the subject of the Strathnaver Clearances, I found their recollection of them so vivid, and their relations so truthful—none of them would say anything more than he himself saw—that I thought it was worth something to have them taken down there and then; but not having sufficient time at my disposal, and being informed that there were many more in the parish who had been eye-witnesses of those scenes, I got Mr Angus Mackay, Divinity Student, Farr, to take down the evidence for me, and have it attested." The statements, in all cases, were carefully

taken down in Gaelic, translated into English, read to the declarant again in Gaelic and English in the presence of the witnesses who attest them, and who understood both languages; the statements were then signed by the cross or name of each declarant in presence of the witnesses, who there and then attested each document on the date recorded upon it, in presence of the declarant. Mr Mackay has since presented them to the Royal Commission as part of his evidence in Edinburgh. They are as follows :—

RODERICK MACLEOD, *78 years of age, crofter and fisherman, Skerray, Parish of Tongue.*

I was born at Grumb-mhor, where I lived for eight years, and now occupy a small croft near the edge of the cliffs at Skerray. I was working at a road that was being made on Strathnaver, a good few years after I was driven from the Strath myself, when I saw the following townships set on fire :—

Grumb-mhor, with 16 houses.	Achmhillidh, with 4 houses.

All the houses in these two places were burnt, with the exception of one barn, which was left to be used as a store by those working at the road.

I recollect of Branders, who had the charge of Sellar's burning gang, coming to one house there, where an old woman and her daughter-in-law lived. The woman was very old and frail, and had nowhere to go at such a short notice. Branders, therefore, as Sellar himself was not present to see, taking compassion on her, gave her permission to remain for a night or two longer in the house, until she could get some bothy beyond Sellar's satrapy, where she would be at liberty to live or die.

Few, if any, of all those families burnt out knew where to turn their head, or from whom or where to get the next meal, after being thus expatriated from the homes to which their hearts so fondly clung.

It was sad to witness the heartrending scenes that followed the driving away of these people. The terrible remembrance of the burnings of Strathnaver will live as long as a root of the people remains in the country. The people when on Strathnaver were very comfortable.

I declare this statement of mine is true. RORY MACLEOD.

Witnesses, WILLIAM SUTHERLAND.
30th Aug. 1883. MURDO MACKAY.

WILLIAM MORRISON, *89 years of age, crofter, Dalacharn, Farr.*

I was born at Rossal, on Strathnaver, and remember well of seeing the following townships on fire:—

Rossal, with about 20 houses.	Dalvina, with 2 houses.
Dalmalarn, with 2 houses.	Achphris, with 2 houses.

The people as a rule were, in these townships, expected to be away from their houses before those employed in burning came round. This was generally done, but in a certain house in Rossal there lived an old woman who could not remove with the rest of the neighbours. She could not build another house were she to remove. To this poor person's house came the cruel burners in their turn, and set fire to it in two places, heeding not her pitiful cries. The burners, however, treated her kinder than

was their wont, for they carried her out of the burning house, and placed her on the grass with some of her own blankets about her.

I cannot say what became of her afterwards, but surely it was cruel enough that she should be thus left exposed to wind and weather, deprived of all shelter and destitute of all means. For people to say that there was no cruelty or harshness shown the people when they were burnt off Strathnaver, is a glaring lie which no amount of flowery language can hide. Sellar's son can, no doubt, wield the pen well, but he will find he has undertaken an impossibility when he tries to prove that his father was a good man. Most assuredly he was a cruel tyrant.

I declare this statement of mine is true. WILLIAM MORRISON.

Witnesses, { DONALD MACKENZIE, Minister, Free Church, Farr.
25th Aug. 1883. { ANGUS MACKAY, Divinity Student, Farr.

GRACE MACDONALD, *88 years of age, Armadale, Farr.*

I was born on Strathnaver, in a place called Langall, and was nineteen years of age when we were evicted from the Strath I remember well the burning of the houses. I saw the following five townships burnt by Sellar's party :—

Langall, with 8 houses.
Totachan, with 2 houses.
Coile an Kian, with 2 houses.
Ealan à Challaidh, with 2 houses.
Sgall, with 4 houses.

There was no mercy or pity shown to young or old—all had to clear away, and those who could not get their effects removed in time to a safe distance had it burnt before their very eyes.

On one occasion, while Sellar's burning party were engaged in setting fire to a certain house in Langall, a cat belonging to the premises leapt out of the flames. Some one of the party seized the half-smothered cat and threw him back into the flames, where it was kept till it perished.

The evicted people had to go down to the bleak land skirting the sea-shore, and there trench and reclaim land for themselves.

They got no compensation or help from the proprietor, and some of them suffered very much from want of food the first winter. They were happy on Strathnaver, with plenty to take and give, but are all very poor now.

The unsatiable greed of Sellar was the cause of all this.

I declare this statement of mine is true. GRACE MACDONALD.

Witnesses, { MURDO MACKAY.
29th Aug. 1883 { MARY MACLEOD.

Widow BETSY MACKAY (Drover), *86 years of age, Kirtomy, Parish of Farr.*

I am a native of Strathnaver, and saw some of the burnings that took place there. I was born at Sgall, a township with six houses, where I lived till I was sixteen years of age, when the people in the township were driven away and their houses burnt.

Our family was very reluctant to leave this place, and stayed for some time after the summons for evicting was delivered. But Sellar's party came round and set fire to our house at both ends, reducing to ashes whatever remained within the walls. The occupants had, of course, to escape for their lives, some of them losing all their clothes except what they had on their backs. The people then had plenty clothes (home spun), which they made from the wool of their sheep.

The people were told they could go where they liked, provided they did not encumber Sellar's domain, the land that was by rights their own. The people were driven away like dogs who deserved no better fate, and that, too, without any reason in the world, but to satisfy the cruel avarice of Sellar.

Here is an incident that I remember in connection with the burning of Sgall. My sister, whose husband was from home, was delivered of a child at Grumb-mhor at this time. Her friends in Sgall, fearing lest her house should be burnt, and she perish in her helpless condition, went to Grumb-mhor and took her with them in very cold weather, weak and feeble as she was. This sudden removal occasioned to her a fever, which left its effects upon her till her dying day.

I declare this statement of mine is true. BETSY MACKAY.

Witnesses, ALEXANDER MACKAY.
29th Aug. 1883. MURDO MACKAY.

WIDOW DAVID MUNRO, *Strathy, regarding Ceann-na-Coille*

I was seven years of age when this portion of Strathnaver was cleared. There were six families in the township:—Hugh Mackay, J. Campbell, Angus Mackay, John Mackay (Macrob), William Mackay, and my father, William Sutherland. I remember distinctly the position of the houses. Our family consisted of six girls and one boy. We received orders to quit our abode on term day. All the men of the village were away except my father, who had removed his furniture to an out-house before Sellar arrived. He was an intelligent man, sometimes acting as teacher, and when the company arrived to set fire to the house, he requested that, in consideration of his services to the House of Sutherland. by going with the rents of the townships to Dunrobin, etc., etc., they would be good enough to spare the out-house, whither he might retire during the night ; and that he himself would set fire to it next morning. This was ruthlessly refused, and we had to remain all night on a green hillock outside, and view our dwelling smouldering into ashes.

I declare this statement of mine is true. MRS DAVID MUNRO.

Witnesses, ADAM GUNN.
18th Aug. 1883. ALEX. MUNRO, Strathy West.

BELL COOPER, *82 years of age, Crask, Farr.*

I was born at Achness on Strathnaver, where I lived till I was eleven years of age. All the people in the township were then removed and their houses burnt. Our family had to leave with the rest, but we were allowed to build a house on the other side of the river, at a place called Riloisgt. Here we were allowed to live for five more years, and then were evicted a second time.

During these five years Sellar was busily engaged working out the desolation of the east side of the Strath, and I was an eye witness of the burning of all the houses between Rossal and Achcaoilnaborgin. I cannot say how many houses there were in the district between these two places, but I saw them all burnt myself. I am sure there would be between two and three score at the least.

The west side was left unmolested, while the east side was being burnt, as Sellar was unable to stock both sides of the Strath at once. By the end of these five years he grew richer, and was able to manage both sides. Accordingly, he came again with his burning gang and commenced the destruction of the west side of the Strath. This he succeeded in doing, and the house in which I lived with my father was the first set on fire.

For some days after the people were turned out, one could scarcely hear a word with the lowing of cattle and the screaming of children marching off in all directions. Sellar burnt everything he could lay his hands upon—in some cases the very hens in the byres were burnt. I shall never forget that awful day.

I declare this statement of mine is true. BELL COOPER.

Witness, MURDO MACKAY, Student.
29th Aug. 1883.

GEORGE MACDONALD, *84 years of age, crofter and mason, Airdneskich, Farr.*

I was born in Rossal on Strathnaver, and was about fifteen years of age when that township was burnt. Every house was burnt to the ground. I cannot remember the number of houses in Rossal, but I would say there were about twenty. There were four other townships near this, each with about the same number of houses, all of which were burnt on the same day; but I remember of seeing none of these houses actually on fire except one, for I was away driving the cattle at the time, though I saw the burnt ruins a few days after.

The house which I saw set on fire was that of one Chisholm, who lived in Badinloskin. Sellar and his party approached this house and told Chisholm that, if he would not make off with his family and all that belonged to him, they would soon give them a hot bed. Chisholm refused to leave, and Sellar himself, who was present at this instance, urged his followers to help him in putting the house on fire. His orders were immediately obeyed, and in a few minutes the house was all ablaze. Chisholm's mother-in-law, a very old woman, was confined to bed through infirmity, and was unable to leave the burning house along with the other inmates. Although Sellar and his men well knew that she could not move, they took no notice of the poor wretch, and had not some of her own friends rushed in and rescued her, when already the bed-clothes were on fire about her, she would have certainly perished on the spot. The woman never thoroughly recovered, and a few days thereafter died from the effects of the fire and the fright she took. My father, when his own house was set on fire, tried to save a few pieces of wood out of the burning house, which he carried to the river, about half-a-mile away, and there formed a raft of it. His intention was to float the wood down the stream, and build a kind of a hut somewhere to shelter his weak family; but Sellar's party came the way, and, seeing the timber, set fire to it, and soon reduced the whole to ashes.

When the people came down from the Strath to the sea-shore, where their descendants are living now, they suffered very much the first winter from the want of houses. They hurriedly threw up earthen walls, stretching blankets over the top to shelter them, and, cooped up in a small place like this, four or five families spent the following winter. No compensation was given for the houses that were burnt, neither any help to build new ones. Having brought with them large flocks of cattle, and there being no food for them, they almost all died the first winter. Strathnaver was not all cleared the same year, but the people were burnt out from year to year, just as Sellar was able to take and stock the places—first the east side of the Strath, and then the west side. Some people were removed three or four times, always forced farther down, until at last the sea-shore prevented them from being sent any farther, unless they took ship for the Colonies, which many of them did. I was a neighbour of Donald Macleod, who wrote a book on the Strathnaver Clearances, and can conscientiously say that he was a truthful and honest man. His book, I am sure, contains the truth, having read some of it myself, most of which I could substantiate.

I declare this statement of mine is true GEORGE MACDONALD.

Witnesses, 25th Aug. 1883. DONALD MACKENZIE, Minister, Free Church, Farr.
DONALD M'DONALD, Aird.
ANGUS MACKAY, Divinity Student, Cattlefield, Farr.

(To be continued.)

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A.

VIII.—British Religion—*(Continued.)*

We have thus discovered in Don and his children the powers of sky and air, answering to Jove and his Olympians of Classical Mythology; in Nudd and his son Gwynn we have probably found the powers that rule over the land of "shades," corresponding to Pluto or Dis; and we now come to consider the third family of British deities, Lir and his children, whom we shall find to be the British and Gaelic equivalents of Neptune, the sea-god, and Aphrodite, "daughter of the foam." Lir, or as the Welsh spell the name, Llyr, is the same as the Gaelic *lear*, found in the Ossianic poems, and signifying the "sea." Lir is therefore the personification of the sea—the sea deified. He is a deity common to both Britons and Gaels; indeed, it may rather be said that he is more properly a deity of the Gaels transferred into the British pantheon. The epithet *Lledïaith*, or "half-speech," that is, "dialect," which is attached to his name, goes to show that he was not a deity of native British origin. We are therefore justified in considering Lir as the sea deity of the ancient remnant of the Gaels still surviving and maintaining their ground in Wales in the fifth century, and represented as then expelled by Cunedda and his sons. They were, however, more probably slowly absorbed by the Welsh, who were then pressed westwards by the Saxons. All the legends preserved in Welsh, connected with Lir and his family, point to a strong Gaelic influence, if not to a Gaelic origin. Of Lir himself nothing is said in the Welsh legends beyond his being the father of so many children; in Ireland he is represented as striving for the sovereignty of the Tuatha-De-Dannan, the Gaelic gods, with Bove Derg, son of the Dagda, and, when defeated in his aspirations, as retiring to Sidh-Fionnachaidh. Here he leads the life of a provincial chief, and all else that we know of him is the cruel transformation of his four children by their wicked aunt and stepmother. Lir has also another name; at least he must have had another name, or else Mannanan, his son, and Cordelia, his daughter, must each have had two fathers. In some tradi-

tions they are both represented as the children of Llud. The same confusion, of course, appears in the Irish genealogy of Mannanan ; for the most part he is known as the son of Lir, but in the genealogies he is set down as the son of Alloid, doubtless the original, or, at least, the equivalent of Llud. Professor Rhys thinks that Llud stands for Nudd, the N changing into Ll, because Llud also received the title of Llaw Ereint, "silver-handed," just as the Irish King Nuada did ; and the principle of alliteration required the changing of Nudd Llaw Ereint into Llud Llaw Ereint. And Nudd, besides, was somehow a god of the sea ; what was the necessity of two chief sea-gods? We have interpreted Nudd as a god of the "land under the waves," and not as the sea-god proper ; and, again, the Irish Alloid is distinctly against any such change of letters as Nudd into Llud, besides its being otherwise far from probable that such a change should occur on any principle of alliteration. Lir, under the name of Llud, is, in the histories and tales, the brother of Cassibelaunus, Cæsar's opponent, and in his reign Britain was troubled with three direful plagues : the Coranians, a people "whose knowledge was such that there was no discourse upon the face of the Island, however it might be spoken, but what, if the wind blew it, it was known to them ;" second, a shriek that occurred every May eve, that created all kinds of terrors and horrors ; and, third, the king's winter provisions disappeared every year when stored. From these plagues the wisdom of his brother Llevelys freed King Llud. Lir appears in the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth as an old British king, who reigned long before Llud, and who had three daughters, whose story forms the groundwork of Shakespeare's tragedy of King Lear.

Mannanan, the son of Lir, is in the Welsh Myths one of the seven—that mystical number, so common in the old Welsh poems—who escaped from Ireland on the death of his brother, Bran, the blessed, king of Britain. Returning with the head of Bran, the seven heroes found the throne usurped by Cassibelaunus and retired to Harlech, where the birds of Rhiannon kept them enchanted by their music for seven years ; and after this they feasted for eighty years more at Gwales in Penvro, from which place they set out to London and buried Bran's head with its face to France. As long as Bran's head was left there facing France no invasion of Britain could be successful. Un-

fortunately Arthur exhumed the head, declaring that he would maintain the country against any foe without need of supernatural safeguard. In his subsequent career Mannanan is seen to be a deity who presides over arts and commerce, a god who is "deep in counsel." He and another of the mythic seven wander about doing artificers' work; he successively tries saddle-making, shoemaking, and shieldmaking, trades in which he out-distances all competitors as a matter of course. From the Irish accounts of him, Mannanan Mac Lir, appears to be a god of sea and wind. Cormac, Archbishop of Cashel, of the ninth century, describes him in his glossary like a true Euhemerist, as "*Manannan mac lir*, a renowned trader who dwelt in the Island of Man. He was the best pilot in the west of Europe. Through acquaintance with the sky he knew the quarter in which would be fair weather and foul weather, and when each of these two seasons would change. Hence the Scots and Britons called him a god of the sea, and hence they said he was son of the sea, that is, *mac lir*, 'son of the sea.'" Mannanan is otherwise represented as one of the Tuatha-De-Dannan chiefs. He was the possessor of that wonderful steed mentioned in the story of the "Children of Tuireann." Luga of the Long Arms "rode the steed of Mannanan Mac Lir, namely Enbarr of the Flowing Mane: no warrior was ever killed on the back of this steed, for she was as swift as the cold clear wind of spring, and she travelled with equal ease on land and on sea. He wore Mannanan's coat of mail; no one could be wounded through it, or above it or below it. He had on his breast Mannanan's breastplate, which no weapon could pierce. Mannanan's sword, The Answerer, hung at his left side; no one ever recovered from its wound; and those who were opposed to it in the battle-field were so terrified by looking at it that their strength left them and they became weaker than women." In the curious story called the "Sick-bed of Cuchulainn," Mannanan is represented as a fairy chief who deserts his fairy bride Fand, but Fand is helped and loved by Cuchulainn, mortal though he was. Mannanan on discovering this, returns to his wife and shakes his magic cloak between her and Cuchulainn, so that they should never meet again. This magic cloak had also the effect of producing forgetfulness of the past. Of Mannanan, Mr Elton says: "In him we see personified the splendour and swiftness of the sun;

the god rushes over the waves like a 'wheel of fire' and his three-legged shape recalls the giant strides of Vishnu. He was the patron of traffic and merchandise. The best weapons and jewels from across the sea were thought to be gifts from the god."

Branwen, "white-bosom," the daughter of Lir, is the central figure of the most tragic of Welsh myths. She is married to Matholwch, King of Ireland, who treats her badly. Her brother Bran, coming to know of it, invades Ireland. The Irish yield, and build a house big enough for Bran to enter into, a thing he never hitherto could get, so enormous was his size. But the Irish had decided to murder their guests at the first feast in the great house. The cleverness of one of Bran's men foils their purpose; there is, however, a general slaughter, in which the Irish have at first the best of it, for they possess a cauldron, into which, when any one is dipped that is dead, he comes to life hale and sound. But the cauldron is discovered by the already-mentioned one of Bran's men, and he breaks it. Bran is killed, and only seven return of his people to Wales. The story as a whole is a very widely-spread one; it appears in about a dozen forms in Teutonic lands—the Volsung Saga and the Nibelung story being the most famous forms of it. Probably there are in the myth the evidences of a time when Celt and Teuton lived not too amicably together on the banks of the Rhine, a supposition which would obviate the necessity of supposing the Celtic version a borrowed one, inferior though it may be in some details. Another legend represents Branwen or Brangwaine as helping the loves, illicit though they be, of Tristram and Iseult. It is she that hands to Tristram the fateful love-potion which binds him irrevocably to Iseult. Hence Mr Elton considers her the Venus of the Northern Seas. Indeed, the sea was poetically named "the fountain of Venus," according to the Iolo MSS.; and a verse in the "Black Book of Carmarthen" gives this stanza:—

> "Accursed be the damsel
> Who, after the wailing,
> Let loose the Fountain of Venus, the raging deep."

From this we can easily understand how Branwen may be Venus and daughter of the sea-god as well, just as Aphrodite was sprung from the foam of the sea. Cordelia, another daughter of Lear or Llud, has already been mentioned as the resplendent summer goddess for whom the powers of air and the shades fight every May-day till the day of doom.

In the remarkable Mabinogion entitled "Kilhwch and Olwen," so full of mythologic lore, we can see the true character of at least one of Arthur's knights. This is his seneschal Kai. From the references in this mythic tale, it could alone be proved that Kai was no less than the British Vulcan, the fire-god. "Kai," says the tale, "had this peculiarity, that his breath lasted nine nights and nine days under water, and he could exist nine days and nine nights without sleep. A wound from Kai's sword no physician could heal. Very subtle was Kai. When it pleased him he could render himself as tall as the highest tree in the forest. And he had another peculiarity: so great was the heat of his nature that when it rained hardest, whatever he carried remained dry for a handbreadth above and a handbreadth below his hand; and when his companions were coldest he was to them as fuel with which to light their fire." Such was Arthur's steward! Hephaestus and Vulcan do equally mean duties in the halls of Olympus. The gods laugh heartily at the limping gait and ungainly appearance of Hephaestus as he hands round the cup of nectar. So is Kai often the butt of Arthur's knights. Another of Arthur's knights may be mentioned as probably a degraded war deity. Owain, the son of Urien Rheged, is never mentioned in the older poems and tales without reference to his army of ravens, "which rose as he waved his wand, and swept men into the air and dropped them piecemeal on the ground." We are here reminded of the Irish war goddess who so often appears as, and is indeed named, the "scald-crow" (*Badb*). Odin, too, has his ravens to consult with, and to act as his messengers. Many others of Arthur's heroes partake of the same mythical type; of Arthur himself we shall speak again in considering the Celtic hero-tales. At present, it is sufficient to say that Arthur is, at least, as mythical as any of the rest we have mentioned.

Nor must we overlook Caridwen, who is considered, even by the Welsh themselves, their goddess of nature. She is possessed of a cauldron of "inspiration and science," which, as Mr Nutt points out, may be regarded as a symbol of the reproductive power of the earth. It is doubtless this same cauldron that has appeared in the story of Branwen the daughter of Lir: when the dead heroes were plunged into it they were resuscitated. The Tuatha-De-Dannan were possessed in Scythia of a similar cauldron, similarly employed. Caridwen, the tale says, set her

cauldron to boil, and placed Gwion Bach, the dwarf, and the blind Morda to watch it, charging them not to suffer it to cease boiling for a year and a day. Towards the end of the year, three drops of the boiling liquor spluttered out upon the hand of Gwion, and suddenly putting his hand in his mouth because of the heat, the future and present were revealed to him. The cauldron burst, the fairy returned, and Gwion had to run for his life. Pursued at once by Caridwen, he changed himself into a hare and fled. But she changed herself into a greyhound and turned him. And he ran towards the river and became a fish; she took the form of an otter and gave chase. He then became a bird, and she a hawk, and as she was swooping down upon him he fell among a heap of wheat and became one of the grains. She, however, became a high-crested black hen, scratched the heap, found him, and swallowed him. He was thereafter born as a beautiful boy, whom Caridwen had not the heart to kill. She put him in a leather sack, and cast him into the sea. Being washed ashore, he was discovered, and brought to Prince Elphin, to whom he immediately, child though he was, began to sing most elegant poetry. This youthful poet was none else than Taliesin, "prince of song, and the chief of the bards of the west." The poems ascribed to Taliesin have been called the romance of metempsychosis. "The Druidical doctrine of the transmigration of souls is thought to be hidden in the poet's account of his wonderful transformations." A specimen or two out of many such may be quoted.—

"I have been in a multitude of shapes,
Before I assumed a consistent form,
I have been a sword narrow, variegated,
I have been a tear in the air;
I have been the dullest of stars,
I have been a word among letters,
I have been a book in the origin."

And again—

"I have been a sow, I have been a buck,
I have been a sage, I have been a snout,
I have been a horn, I have been a wild sow,
I have been a shout in battle."

Evidently there is in these poems of Taliesin the broken-down remembrance of the old Druidic cult. True enough the poet does show a wonderful and suspicious acquaintance with the "Metamorphoses" of Ovid and his account of Pythagorean doc-

trines, as he also does with even Irish mythology, for he speaks of his place in S. Caer *Sidi*, doubtless the Irish *Side*, thus—

> "Complete is my chair in Caer Sidi,
> No one will be afflicted with disease or old age that may be in it."

Yet for all this, for all his mingling of Greek, Roman, and Jewish history and myth, we may believe that there is at bottom a germ of genuine Druidic influence, and of genuine Welsh myth. As a matter of fact, the tale of the cauldron appears in the history of the Gaelic counterpart of Taliesin —in the closing scenes of Ossian's career, and not at the beginning, as in Taliesin's case. Ossian, old and blind, tried to recover his youth by magical means. He now lived among little men who could not give him food enough, and consequently he had a belt round his waist with three skewers—*dealg*—in it to tighten his stomach. He went out one day with his gillie to hunt, and by some supernatural means brought down three remarkable deer. These he took home and put in a cauldron to be cooked, bidding his gillie watch them, and on no account to taste any of the food. All went right for a time; the deer were cooked; Ossian ate the first and let out one skewer; he ate a second and let out a second skewer; but as misfortune would have it, while the third deer was simmering in the cauldron a drop of the broth spurted out on the gillie's hand, which he instantly put into his mouth. Ossian ate the third deer and let out the third skewer, but no youth returned to him. The licking of the little drop of broth had broken the spell. The supernatural knowledge and power gained by Gwion Bach do not, of course, appear in this tale, but it may be observed that Finn gained his knowledge of futurity in a manner which, though dissimilar in details, is yet the same in result. Following a strange woman that he saw one day, he came to a hill side, where she entered by a concealed door. Finn attempted to follow her inside, and had his hand on the door-post, when the door suddenly shut on him and jammed his thumb. With difficulty extricating his thumb, he very naturally shoved the hurt member into his mouth, when, lo! he found himself possessed of the gift of seeing future events. This gift, however, he possessed only when he bruised his thumb in his mouth.

(To be continued.)

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

IX.—Distributive Justice *(Continued.)*

Of Profit and Interest.—1. Having, in the last chapter, treated of labour and capital, and shown that they are of the same generic nature, inasmuch as they are both force in the work of production, it will be more consecutive to inquire now into the correlative subjects of profit and interest, before entering on the consideration of power and wealth. Interest has already been defined as the wages of capital, and I mentioned that the fundamental cause of it must be referred to the natural phenomenon of depreciation. On further reflection, and by the examination of other causes, I believe I have made a discovery, the quest of which has occupied and perplexed abler inquirers. The subject is not only still involved in obscurity, but from the want of a proper understanding of its cause and laws, the same assaults are being made upon it, and upon the rights of capital, by some writers, as are being made upon land and rent.

2. The subject of the cause of interest has been treated of by David Hume, the historian, in one of his philosophic essays, with, perhaps, more research and acuteness of perception, as well as greater felicity of expression, than by Adam Smith. Interest being so immediately connected with the use of money in its three-fold function, namely—(1) real value, as a pruduct of labour; (2) as representing the value of the things exchanged; and (3) as the standard or instrument by means of which the exchange is effected—the fundamental cause of it has hitherto not been discovered, owing, perhaps, to vagueness of ideas regarding collateral primary causes, as the attention of the economists was so concentrated on science that they excluded the light of philosophy from their minds. The subject being one of great practical importance, as well as of philosophic interest, I must ask the reader's thoughtful attention and patience while examining, at some length, the arguments of Smith and Hume.

3. At this stage, it is essential that the component parts of profit should be stated. These are—(1) the wages of the capitalist, who works, or superintends his own business; (2) interest,

which I have termed the wages of capital; (3) risks, which are now usually covered by insurance; and (4) and most important, depreciation, which is sometimes called "tear and wear;" but it must be observed that depreciation takes place in things forming capital which are not subjected to "tear and wear."

4. Adam Smith devotes considerable space to the discussion of the changes in the *rate*, and to the probable causes of these changes, with his wonted clearness of exposition; but he did not enter upon the inquiry as to the fundamental cause of the phenomenon itself; considering, probably, that David Hume had discussed the question with as much ability and research as he himself could bestow upon it. A few extracts from the works of these great authors will fully show the reader the nature of the question—

ADAM SMITH—"Accordingly, therefore, as the usual market rate of interest varies in any country, we may be assured that the ordinary profit will vary with it, must sink as it sinks, and rise as it rises. The progress of interest, therefore, may lead us to form some notion of the progress of profit.

"[illegible]e 37th of Henry VIII. all interest above ten per cent. was declared unlawful. [illegible]t seems, was sometimes taken before that. In the reign of Edward VI. religious zeal prohibited all interest. This prohibition, however, like others of the same kind, had no effect, and probably rather increased than diminished the evils of usury. . . . . As riches, improvement, *and population*, have increased interest has declined. The wages of labour do not sink with the profits of stock. The demand for labour increases with the increase of stock, whatever be its profits; and after these are diminished, stock may not only continue to increase, but to increase much faster than before. It is with industrious nations who are advancing in the acquisition of riches as with industrious individuals. A great stock, though with small profits, generally increases faster than a small stock with great profits. Money, says the proverb, makes money. When you have got a little, it is often easy to get more. The great difficulty is to get that little. . . . . The diminution of the capital stock of the society, or of the funds destined for the maintenance of industry, however, as it lowers the wages of labour, so it raises the profits of stock, and consequently the interest of money. . . . . In countries which are fast advancing in riches the low rate of profit may, in the price of many commodities, compensate the high wages of labour, and enable those countries to sell as cheap as their less thriving neighbours, among whom the wages of labour may be lower. . . . . Mr Locke, Mr Law, and Mr Montesquieu, as well as many other writers, seem to have imagined that the increase of the quantity of gold and silver, in consequence of the discovery of the 'Spanish West Indies,' was the real cause of the lowering of the rate of interest through the greater part of Europe. Those metals, they say, having become of less value themselves, the use of any particular portion of them necessarily became of less value too, and consequently the price which could be paid for it. This notion, which at first sight might seem so plausible, has been so fully exposed by Mr Hume that it is perhaps unnecessary to say anything more about it."

DAVID HUME—"Nothing is esteemed a more certain sign of the flourishing condition of any nation than the lowness of interest, and with reason, though I believe the cause is somewhat different from what is commonly apprehended. . . . . An effect always holds proportion with its cause. Prices have risen near four times since the discovery of the Indies, and it is probable gold and silver have multiplied much more; but interest has not fallen much above a half. The rate of interest, therefore, is not derived from the quantity of the precious metals.

"Money having chiefly a fictitious value, the greater or less plenty of it is of no consequence if we consider a nation within itself; and the quantity of specie, when once fixed, though ever so large, has no other effect than to oblige every one to tell out a greater number of these shining bits of metal for clothes, furniture, or equipage without increasing any one convenience of life. . . . . If gold and silver have increased in the state together with industry, it will require a greater quantity of these metals to represent a great quantity of commodities and labour. If industry alone has increased, the prices of everything must sink, and a small quantity of specie will serve as a *representation*.

"It may be proper to observe on this head that low interest and low profits of merchandise are two events that mutually forward each other, and are both *originally derived* from that extension of commerce which produces opulent merchants, and renders the monied interest considerable. Where merchants possess great stocks, whether represented by few or many pieces of metal, it must frequently happen that when they either become tired of business or leave heirs unwilling or unfit to engage in commerce, a great proportion of these riches naturally seeks an annual and secure revenue. The plenty diminishes the price, and makes the lenders accept of a low interest. This consideration obliges many to keep their stock employed in trade, and rather be content with low profits than dispose of their money at an undervalue. On the other hand, when commerce has become extensive, and employs large stocks, there must arise rivalships among the merchants, which diminish the profits of trade at the same time that they increase the trade itself. The low profits of merchandise induce the merchants to accept more willingly of a low interest when they leave off business and begin to indulge themselves in ease and indolence. It is needless, therefore, to inquire which of these circumstances, to wit, low interest or low profits, is the cause, and which the effect. They both arise from an extensive commerce, and mutually forward each other. No man will accept of low profits where he can have high interest, and no man will accept of low interest where he can have high profits. An extensive commerce, by producing large stocks, diminishes both interest and profits, and is always assisted in its diminution of the one by the proportional sinking of the other. I may add that, as low profits arise from the increase of commerce and industry, they serve in their turn to its farther increase by rendering the commodities cheaper, encouraging the consumption, and heightening the industry. And thus, if we consider the whole connection of causes and effects, *interest is the barometer of the State*, and its lowness is a sign almost infallible of the flourishing condition of a people. . . . . Those who have asserted that the plenty of money was the cause of low interest seem to have taken a *collateral effect* for a cause, since the same industry which sinks the interest commonly acquires great abundance of the precious metals. . . . . But it is evident that the greater or less stock of labour and commodities must have a great influence, since we really and in effect borrow these when we take money upon interest. It is true when commerce is extended all over the globe the most industrious nations always abound most with the precious metals,

so that low interest and plenty of money are, in fact, almost inseparable. But still it is of consequence to know the principle whence any phenomenon arises, and to *distinguish between a cause and a concomitant effect*. Besides that, the speculation is curious; it may frequently be of use in the conduct of public affairs. At least, it must be owned that nothing can be of more use than to improve by practice the method of reasoning on these subjects, which of all others are the most important, though they are commonly treated in the loosest and most careless manner."

5. The nature of the question has now been fully stated, and as a preliminary remark to all that follows, and as complimental to Hume's observation, that "an affect always holds proportion with its cause," let it be carefully observed that the price of all commodities depends upon abundance or scarcity in proportion to the *consumption*. The English economists have coined a solecism in the expression "demand and supply" of which the Scotch logicians could hardly be guilty. These are not correlative terms, for there can be no ratio between a demand, which is a request or desire, and a supply which refers to commodities. The word demand is, by itself, a correct enough expression, but its correlative is response, or satisfaction, and not supply, the correlative of which is outlet or consumption. It is the high or low price which regulates the production of any particular commodity which is not limited in nature. It is thus with regard to diamonds, which are so much prized for their brilliance as ornaments. They are scarce in nature and require great search and labour to procure them in small supply; but if the supply could be greatly increased, their price would fall so much that, probably, it would not pay for the necessary labour to procure them. Although so much prized for their brilliance and rarity, yet it is the labour bestowed in digging for them that constitutes their value. It is the same with gold and silver. Gold being adopted with us, and now with almost all European nations, as the standard of value, the price of all other commodities will rise or fall in relation to it, as the supply of it exceeds or falls short of the proportion in which it is required to meet the wants of an increasing commerce; and it has lately been very shrewdly, and with great probability of truth, surmised by Mr Goschen, that it has appreciated, owing to the diminished output of the mines. Although the yield of silver is very large, it is not improbable that its fall in price, in relation to gold, may be partly due to an actual appreciation of our standard. This appreciation of gold,

if it has actually taken place, would seriously affect farmers, who have to pay fixed rents, as the effect would be to depress the price of their produce.

6. It must not be supposed, however, as has been very clearly shown by Hume, that the ordinary rate of interest depends upon the quantity of the precious metals. It is also necessary to keep in view that the fluctuations in the rate of *discount* at the Bank of England arise from a different cause. The rate of discount at the Bank is sometimes above and sometimes below the ordinary rate of interest, just the same as the price of any other commodity sometimes exceeds and sometimes falls below its natural value. This is due to its function as *an instrument* for adjusting international balances, and sometimes the activity of the internal trade, or exchanges (which is of the same nature as the international cause), as well as a feeling of distrust in commercial circles, may force up the rate of discount to an abnormal extent. To illustrate this use of money, as of real value, and as a standard or instrument, let us suppose that in a town or country, there should be a class of dealers, whose business consisted in providing expensive measures for corn, oil, wine, cloth, and the like, for lending or hire. Any sudden demand for these commodities would, naturally, occasion a great demand for the measures, as every holder of such stocks would be anxious to take advantage of the market, and would consequently give an increased rate for the use or hire of the instrument, or of the *commodity*, in case of his not having another convertible commodity to meet the demands of his creditors.

7. But money forms part of the stock or capital of every country, and, as such, is dealt in by bankers as an equivalent as well as measure of value; but the banker does not lend his own capital. He is invariably an intermediate party. There is thus an illusion produced on the mind by not realising the fact that, when we lend or borrow money, we really lend or borrow something else which it represents; for the banker very often gets back the same day from one person the identical money which he had lent to another for six months or a year. We must not, therefore, confound money, as a currency and instrument, with those things which are in reality lent and yield wages, which wages constitute interest. For instance, I borrow money for

investing in horses and ploughs, in fishing boats and nets, or in a ship or steamer. I do this in order to earn wages for myself; but it is clear that I must pay the lender or banker the wages which these things earn.

8. The misconceptions regarding interest have arisen from the circumstance that the consideration of it has been mixed up with the study of the currency, which is a very recondite and difficult subject. Even Adam Smith and David Hume did not entirely escape from involving the consideration of it too much with the discussion concerning the value of money, relative to other commodities, or the purchasing power of money, and they failed altogether to perceive that it forms the principal component part of profit, especially in businesses which are conducted on a large scale. Regarding it as such, it is, therefore, clear that, if profits fall interest must fall, and if profits rise interest must rise, for this is virtually saying that when interest rises interest rises; when interest falls interest falls, and so with the general rate of profits. We then see that capital becoming abundant, its wages, interest, must fall, as it depends like every thing upon abundance or scarcity, in proportion to population.

9. It remains, however, to be proved that interest *is* wages, and in proving that it is, to justify it, and to show that capital is the labourer's *collaborateur* and best friend. It has already been repeatedly stated that the wages of labour have a *ratio* with profits; consequently labour must have a *ratio* with capital, for in proportionals there must be four terms at least, and, let it be carefully observed, that no ratio can subsist or be established between things which are not of the same kind. Euclid's definition is as follows:—"Ratio is a mutual relation of two magnitudes of the *same kind* to one another in respect of quantity." "Magnitudes which have the same ratio are called proportionals. When four magnitudes are *proportionals* it is usually expressed by saying, the first is to be second, as the third is to the fourth." The reader must also be cautioned against confounding the *abstract* ratio of figures or numbers with the ratio of *things*. The importance of these distinctions will appear subsequently, when I come to deal with the sophistries and inversions of the materialistic English economists, who have perverted human reason by the misapprehension and misuse of words and terms.

10. In the previous chapter it has been shown that labour and capital are of the same generic nature, because they are both force. The natural man, being endowed with an inventive genius, has, as it were, formed another man in his own image—the automaton or mechanical man, which we call capital. This mechanical man is, like his prototype, liable to the same accidents, and subject to the same law of decay and death. The *individuals* die, but the *race* increases and leads a continuous life. It is so with the antitype capital. As phenomena of natural and mechanical force they are correlative and homologous. The soul is the reality, and man is but a walking shadow: labour is the reality, and material is but the outward form.

For example, let us instance, firstly, living force in the case of the horse. In his wild native state he has no value, and until lately in Brazil the only value he had was the labour of catching and taming him. It is just the same with regard to the domesticated horse. His value consists in the labour bestowed on the soil to raise food for him, the labour expended on stables for housing him, and the labour of grooming and attendance. But as he exerts more force, and has greater fleetness than man, his day's wages are more than that of a day labourer.

11. It may be said it is because he requires food to repair his system; but under the law of depreciation—decay and death—what is there which does not require the repairing of its system? Does the ship not require repairs? Do the nets, sails, and boat not require repairs? Does not the steam engine require repairs, cleaning, and lubricating? What is the food of man but repairs? That part which is assimilated by the human body is but a film as compared with the amount of oil and tallow which are required by the steam engine. Now, it is just for the self-same reasons that the labourer is worthy of his hire. The command has gone forth to man to replenish the earth and subdue it—to make Nature captive to his will—to modify her asperity and to enhance her beauty; but the individual man, whilst subject to the sentence of depreciation—decay and death—and during his struggle with the necessities of his environment, is working out "whatever end he means" by bringing to his own relief mechanical forces. If he were not under this sentence there would not be any necessity for labour, and possibly no increase

of population. But, seeing that capital performs more effectively the purposes of humanity in the development of force for reproduction, as well as for overcoming time and distance, and in that way administering more largely to our varied wants and pleasures, it is most obvious that its wages are justified on the same ground as those of the labourer, and that *the cause of interest is derived from the cause of wages.*

12. We see, then, that labour and capital are *correlative and homologous.* But, if there be a ratio between wages and profits, they must also be correlative and homologous in every particular. The four component parts of profit have been stated. The question, then, becomes, are the wages of labour made up of the same component parts?

It requires no further demonstration than the mere statement of fact, as already illustrated in the previous chapter, that the capitalist who conducts his own business deserves wages according to his culture and skill. That rule holds good with regard to the labourer. It has been demonstrated in the last chapter that part of the wages of skilled and professional labour represents capital deposited in the human brain, which is the highest and most valuable form of capital devoted to the service of humanity. But it will be asked how does interest enter into the wages of, say the common field labourer? My answer to this is that, unless he receives a *modicum* to represent the value of intellect in its simplest form in the use of the pick and spade or plough, he is underpaid, and placed on a level with the brute creation, or in the condition of a slave, who requires the superintendence of the lash. The interest in the labourer's wages is freedom's premium! With regard to the component of risks, to the honour of the British Parliament be it said, the Employers' Liability Act throws compensation for accidents upon employers, which acts in an *inverse* ratio; but if wages were enhanced, and that the employed formed an insurance fund for themselves, it would then be in a *direct* ratio. But how does depreciation enter into wages? My answer to this must be the same as that given concerning interest, or the wages of capital. Unless the wages of labour are high enough to repair the human capital in rearing children, providing something for old age, and, finally, for funeral expenses, the wages are too low.

13. I have now demonstrated, not only the cause of interest, wherein consists its justification, but also that distributive justice proceeds in accordance with the law of geometrical proportion, the perfection of which consists in a mean between two extremes, as I shall subsequently show. It must be observed in the meantime, however, that a dual system of agriculture does not conform to the laws of free industries, nor to geometrical proportion. Interest, although *analagous* to rent, is not *homologous* with it, because interest is the wages of capital, which is the creation of labour. Rent, on the other hand, is in respect of land; which is not the creation of labour (except in respect of its ameliorations, which must always be considered as capital), and is, therefore, not homologous with interest.

It is of prime importance that the industrial classes should be thoroughly convinced that the regular rate of interest is not, like rent, a tax on labour, except the interest on the National Debt, which of course is not capital, and the interest of which ought, in justice, to fall exclusively on land, as the Debt was incurred, if not for the defence of the land, it was in order to secure high rents by such questionable means as taxing the American Plantations, and preserving the balance of power on the Continent! Those wars were waged in the interests of landlords alone, who benefited very largely in enhanced rents, whilst the trade and commerce of the country is saddled with the interest on the Debt. It must also be borne in mind that the absorption and destruction of a vast amount of capital had brought upon the country a state of distress of which the present generation has had no experience, and hardly a conception.

(To be concluded in our next.)

INVERNESS SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY AND FIELD CLUB.—The Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club opened its winter session on the evening of the 13th November with the annual meeting. The president, Mr Jas. Fraser, C.E., occupied the chair. The office-bearers for the ensuing year were then elected:—President, Mr E. H. Macmillan; vice-presidents, Sheriff Blair and Wm. Mackay, F.S.A. Scot., solicitor; secretary, Mr T. D Wallace, F.S.A. Scot.; treasurer, Mr Jas. Ross; librarian, Mr James Barron, F.S.A. Scot.: curator, Mr George Reid; members of council, Messrs C. R. Manners, C.E.; Geo. Robertson, Alex. Mackenzie, F.S.A. Scot., *Celtic Magazine*; Alex. Ross, F.S.A. Scot.; and Dr Aitken, F.S.A. Scot. The syllabus for the ensuing session contains the following subjects:—"Travelled boulders of Lochaber," by Mr Colin Livingston, Fort-William; "Old iron works at Lochmaree," by Mr John H. Dixon, supplemented by Mr John E. Marr; "Plants of Palestine," by Mr Alex. Ross; "Electrical Measurements, and the theory of the Dynamo, by Mr M'G. Ross, Alness; &c.

A TRADITION OF LOCHABER.

ON the banks of the River Spean, and nearly opposite Keppoch, stands the farm house of "Inch"—"Tigh na h-Innse." At the time of which I write, the tacksman of this place was Ronald Macdonald, a cadet of the house of Keppoch. He was a brave young fellow, of a most soldierlike appearance, and of a high and noble spirit. He fell in love with the daughter of the chief of the MacMartin Camerons of Letterfinlay, "Eili na Leitreach"—as she was called—and the maiden responded to his affection with her whole heart. MacMartin, however, made an excuse of her extreme youth to delay their betrothal, but Ronald feared that the father was hoping to get a richer suitor for his beautiful daughter.

One day Ronald was out deerstalking, and towards night, when preparing to return home, he heard a woman's shriek on the mountain side. The men who were with him got frightened, thinking it was the cry of the "Bean-Shith," but Ronald knew the voice of his beloved. "Follow me," he cried hastily to his men, and before many minutes were over he overtook a gentleman of the clan Mackintosh, accompanied by some of his followers, carrying off Eili, who shortly before had utterly refused his offer of marriage. Ronald fought like a hero, and at last delivered his beloved from the rough hands that held her in bondage; she clung to him in gladness and joy; together they returned to her father's house, and as soon as Eili was in safety, he fell fainting on the floor. His brow had been cut in the most dreadful manner, and the blood streaming from the wound had been blinding him all the way down the hill, although he had said nothing to the maiden about it. He lay ill for a long time after, in Letterfinlay House, and when he returned home to Inch he took his bride with him. She could not bear to be again separated from him, and her father admitted that he had nobly earned her.

The young pair were as happy as such lovers could be, and before they were married a year a daughter was born to them. Shortly after the birth of their child, Ronald found he had to go

to the South on business, and though he felt sorry to be even so short a time parted from his wife, he cheered her with hopes of a speedy return. A young relative of his own, named Coll, was standing, holding the infant in his arms, as Ronald left the house. If I do not return, whether will you marry my wife or my daughter? asked Ronald laughingly. "Both perhaps," replied the lad. The time appointed for his return came, but no Ronald, and for many a weary night Eili sat up waiting to hear his well-known foot approaching the house, but all in vain. Months passed and years rolled on, but he came not, and then they ceased to expect him. Coll remained at Inch, faithful always to the lady and her young daughter, protecting them in every possible way.

Mackintosh began to make proposals again to Eili; she felt sorely afraid of him, and as a protection against him, as well as to reward Coll, she made up her mind rather to marry her faithful friend who had managed everything so well for her during the years of her desolation. Her daughter was now upwards of fifteen years of age, and needed a guardian who could act with the authority of a father. The marriage was duly arranged, and all their mutual friends thought it a very wise step for both to take. On the wedding day a wearied traveller came to the district, and on calling for a glass of water at a house by the roadside, he was told of the cause for the appearance of festivity about the house of Inch, when he said the following words, which have been handed down :—

"Chunnaic mi smùid do thigh na h-Innse,
'S bha mi cinnteach gu'r smùid bhainns'i,
'S tha mi 'n duil a Righ na Soillse,
Gur ann leams' tha biadh na bainnse."

He went on to the house and asked for food, which was placed before him in abundance. He inquired if the marriage ceremony was over, and he was told that it was. Then he said—"Will you ask the bride to do me the grace of giving me a glass of whisky out of her own hand, and I will give her my blessing. The bride came, still looking youthful and lovely. She filled the glass, and gave it to the stranger, who rose, and stood looking at her in silence, as if preparing to say words that refused to come. He took of his bonnet, and running his fingers through his hair, exposed his brow. The lady looked, and saw the mark of the

gash that had been made on her husband's brow on the night on which he had saved her from Mackintosh. She looked into his eyes, and crying aloud, "My darling, my darling," she fell on his bosom. It soon became known to the guests that the marriage ceremony of the morning was null and void, and no one was better pleased at the return of the long lost one than the generous-hearted Coll. "Come here my friend," said Ronald, "you cannot have my wife. I have, however, heard to-day of your faithfulness, and you shall have my daughter." The priest was called forthwith, and Coll was married to young Mariot, who had secretly loved him, and sorrowed over his marriage to her mother. "By my garment," cried Ronald, "you kept your word. You said if I did not return you would marry both my wife and daughter, but it was too bad to marry them both on the same day."

Ronald never told what kept him away those fifteen years. It was known that a tale of wrong and suffering could be related about his absence, and that Mackintosh was to blame for it. If Ronald would tell all, he said, the fiery cross would be out at once to gather the Macdonalds to avenge his wrongs; and having got home again he wished to live a life of peace. The happy pair had several children after that, and their grandchildren and their own played together round the same hearth in peace and happiness.

MARY MACKELLAR.

THE "CLACHNAHAGAIG" STONE.

SIR,—I have read with much interest the papers by that distinguished antiquarian, Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, on the "Lower Fishings of the Ness;" but with respect to one remark which occurs in the first paper (in your October No.) I should like, with your permission, to say a few words.

After reciting the terms of the Golden Charter of James VI. giving the right of fishing to the Town of Inverness, "betwixt the Stone called Clachnahagaig and the sea," Mr Fraser-Mackintosh proceeds to state that "the exact site of Clachnahagaig . . . . . has been questioned, but unnecessarily," and he explains that the stone was "usually and exactly termed Clachnahalig." I submit, sir, that no evidence whatever is produced to show that the "Clachnahagaig" of King James' charter, and the "Clachnahalaig" of certain plans, titles, &c., are one and the same. Any person, or persons, founding rights on the charter are bound to show the "Clachnahagaig" march stone of King James' time; and that might easily be done had the latter stone and its actual position have been guarded with equal care as its *confrère*, the "Clachnacudain," has been.

It is urged that "Clachnahalig" is marked in a plan by May of 1762, and in one by Horne of 1774. This, however, is no evidence as to "Clachnahagaig."

Again, the paper describes the Upper Fishings as terminating at the "Town's lands of Drumdivan, near Balnahaun of Holm." I hold part of the lands of Drumdivan, which comprise the Fortalice of Drumdivan, just above Holme House; the house and lands of Burnside (now acquired by Mr Gordon) and Slacknamarlach: but Drumdivan never, as I understand, went down to the river; the very name, I believe, signifies in Gaelic "The edge of the ridge," as distinguished from the low "Holme ground."

When Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, moved by antiquarian zeal, erected the monumental stone "In memory of Clachnahagaig," we are told that one Charles Fraser, a crofter, "audibly declared" that the stone was "truly placed," which, of course, is evidence *quantum valeat.*—I remain, &c., ANGUS MACKINTOSH.

FEUDAL RELATIONS OF LANDLORD AND TENANT.

WASHINGTON, U.S.A., September 25, 1883.

SIR,—In your February number, at page 192, is a report of some remarks of Mr Mackay on the relationship that of old existed between landlord and tenant. He says:—"The feudal system, about which one hears a great deal of nonsense now-a-days spoken, was established in the Highlands as early as the thirteenth century, since which time the chiefs have held the lands as absolute proprietors under written titles, in terms similar to those which were common over the rest of Scotland." This proposition appears to include all the chiefs and all the lands, and in that sense is at variance with history. Mr Burton tells us (vol. II., p. 57) that feudal institutions were established *formally* throughout Scotland before the close of the thirteenth century, but that Celtic customs prevailed in the North; and (vol. VI., p. 35) that in the year 1597 Parliament required the chieftains and leaders of clans to attend at Edinburgh and produce their titles to their lands, but the response was meagre, because *such titles did not exist.* I think Mr Burton elsewhere explains that the Highlanders had a great repugnance to sheepskin titles, which, in an age when the laity had little knowledge of letters, gave opportunity for fraud and imposition; but I have no note of the passage.

It was a fundamental idea of the feudal system that all titles were originally derived from the king. The injustice was in treating this legal fiction as a solid fact, and claiming for the king all lands to which the occupants did not show a paper title. This fiction should, in reason, have been neutralised by another fiction—or rather a legal presumption—that, when one has been in long, uninterrupted, and notorious possession of land, he had received a grant from the proper authority, but had lost it.

Human nature is the same in all ages; and when the United States acquired California from Mexico in 1848, Congress did just what the Scottish Parliament did in 1597—required all persons occupying land to show their paper titles, and if they could show none, their land was declared to be public property. Thus, not only the wild tribes of Indians, but many Christianised and semi-civilised communities had their lands sold from under their feet, and in many cases they were expelled from fields, gardens, and pretty houses.—I am, yours, &c.,

JNO. D. MACPHERSON.

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

X.—Chicago—*Continued.*

Walking along the regularly laid out and spacious streets of the city, and watching the busy crowds passing to and fro, I could hardly realise that fifty years ago the city had no existence ; that little more than sixty years ago its site was unbroken prairie, on which the Red Indian hunted the white man and the buffalo. Yet so it was. This city of half-a-million inhabitants has living in it now, or had until recently, a gentleman who came to the place where the city now stands when there were only two houses on it. In 1833 a village was organised, and four years later (1837) the city Charter was obtained. A local census taken in 1837 showed the population of the new city to be 4179, of whom only one man was reported as having no regular employment, and he was denominated a "loafer." Unfortunately, the proportion of "loafers" in the population of Chicago has increased with the growth of the city. Until 1848 there was nothing in the progress of Chicago to excite special remark, but in that year the first of those lines of communication which have contributed so materially to the progress of the city was completed. This was the Illinois and Michigan Canal, connecting Lake Michigan with the Illinois River, and so with the Mississippi. This canal, with which the main branch of the Chicago river is connected, has been so deepened that it draws the water out of the Lake, so that, as the Illinois river flows into the Mississippi, the waters of Lake Michigan have been made to flow, as it were, "up-hill," and find their way into the Gulf of Mexico. In the previous year—1847—the first railway entering the city, the Galona and Chicago Union, was begun; and so timid were its projectors, that they had a clause inserted in their Charter authorising them to make a turnpike instead of a railroad if they saw fit. By the end of 1848 they had laid only ten miles of line. This modest, and, at the outset, timid enterprise, has now grown into the Chicago and North-Western Corporation, which now owns nearly three thousand miles of railway. In 1852 rail communication

was opened with the East. From that time the progress of Chicago was rapid. Between 1840 and 1850 the population had increased from 4479 to 28,963; in 1853 it had increased to 59,130; in 1855 it had risen to 83,509; and in 1871 the local census gave a population of nearly 350,000.

An English writer who visited Chicago in 1867, describes it as being one of the handsomest and best built cities in the United States, superior in many respects to New York. He says, "There are many beautiful private dwellings in the principal streets, which would be a credit to the West End of London; in fact, there is nothing in London, except a few great mansions, superior to them. The Churches are large and handsome, built for the most part of stone, and the public buildings are not only thoroughly adapted for the purposes for which they are designed, but they are also very imposing in appearance. Birmingham and Glasgow are, compared with Chicago, what the back streets of London are compared with Belgravia. There is no theatre in England, except Covent Garden, so spacious and so commodious as the Opera House here. Some of the streets are built upon for a distance of three miles; they are half as broad again as Regent Street, and as the city grows they may be carried as far out to the West as the inhabitants please, for there is only the prairie beyond. . . . . It is impossible to place a limit upon the future growth of this remarkable city. There is an unbounded trade at the back, and the people have done, and are doing, their utmost to entice it here. Two thousand miles of inland navigation are controlled from Chicago, and all the rich country of the West passes its treasures into it." Such was Chicago in 1867, and for four years longer it continued without interruption its remarkable progress onwards. Beautiful buildings, of Athens' (Illinois) marble—says a writer in one of the American magazines—nearly white, rose on all sides, and additions were daily made to their number. The situation and conformation of the city do not differ greatly at present from what they were then. It extends along the Lake shore, which here runs north and south, and, of course, gives it a long eastern water front. The Chicago river, which empties into the Lake, forks very near its mouth; the north branch extending north-westerly, and the south branch first southerly, and then a little south of west. Bounded

on the north by the short main river, on the west by the north-and-south portion of the south branch, and on the east by the Lake, lay—and lies—the most important business section. Bridges were originally built across the river, at intervals of two blocks; but as the draws were frequently open, and great delays ensued, a tunnel was constructed in 1869 to connect the south and west divisions, and another in 1871 to connect the north and south sides. Many as had been, up to 1871, the solid and stately buildings erected, there remained interspersed among them many more of the wooden structures of former days. For a great many miles the sidewalks, too, were of wood. In the early days of October 1871, the city of Chicago was as active and bustling as at any time in its history. The preceding months had been very dry throughout the North-western country, and farmers were complaining; but the city people generally were hopeful and contented, and, as usual, absorbed in their occupations and industries. Nothing could have seemed more improbable than that a few hours would send this vast, strong, resolute population from prosperity to ruin, from happiness to despair. Yet, on Sunday evening, October 8, some one, as the story goes, upset a lighted Kerosene lamp in a small wooden building in De Koven Street, on the west side. A gale was blowing from the south-west, and in a few hours the most terrible conflagration known in modern times was fiercely raging. During the whole of that night and the greater part of the next day, the fire continued to rage. The city fire department, although efficient, was exhausted by a large fire on the previous Saturday, and the fire soon outran their efforts to check it. In the division where it originated it burned over 194 acres, reduced 500 buildings to ashes, and made 2500 people homeless. Crossing to the south division, it swept over 460 acres, and destroyed over 1600 stores, 28 hotels, 60 manufacturing establishments, and the homes of some 22,000 persons. Rushing across the main river, it attacked the north side. In a short time, in an area of 1470 acres, where had been the dwellings of 75,000 people, 600 stores, and 100 manufactories, there was left out of 13,300 buildings, just *one*. The fire was at last stopped by blowing up with gunpowder a line of houses to the south of the fire, while on the north it only ceased its ravages when there was nothing more to burn. The direction of the

wind prevented the fire from spreading to the westward. Over 98,000 people were rendered homeless, and nearly all the public buildings in the city—Custom-Houses, Post-Office, Court-House, Churches, Hotels, Theatres, Banks, and Railway Stations—were destroyed. The area over which the fire extended, and which it burnt out, was about four miles in length by from one to one and a-half miles in width, the estimated amount of street frontage destroyed being 73 miles.

If it was difficult to realise that only fifty years ago Chicago was a mere hamlet, it was almost more difficult to realise that only eleven years had elapsed since such a dire calamity overtook the city. Her rivals thought the blow which fell on the city in 1871 would crush her, and that before she rose from her ashes her commerce would be gone. But the men who had made Chicago were not to be crushed. Before the ashes of the burnt city were cool the work of rebuilding was commenced. Fortunately the records of the titles by which the building lots in the city were held were saved from the fire by the courage and determination of their custodier, so that legal difficulties which might otherwise have arisen were avoided. Every man, whatever his station, put his hand to the work that was to do. Merchant princes might be seen in their shirt sleeves digging among and clearing away the ruins of their business premises, that new ones might be reared in their place. In the course of the first year after the fire, buildings representing when finished, a value of over eight millions of pounds sterling, had been either erected or started, and within three years the city had been provided with buildings equal in capacity to, and double the value of, those destroyed by the fire. Never for a moment did Chicago stop its onward progress. In 1872 the population had increased to 367,000; in 1874, to 395,000; and at present it is believed to be over half-a-million. It is now the most beautiful city in the United States, and probably in the world; and year by year, as the rich country behind it is opened up and settled, its commerce and its riches increase.

Before leaving Chicago I had the pleasure of meeting a son of the Rev. Mr Sage, the first Free Church minister of Resolis, in Ross-shire, and one of the leaders of the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland, prior to and at the Disruption. Mr Wm. M.

Sage is General Freight Agent on the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railway, one of the largest systems running out of Chicago, and I afterwards heard from a countryman in Minnesota, who was unacquainted with him except by name, that he was the most popular Freight Agent in Chicago. The name of Mr Sage, of Resolis, is still a household word in the Highlands of Scotland, and Highlanders everywhere will be gratified to know that his son occupies so prominent and important a position in the West, and with so much acceptance to those with whom he comes in contact.

I left Chicago with regret, although I felt somewhat unhappy in being a mere onlooker among all the bustle and hurry around me. In the early evening we steamed out of Chicago on towards the Mississippi, which the beautiful Albert Lea Route crosses at Rock Island. The city of Saint Paul was my immediate destination, but

> "The best laid schemes o' mice an' men
> Gang aft a-gley."

Early in the morning the conductor of the Pullman car called all the passengers, and told them if they wanted breakfast they must look sharp, as the dining-room car would be detached at West Liberty, which we were timed to reach at seven o'clock. A hurried toilet and a hurried breakfast were accomplished before West Liberty was reached, and there we found that not only were we to lose the dining-room car, but the sleeper as well. These went on to the west, while our route was to the north, Those of the passengers who were going in the latter direction had unwillingly to move into the rear cars. The transference brought me into contact with passengers who had joined the train during the night. To one of these my tongue betrayed me. He was a sharp-looking young gentleman, with fair hair and beard, and when he had passed me several times, looking sharply into my face each time, as I sat on the arm of one of the seats speaking to a lady and her child who had been my fellow-travellers over night, the extensive experience I had acquired during my two or three weeks' sojourn on the Continent enabled me to set him down at once as a Yankee, and, I was more than half inclined to add (to myself of course), an impudent one. I was never more mistaken. A more genuine and genial son of Scottish soil never

existed. While I was smoking on the platform of the car early in the forenoon, my "Yankee" friend joined me, and in a quiet and kindly tone asked me whether I was from the "old country." These are talismanic words away from home, and after I had satisfied my curiosity by finding out that I had betrayed my nationality by my pronunciation of Chicago (which it seems the Americans pronounce "Shicago"), my Yankee friend and I exchanged biographies. His name is Millar, a native of Caithness, for some time resident in Invergordon, and now having his home in Minneapolis. He came to America some thirteen years ago, went into a New York drapery house, doing an extensive wholesale business, and he now represents the house in the State of Iowa. When I met him he was on his way to his home in Minneapolis, which is two or three hundred miles from his business headquarters, to see his wife, who was in delicate health. With my newly formed acquaintance the day passed very pleasantly, and as we approached Minneapolis, my friend invited me to stay over night in the city, and make his house my home. I agreed to the first part of the proposal, but not to the second; and accordingly, on our arrival at Minneapolis, I sent on my baggage check, and found my way to the Nicolette House, the principal Hotel in Minneapolis, where, through the good offices of my friend, I obtained accommodation. K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

PROPOSED TESTIMONIAL TO PROFESSOR BLACKIE.

THE readers of the *Celtic Magazine* are aware that a proposal was made some time ago in these pages to recognise in some public manner the services of Professor Blackie to the cause of our Gaelic language and literature, and more particularly his great and successful efforts for establishing a Celtic Chair in the University of Edinburgh. The present, just when the new Celtic Professor has begun his public labours, is a most opportune time for giving effect to the proposal. With that object in view, the Gaelic Society of Inverness have communicated with several influential Highlanders for active support; and all lovers of our Gaelic mother-tongue will be pleased to learn that, among others, the following noblemen and gentlemen have agreed to act as a Provisional Committee to promote the proposed testimonial, viz.:—The Right Hon. the Earl of Breadalbane; Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart., Lord Lieutenant of Ross-shire; Cluny Macpherson of Cluny Macpherson, C.B.; Lachlan Macdonald, Esq. of Skeabost; Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, Esq., M.P.; the Right Rev. Angus Macdonald, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles; Alex. Nicolson, Esq., M.A., LL.D., Advocate, Sheriff-Substitute of Kirkcudbright; Donald Mackinnon, Esq., M.A., Professor of the Celtic Languages and Literature in

the University of Edinburgh; H. C. Macandrew, Esq., Provost of Inverness; Kenneth Macdonald, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Town-Clerk of Inverness; John Mackay, Esq., C.E., Hereford; Major Colin Mackenzie, Seaforth Highlanders; Rev. Donald Macdonald, Glenfinnan; Bailie Macdonald, Aberdeen; Ex-Provost Simpson, Inverness; Councillor W. G. Stuart, Inverness; and the Council of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, which consists for the current year of – The Right Honourable The Earl of Dunmore, chief; Messrs Alexander Mackenzie, F.S.A. Scot., editor of the *Celtic Magazine*; John Macdonald, merchant, Exchange; and Alexander Macbain, M.A., head-master of Raining School, Inverness, chieftains; William Mackay, F.S.A. Scot., solicitor, honorary secretary; William Mackenzie, Drummond Street, secretary; Duncan Mackintosh, Bank of Scotland, treasurer; Bailie Mackay, and Messrs George J. Campbell, solicitor; Colin Chisholm, Namur Cottage; J. Whyte, librarian; and A. R. Macraild, writer, Inverness, members of council. Other gentlemen willing to join the Committee should intimate their wish to the Secretary.

Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, Esq., M.P., has consented to act as honorary treasurer. Mr William Mackenzie, Secretary of the Society, will act in the same capacity for the Committee.

A circular, setting forth the object in view, is now in course of being issued, and as it is impossible to send a copy of it to every one, we would urge on all who wish to co-operate in promoting the laudable object the Committee have in view, to communicate with the Secretary; or to send their subscriptions to the Honorary Treasurer at his residence, 5 Clarges Street, London, W.

In particular it is impossible to send the circular to many Highlanders in the Colonies, and elsewhere out of Scotland. We would, therefore, especially commend the matter to our leading countrymen abroad and in the South, and respectfully suggest to them the formation of Committees in the principle centres among Highlanders all over the world. Several subscriptions from ten guineas down to half-a-crown have been already intimated.

In his excellent inaugural address, Professor Mackinnon referred to Professor Blackie's labours in connection with the Celtic Chair in the following happy manner:—

"We owe it especially to the founder of the Chair, that no effort will be wanting on our part to prove that upon scientific, as well as upon patriotic grounds, the Chair fills a gap in our national system of education. It was founded as probably never Chair was founded before. When the history of the movement comes to be written, it will be found that the work was the work of one man. Professor Blackie undertook the duty when others failed. With a large faith, a firm purpose, a loving heart, and an eloquent tongue, during all these years he never lost sight of the object to which he devoted himself. He called himself the Apostle of the Celts; and he was ready to become all things to all men, that he might win—subscriptions. And subscriptions he did win—from high and low, rich and poor; from the student of science and the votary of commerce; from the peer and the peasant; from the Queen upon the throne and the poorest of her Highland subjects. . . . He has made the language of the Celt classical within these walls of learning. To use his own words, he has placed it

'With Greece and with Rome in the schools of the wise.'

And shall we not say to him in the old language of this land,

'Buaidh is piseach air a cheann'.
'An là a chi 's nach fhaic.'"

And so say we.

Gu'm bu fada beo an sàr ghaisgeach.

MARBH-RANN DO CHALUM RUADH MACCOINNICH: LE RUAIRIDH, A BHRATHAIR.

[THE following elegy was composed by Roderick Mackenzie, heir-male of the Old Mackenzies of Applecross, to his brother Malcolm Roy. The author composed several other very beautiful pieces, but few, if any, of them have been preserved. He had emigrated to Nova Scotia early in the century, leaving the devoted Malcolm behind him in this country. We are indebted for the manuscript, which is phonetically written, to Mrs Leed, Fairfield Road, Inverness, herself a near relation, and a direct descendant of the author, through her mother, Mrs Farquhar Macrae, Strome Hotel (North Side), Lochcarron.]

A Righ, gur mis' tha bochd, truagh,
'S tric deoir air mo ghruaidh,
'S mò 's tric mi ri luaidh mo dhòruinn,
'S mi ri cumhadh 'n fhir ruaidh,
Dh' fhag mi thall thair a' chuain,
Far nach cluinn mi, a luaidh, do chòmhradh.
'S e mo chridhe 'tha bruit',
'S tric snidh' air mo shuil,
'S thuit m' inntinn gu tuirs' a's bròn domh;
'S ann agam tha'm fàth,
'S mi 'chaill mo dheas-làimh,
Mo thasgaidh, 's mo bhrathair ro-mhath.

Aona bhrathair mo ghaoil,
Dh'fhag cho muladach mi,
'S nach urrainn domh inns' mo dhòruinn;
'S ann domhsa tha buan,
H-uile mionaid is uair,
A bhi cuimhneachadh buaidhean t'oige,
'S cha'n 'eil lighich fo'n ghrein,
A leighseas mo chreuchd,
An taobh-sa Mhac Dhe na Glòire;
Bho'n thainig gun dail
Ort sumanadh bàis,
Thuit mo chridhe fo shàil mo bhroige.

Sid am bàs 'thig gu teach,
Air sliochd Adhaimh fa leth,
Bho rinn 'Namhaid ar creach 's ar spuilleadh.
Mur be 'n Ti le mhòr ghràs,
Gu'n do sheas E na'r n-àit,
Bhiodh sinn' uile bàite còmhladh;
Tha mi 'n dòchas, a ghraidh,
Gu'n d' rinn creideamh thu slàn
Anns an Ti am beil fàth nar dòchais;
'S cha'n 'eil teagamh 'n am chridh,
Nach eil t-anam an sìth,
Mar-ri ainglibh a' seinn nan òran.

Bu mhi d' Oisean bochd, truagh,
'S mi 'dh'fheudadh a luaidh
Gu 'm bu diombuan, neo-bhuan do sheorsa :
Bha iad foghainteach, garbh,
'S bha iad math air ceann airm,
'S bu mhath cuid diubh gu sealg fear cròice ;
Chunnaic mise thu fein,
Nach fhaicinn air feill,
No 'n co-thional cheud aig Ordugh,
Na bu smearaile ceum,
'Gabhail beachd ort na d' dheigh,
'S tu 'g amharc fo t'eudadh Dòmhnaich.

Thigeadh feileadh nam ball,
Air a phreasadh gu teann ;
'Se nach fheumadh 'bhi gann da dheanamh ;
Gartan craobhach, caol, daight',
'S osan gearr do'n chlò bhreac,
Bho laimh taillear bu mhath gu fhiaradh.
Air an iosgaid ghil, dhluth,
Bu ro-shoillear fo'n ghlùn,
Air an dearcadh gach suil air lianaig :
'S cha bu chladhaire thu,
'N fhuair a chuirt' thu gu d' chùl,
'S cha robh taise 'n ad ghnuis gu striochdadh.

Mo ghradh an spalpaire grinn,
Air an laidheadh na rainn,
Air nach d' rainig an aois mhor bhliadhnaibh ;
Dha 'n robh cridhe neo-thoinnt',
Leis nach d' rugadh an fhoill,
Pairteach, furanach, fialaidh, foirmeil ;
Fear modhail 's e ciuin,
'S fiamh a' ghair' air a ghnùis,
'S e na labhairt cho mùint ri maighdinn ;
Anns gach cruadal a's tùirn,
'S tu nach teicheadh air chùl,
'S bha thu fearail an cuisean saighdeir.

Gur e 'n t-eug bha gun bhàigh,
Bhuail e palsaidh na d' laimh,
'Chaidh le sumanadh bàis g'ad iarraidh ;
Is maor le 'n teidear an t-aog,
Nach gabh cumha no cìs,
Ach bhi umhailt' gach taobh g'an iarr e ;
'S maor e 'bhagras gach righ,
Anns gach cath agus strì
Chumadh cogadh fad mhiltean bliadhna ;
Bha e treun anns gach blàr,
A's lann gheur 'na dheas laimh,
Do 'm feum uile shiol Adhaimh striochdadh.

Bho'n thainig mi'n nuadh-dhuthaich,
Iomallaich, fhuair,
Fhuair mi carrachdainn cruaidh gu leor innt';
Bho 'n dh'eug Mairi mo ruin,
'Sa chaill mi fradharc mo shùl,
'S mòr gum b'fhearr leam 'bhi 'n duthaich m' eolais;
Gu'm beil m' aigneadh gach uair,
'Ruith a null air a' chuan,
'S mi ri cumha Chaluim Ruaidh, 's nach beo e;
'S mi mar dhuine gun cholg,
Dheth a spuillteadh 'chuid airm,
'S gur e cumha nam marbh a leòn mi.

Tha gach fear 'thig as ùr
'G inns' a chorr dheth do chliu,
De na thainig an taobh so dh' fhairge;
'S bi gach fear a tha thall
'Cur an aonta na cheann,
Nach deach aon ni 'chur meallt' na mharbhrainn,
Mu'n laoch mhisneachail, threun.
Do 'n robh gliocas le ceill,
Anns gach subhailc bha ceutach, ainmeil;
'S bho 'n bhàrc ort an t-eug,
Thuit an cùl as mo sgeith,
'S mi gun bhrathair 'n ad dheigh bho 'n dh'fhalbh thu.

CELTIC AND LITERARY NOTES.

It is our purpose in future to devote a small portion of our space to the recording, in the form of short notes, of important events of a Celtic character, especially such as bear upon the language and literature of the Gael. We shall be glad to receive contributions from friends who may have any facts to communicate which they consider would add to the freshness and interest of this department. Announcements of forthcoming Celtic works, intimations of the formation of Celtic Societies, or of the inception and progress of any movements for preserving the records and traditions, or promoting the use of the language, of the Gael, are the description of notes which we specially invite.

A resolution was come to by the Gaelic Society of Inverness last winter, of establishing a class for the teaching of Gaelic. We hope the suggestion will be cordially taken up now that the Society has entered on its winter work, and that a flourishing class will be the result.

Two rare and important Highland works are about to be re-issued, namely, "Martin's Western Islands of Scotland," and Dean Munro's work on the same subject at an earlier period. Both works have long been scarce and difficult to procure, and

we have no doubt many will gladly avail themselves of this opportunity of securing them.

We are glad to observe that the veteran Lochfyne bard, Mr Evan MacColl, is about to give to the world a new, enlarged, and revised edition of his sweet lyrics, both English and Gaelic. We bespeak for the volumes a reception worthy of a true and genuine poet, as well as a warm-hearted and manly Highlander.

The Earl of Seafield has recently issued, for the private use of friends and connections of the Family of Grant, the history of the "Chiefs of Grant," in three magnificent volumes. The work of compiling the history was intrusted to Dr William Fraser, of the Register House, Edinburgh, a fact, which in itself, guarantees its complete and thoroughly trustworthy character. The wide ramifications of the history of the Grant family, and the important share which they have always taken in the stirring event of past times in the Highlands, must of necessity render the work one of outstanding value to the student of Highland history. As an expression of his interest in Inverness and its institutions, the Earl of Seafield has presented a copy of "The Chiefs of Grant" to the Public Library.

"Woods, Forests, and Estates of Perthshire," is the title of a most charming book by Mr Thomas Hunter, editor of the *Perthshire Constitutional*. One does not know whether to admire most Mr Hunter's interesting pedigrees of the trees and forests of Perthshire, or his lively and enthusiastic pictures of the estates which have reared them. Mr Hunter is almost entitled to the description applied to the naturalist of old, who "spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that groweth out of the wall." We shall avail ourselves of an early opportunity of giving this book a more extended notice.

The Rev. Mr Maccallum, of Arisaig, has published a small collection of Gaelic verses under the title of "Sop as gach Seid;" but beyond the fact that the booklet is tastefully got up, and clearly and pretty correctly printed, there is not much calling for praise. Mr Maccallum has done much meritorious work in other spheres, and is capable of doing more—poetry is, however, not his *forte*. The time required to produce the Gaelic rhymes before us may be described as wasted on the profitless occupation of "trusadh nan Sop 's a' leigeil nan boitean leis an t-sruth," while more important work lies to Mr Maccallum's hand all around him. It requires something more than poetic licence to justify our author, when he makes the sun rise on Christmas Eve. The astronomical phenomenon is thus referred to on page 11 :—

"Furan's failt' ort, Oidhche Nollaig !
Deonach molam fein thu ;
Soills' na Grein rinn sinne sona,
Roimhe ortsa dh' eirich."

Messrs Maclachlan & Stewart, Edinburgh, are about to publish a large collection of Highland dance music. The tunes are arranged and selected by Mr James Stewart-Robertson of Edradynate, a gentleman of wide experience in this department of science and art. The collection will consist of no fewer than 800 tunes. The same publishers have also in the press another musical work, namely, a collection of Gaelic songs, with airs and English translations, edited and arranged by Mr Charles Stewart of Tigh-an-duin, whose name is sufficient guarantee that the work will be all that good taste, wide and correct knowledge, and hearty Highland enthusiasm can make it.

The third volume of Mackintosh's "History of Civilisation in Scotland" has just

been issued, and it fully justifies the high anticipations excited by the former volumes. This volume is devoted to an account of the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the Covenanting struggle, the Commonwealth, the Restoration, the Revolution, the Risings, and the social and literary history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The work, when completed, as it is expected to be by the publication of a fourth volume, will form a monument of faithful and painstaking labour. No Scotchman's library can be complete without it. We only say this much at present, as we purpose to review the volume before us more fully on an early occasion.

A deputation of gentlemen interested in the promotion of the study and intelligent use of Gaelic in Irish schools, recently waited upon the Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, with the view of enlisting his aid in the accomplishment of their purpose. What the prospects held out to them were we know not, but we mention the fact as an example and incentive to the friends of the Gaelic language in Scotland to bestir themselves in a similar manner. The concession made in the Code a few years ago in favour of the movement amounts to no more than a recognition of its reasonableness. Its practical value is infinitesimal, and therefore we trust our societies will buckle on their armour once more for further demands, and raise the question to the position of a test one on the hustings, in view of the extension of electoral power to the mass of the Highland population.

One of the most important events in the history of the Celtic languages, and one likely to exert a weighty influence on their future preservation and utilisation, occurred recently at Edinburgh. We refer to the inauguration of the Chair of Celtic Languages, History, Literature, and Antiquities. The inaugural address delivered by Professor Mackinnon, is now before us, and the highest praise which we can bestow upon it is to say that it was eminently worthy of the occasion. It bears evidence of being the work of one who can apply to the unique and all-important labours on which he has entered, those qualities, in a very high degree, which are necessary for the effective discharge of the duties of his office. In Mr Mackinnon's address, the field to be brought under cultivation is first sketched. In doing so he evinces an extensive and minute acquaintance with all the available historical and philological sources of information. To this is added a thorough knowledge of the vernacular, and he brings to bear upon the work a spirit of admirable candour and impartiality, that enables him to address himself to it in a truly philosophic spirit, willing to receive light and teaching from the endless variety of dialectic differences which prevail in the domain of the Gaelic tongue, instead of dogmatically elevating the *patois* of a district into the position of an infallible standard. Mr Mackinnon adopts as the principle of his conduct that of the apostle, and also that of science and common sense, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

In connection with the work of the Celtic Chair, Mr Mackinnon is preparing a series of Gaelic Reading Books, the first of which is now in the press; and, judging from advanced sheets which have been sent us, the work is done in a thorough and accurate manner. We are certain that the preparation of these manuals alone will lead to a renewed interest in the teaching of the language, not merely in connection with the University classes in Edinburgh, but over the length and breadth of the Gaelic world. There are at present in existence no class-books that could be made available, and thus a great desideratum will be supplied; and did Professor Mackinnon accomplish nothing else, he would, even for this act alone, have deserved well of the youth of his country.

THE

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ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XII.

SIR EWEN CAMERON—*Continued.*—REMARKABLE INCIDENTS IN HIS EARLY CAREER.

LOCHIEL, shortly after the incident described in our last, received a message from General Middleton that he had been defeated by General Morgan at Lochgarry, where he was surprised and had many of his men killed, at a time when he thought himself quite free from all danger at the hands of the enemy. In consequence of this defeat, Middleton, who had previously invited the King to come over from France in the following spring, promising His Majesty that the country as one man would rise to support him, gave up all hopes of success for the Loyalists, and he sent express instructions to Lochiel to come to him, not so much with the view of continuing the war, as to concert the best means of giving it up on the best and most honourable terms which in all the circumstances they could secure.

Lochiel proceeded on this journey with three hundred of his followers through the most secret and inaccessible mountain paths, but the Governor of Inverlochy heard of his movements, and advised General Morgan of his departure, pointing out

to him the great service that he would render to the State if he captured him dead or alive. The young Chief, however, soon managed to reach Braemar. Here he took up his quarters for the night in a small shealing, greatly fatigued, where he slept soundly in his plaid on a bed of heather. He was disturbed early next morning by a peculiar dream, which, according to his biographer, was the means of saving his life. He imagined that a grizzly-bearded man, of disordered countenance and low stature, came where he was, and, striking him smartly on the breast, exclaimed in a loud voice, "Lochiel, get up, for the Borrowing days will soon be upon you."* Being no believer in dreams, the Chief immediately fell asleep; the grizzly little man repeated his past performance, calling out louder than before. Lochiel thought that it was merely a trick played upon him by one of his own retinue, who slept with him in the bothy, and, after chiding him for his interference, and getting a denial, he again fell asleep; but no sooner had he done so than the little man again appeared, doubling the force of his blow, and crying aloud, as if in terror, "Arise quickly, Lochiel, arise, for the Borrowing days are already upon you." The Chief immediately started from his bed, and before he was able to get on his hose, he was informed that the ground round about was literally covered with horse and foot, and that some of them were already almost at his bothy's door. He instantly fled to the top of the nearest hill, and there, looking behind him for the first time, he beheld a whole regiment of dragoons, and several companies of foot, from the Castle of Kildrummie, sent by General Morgan to capture him, on receipt of the message from Inverlochy that he had started on his way to meet General Middleton, promising the officer in command a rich reward if he brought him in either dead or alive.

The Camerons must have felt themselves in perfect security, for they were completely off their guard. They lost all their baggage, among which, it is said, were many valuable things, including a "quantity of unset diamonds, besides a dozen of silver spoons curiously wrought, and on which the whole deca-

* These are the last three days of March, which, being generally tempestuous, often prove fatal to sheep, lambs, and cattle, weakened, when badly fed, by the severity of the preceding winter. The three days are said to be borrowed from April, whence they are called the "Borrowing days."

logue was engraved with great art." All these fell into the hands of the enemy. Next night Lochiel slept on the top of a mountain where no horse, and scarcely any foot, could reach him. During the succeeding day he arrived safely at General Middleton's headquarters. Here he remained for a few days, taking part in a Council, at which it was resolved to discontinue the war, and to have the army broken up, each shifting for himself as best he could, the season being so far advanced that they could no longer keep in the open field. Middleton, with a few of his officers, resolved upon retiring to the Western Isles, while others accompanied Lochiel to Lochaber, whither they secretly found their way. Cromwell, now finding that he required to direct his attention more to his English subjects, was anxious to come to terms with the Scottish Loyalists, intimated to the Highland Chiefs, through secret agents, that he would accept their submission, and that upon laying down their arms, and returning to their homes, they would be restored to their fortunes and estates; and this, in the unpromising nature of their prospects, naturally induced many of them to accept terms and give up the war, at least until there should appear a better prospect of carrying it on more successfully.

During the winter Lochiel and his guests visited General Middleton at Dunvegan Castle, in the Isle of Skye, where the General and many of his officers found shelter. Several other chiefs also attended, and after long deliberation it was resolved that they should all submit, before they were completely ruined, finding the King quite unable to support them with men, money, or arms. Middleton escaped to France. A few days before he left he handed Lochiel a document, in which he recounted his services on behalf of the King, especially referring to his never having submitted to the enemy, and to his having given frequent proofs of his fidelity, courage, and conduct, standing out to the very last, notwithstanding all difficulties, concluding thus:—"And withal, I do hereby allow and desire him to take such speedy course for his safety, by capitulation, as he shall see fit, seeing inevitable and invincible necessity has forced us to lay aside this war, and that I can do nothing else for his advantage." The document is signed and sealed "Att Dunvegan, the last day of March 1665," by "Middletone." Thus, in the meantime

ended the war, and we shall next follow our hero into the more peaceful paths of diplomacy, a field in which he seems to have been as distinguished as in that of war.

During his absence in the Isle of Skye, the officers at Inverlochy arranged several hunting parties, accompanied by considerable bodies of troops, at first keeping well together when out in Lochiel's forest, but as they became better acquainted with the ground, and more assured of their safety in the absence of the Chief, they became bolder, and hunted separately. On one occasion many of the principal officers from the Castle were out for a grand match, each having a small party of soldiers in attendance. They agreed to meet at a spot near the garrison, at night, and march in together. Lochiel was kept well informed of their movements from day to day, and on this occasion he divided his men in small parties, with instructions to follow each officer's party at a proper distance, until they found a convenient opportunity to attack it with success, with the result that most of the officers were killed, and the rest taken prisoners. Such a loss o his principal officers filled the Governor with sorrow and feelings of revenge. The hunting matches were at once stopped. He at once adopted means for obtaining intelligence of Lochiel's movements through "men of desperate circumstances, whom the hopes of gain, and the security of living safe from the prosecutions of their defrauded creditors, allured from all parts of the kingdom," and formed the nucleus of the village of Fort-William, which, our author says, "would have soon increased into a tolerable market town in those remote parts, if the restoration of the Royal Family had not put a stop to it. It was no great difficulty for the Governor to find, among such a confluence of desperadoes, many bold, cunning fellows, proper enough for spies and intelligencers. Lochiel no sooner met with them, as he often did, but he commanded them to be hanged without delay."* In consequence of all this, Lochiel was so sharply looked after that he soon found it dangerous to remain near the garrison, though he had arranged a set of spies of his own, through whom, on several occasions, he managed to escape capture.

Not long after this he called together the principal gentlemen of the clan, and intimated to them his intention of giving up

**Lochiel's Memoirs*, p. 139.

the war, as every chance of success had entirely vanished, and their present mode of life, wandering in the hills, had become well-nigh intolerable. He was determined to secure honourable terms of peace for himself and for them, and had formed his plans accordingly, but he expressed a desire that they should trust him with all the details, without in the meantime disclosing them. Such was their confidence in him, that they agreed to leave everything in his hands, and asked him only to command them, and that they would do his bidding and execute his orders. He picked out about a hundred from amongst them, and told them to be in readiness to join him at any moment.

He had just received a communication from the Laird of MacNaughten, in Cowal,—a near relative of his own, and a Loyalist, who had in consequence to live in the hills to escape the Marquis of Argyll—that three English and one Scotch Colonel were surveying the district by orders of General Monk, and that if he came with a few brave followers they might easily be captured and kept as hostages until he could secure favourable terms of surrender. Lochiel was delighted on receiving this intelligence, and he proceeded with his brave followers, keeping the high ground night and day, so as to avoid detection on his march. He met MacNaughten at the appointed place, and was informed of the whereabouts of the Colonels. They then arranged the best plan by which to secure them, after which he marched alone with his men, during the night, to a village within four miles of Inveraray, where he arrived about one o'clock in the morning. He then told his followers the object of his visit, and directed them how to proceed. He informed them that at a small inn close bye the Colonels lay asleep that night, without any apprehension of danger. "It is probable they may have a sentry at the door, and some officers and servants lodged with them in the house, and, therefore, to prevent resistance, I have contrived the following stratagem, which may be executed quickly, easily, and without danger of alarming their guards. The house being built of lime and stone it will be no easy matter to break through the wall or to force open the door; we must, therefore, steal softly to it, and after seizing the sentry, if there be any, we must each of us take hold of the timber or kebbers that support the roof at the back side of it, and pulling all at once there will be an open-

ing large enough for us all to jump in at the same time, and to make every person in the house our prisoners, without distinction. If we fail in this we must put fire to the thatch of the roof, by which we will either destroy them or become masters of their persons. If their guards are alarmed, which is the worst that can happen, I expect that you will behave after your ordinary manner; but be sure to make as many prisoners as you possibly can, that being the chief thing I presently aim at." The plan was successfully carried out, and the four Colonels were taken alive. Among them was Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, a Highlander, with whom Lochiel had been previously well acquainted. They were hurried away in a boat provided and kept in readiness by MacNaughten, ferried across to the other side, and then marched, without a halt, until Lochiel had them in a place of security on his own property. They were perfectly horrified on finding themselves in the power of one whom they had learned to look upon as a mere savage and blood-thirsty barbarian, but his considerate and civil treatment soon induced them to look upon him in a very different light. Though their lodgings were not of the best, they were otherwise well provided for and entertained. Their rank was acknowledged, and the only real cause of complaint they had was the loss of their personal liberty. They were confined on an island in Locharkaig, where they secured an ample supply of delicate fish. "At the head of it is a large forest of red deer, where there is, besides, great abundance of other game. Lochiel, who omitted no civility that he thought would add to the pleasure of his guests, carried them to the head of the loch in a boat, where he was met by some hundreds of his men, whom he had ordered to be convened for that purpose. These people, stretching themselves in a line along the hills, soon enclosed great numbers of deer, which, having driven to a place appointed, they guarded them so closely within the circle which they formed round them, that the gentlemen had the pleasure of killing them by their broadswords, which was a diversion new and uncommon to them." They spent several days in this way regaling themselves with every variety of venison and wild fowl. "They were much diverted with the activity and address of the Highlanders in all their exercises, and instead of the barbarians they were represented to be, they found them a quick and in-

genious people, of great vigour and hardiness." They were even more pleased with Lochiel himself. His politeness, good sense, modesty, and wit; his vivacity and cheerfulness, and his constant anxiety to entertain them, deeply impressed them. They strongly urged upon him the propriety of coming to terms with the Government, now that he was the only chief in the Highlands who held out, urging that he had already gained glory enough in the field as well as for his devotion to the exiled dynasty. This was the very thing Lochiel desired to bring about; he, however, wanted to be advised and courted into it, but pretended that nothing was further from his intentions, saying that no wise man would trust himself in the hands of their Protector, "whose whole life was one continued scene of rebellion, ambition, hypocrisy, avarice, and cruelty." He charged him with all the blood spilt during the Civil Wars, with the murder of the King, and numberless other crimes. He would have no dealings with such a man; for "it was still in his power to preserve his conscience and honour unstained, and to continue in that innocence, loyalty, and integrity of character" which was the duty of an honest man and a good subject. He, however, in time began to give way, especially to the reasoning of his old friend Colonel Campbell, and ultimately acknowledged that it might be for his interest and that of his people to submit, "provided they could procure such articles as would suit with their honour and the advantage of their country; but that for his own part, before he would consent to the disarming of himself and his people, and to involve them in the horrid guilt of perjury, by abjuring the King, his master, and taking oaths to the Usurper, that he was resolved to live as an outlaw, a fugitive, and a vagabond, without regard to the consequences." To this Colonel Campbell replied that, if Lochiel expressed an inclination to submit, no oath would be required from himself or from his followers; that he should virtually get terms of his own making; and that he himself would undertake to see the conditions performed, concluding his appeal with the remark, that the most powerful of European monarchs "do not think it below their dignity to court our friendship, and yet the chief of a Highland clan thinks it a stain upon his honour to embrace the peace and friendship that is offered upon terms of his own making."

Lochiel at last promised to consult his friends, and submit a copy of his proposals next day. This he did, and appointed Colonel Campbell to carry them to General Monk, when they were finally adjusted. Colonel Campbell in due time returned with a letter from Monk, dated "Dalkeith, 19th May 1665," in which the General says, "I have this day agreed upon such articles as I shall grant for the coming in of yourself and party, upon the powers you gave to Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Campbell to treat for you . . . In case you shall declare your approbation of these articles within fourteen days of the date hereof, I am content they shall stand good, and be performed to you, otherwise not." Scarcely any alteration was made on the articles submitted by Lochiel. The complete details of this remarkable treaty cannot now be given, the document itself having been burnt, with many other valuable records, in Lochiel's house—accidentally burnt—but the most important conditions contained in it may be gathered from General Monk's letters to the Chief himself. They were as follows :—

1st. Lochiel, for himself and in name of his whole clan was to submit and to live in peace on condition that his Excellency demanded no oaths or other assurances but Lochiel's word of honour.

2nd. That the Chief and all his friends and followers of the Clan Cameron should be allowed to carry and use their arms the same as before the war broke out, they behaving themselves peacefully, subject to these two conditions—1st, That Lochiel's train, when he travelled out of the Highlands, should not exceed twelve or fourteen armed men, besides his body servants, without a permit from the General, or from his successor in that office; and 2nd, That the gentlemen of the clan should not travel anywhere out of their own country with more than a certain number of armed men, to which they were limited, and they were not to go from home, armed in company, above a restricted number.

3rd. Lochiel and his clan were to lay down their arms, in the name of Charles II., to the Governor of Inverlochy, and take them up again immediately in name of the States, without any reference to Cromwell.

4th. Lochiel bound himself to pay the public burdens, suppress tumults, thefts and depredations, from and after the date of the treaty.

It was agreed that he should receive compensation for the wood destroyed and used by the Governor of Inverlochy from the date of the agreement. He was also granted a free and full indemnity for all riots, depredations, crimes, and everything of the like nature, committed by him or by his men during the late wars, and preceding the treaty. It was also agreed that reparation should be made to such of his clan and following as had suffered anything

at the hands of the soldiers in garrison; and he and his tenants were discharged of all the cess, tithes, and public burdens which they had left unpaid since the war began, but they were to pay these, in all time coming. Another article, the eleventh, was in regard to the dispute which had so long subsisted between Lochiel and Mackintosh. It provided "that the said General Monk shall keep the Laird of Lochiel free from any by-gone duties to William Macintosh of Torecastle, out of the lands pertaining to him in Lochaber (not exceeding the sum of five hundred pounds sterling), the said Laird of Lochiel submitting to the determination of General Monk, the Marquiss of Argyll, and Colonel William Bryan, or any two of them, what satisfaction he shall give to Mackintosh for the aforesaid lands in time coming." There were, besides, several other articles, all in favour of Lochiel.

The next step was to carry out this important and highly honourable treaty within the specified date, and Lochiel immediately set his prisoners free, at the same time asking them the favour of accompanying him to Inverlochy that they might see and testify to his ready and free compliance with at least one of the principal clauses of the treaty, in laying down his arms. This, in the most agreeable manner, they consented to do. Lochiel, having convened all the members of his clan that lived within a reasonable distance of the garrison, placed himself at their head, and marched to Inverlochy, accompanied by his late prisoners. His men were dressed in their usual warlike array; told off in companies under command of the chieftains or captains of their respective tribes whose place it was to lead them in war, all armed, as if marching to battle, with pipes playing, and colours flying. The Governor marched out all his troops to the plain in front of the garrison to meet them, where they were placed in proper order. The Camerons drew up in two lines in front of the garrison troops. The Governor and Lochiel saluted one another; the manner of the ceremony was agreed upon; the articles of the treaty were read, amid loud huzzas, with every appearance of satisfaction and demonstrations of joy on both sides. Lochiel and his men formally laid down their arms in name of the King, and immediately took them up in name of the States; a magnificent entertainment was provided for the Chief and his principal officers, while his men were supplied with an

excellent dinner on the plain where they stood. He would not allow his followers to mix with the English for fear that they might quarrel and produce fresh disturbance. One of his officers, however, had a dispute over the wine with a Lieutenant-Colonel Allan, which was afterwards amicably settled by the intervention of the Governor. With this single exception the whole proceedings passed off in the most satisfactory manner. Lochiel wrote the same day to General Monk intimating his compliance so far with the conditions of the treaty. The General sent for him to Dalkeith, whither he started next morning. On his arrival Monk expressed his great pleasure at what had been done, and gave him a letter to that effect, dated Dalkeith, 5th June 1655. Thus a treaty was arranged and carried out between the powerful Government of Oliver Cromwell and a Highland chief upon terms so highly honourable to the latter as to be scarcely credible in the present day.

Almost immediately after these proceedings had been concluded, no end of prosecutions were raised against the Camerons for offences committed even so far back as the wars of Montrose. But General Monk continued Lochiel's friend, and he wrote to the Judges desiring them not to move in any actions raised for crimes committed prior to his capitulation. It was not long, however, before an action was raised against him before the Sheriff of Inverness, when Monk procured an order from the Privy Council "discharging that judge to sustain process for any crime committed preceding the first of June 1655;" and after this the Camerons were allowed for many years to live at peace. Lochiel received many favours from the Government. Among other privileges he secured the management of the public revenues of his district.* About this time he turned young

* "1st, Lochiel (after he had closed his capitulation with the usurpers) entered into so strict a league and friendship with them, that for his cause they divided Lochaber and the places adjacent from the Shires of Inverness and Perth, and made the said Lochiel both Sheriff, Commissary, Commissioner, and Justice of the Peace of these places, who thereby not only enriched himself, but also did the usurpers several good offices, by helping to reduce the Highlanders under their obedience: 2nd, He was assisted in all lawsuits against Mackintosh by the usurpers. So as Mackintosh and his whole kin and friends were forced to deliver their arms to the garrison at Inverness, but Lochiel and the whole name of Clan Cameron were tolerated to bear arms in any part within the kingdom, except only within the garrisons."—*The True Information of the Respective Deportments of the Lairds of Makintoshe, and of Evan Cameron of Lochzield, in Reference to the Late Unnaturall Warrs.*

MacMartin of Letterfinlay out of his property, and forced him to leave the country. Old MacMartin and his people sided with the Camerons. Monk intervened; Lochiel arranged with the heir of Letterfinlay, whom he ultimately restored to his rights; and the General was so satisfied with his conduct that he continued a friendly correspondence with him until the Restoration.

Lochiel clearly had no great faith in the Presbyterian clergy of his day, for, though he was anxious to have a minister placed among his people that he "might be of service in reclaiming them," yet "the turbulent tempers of the clergymen of these times, joined with their stupidity and ignorance, their avarice, pride, and cruelty," gave him so bad an opinion of them that he was afraid to admit any of them into his country. Ultimately, however, he agreed to admit the clergy into Lochaber, the Council providing him with eighty pounds yearly for each of two parishes.

Lochiel, now able to live at home in peace, married a young lady to whom he had been for some time engaged, Mary, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, eighth Baron, and first Baronet of Sleat. The wedding is said to have been memorable for its magnificence, and on his return to Lochaber he was entertained and "complimented by his Clan with a sum equal at least to all the charges of that expensive wedding." His biographer records an incident, which occurred on the occasion, of so interesting a nature that we shall reproduce it in his own words:—"At this meeting he was agreeably entertained by a Highland bard, who sung or recited his verses after the manner of the ancients, and who inherited no small portion of their spirit and simplicity. He laboured under the common misfortune of the brotherhood of Parnassus, and came all the way from Braemar, or thereabout, to petition for three cows that had been taken from him in the late wars. He artfully introduced himself by a panegyric on the Chief; and while he magnified his power, he ingeniously complimented his Clan, whose friendship and protection he begged. He made frequent mention of those qualities that were most favourable for his purpose, with cunning enough; for as pity, generosity, and compassion are virtues inseparable from great souls, so they answered his aim in opening the hearts of those whom he petitioned. The poem is written in a strong, nervous, and masculine style, abounding with

thoughts and images drawn from such simple objects as he had either seen or occasionally heard of; but expressed in a manner peculiar to the emphasis and genius of the Gaelic, for he understood no other language. Here is no ostentation of learning, no allusions to ancient fable or mythology, no far-fetched similes, nor dazzling metaphors brought from imaginary or unknown objects. These are the affected ornaments of modern poetry, and are more properly the issue of art and study, than of nature and genius. But the beauty of this consists in that agreeable simplicity, in that glow of imagination and noble flame of fancy, which give life and energy to such compositions." Our author gives an English translation of the poem, which, he says, no more resembles the original "than the naked and disfigured carcase of a murdered hero does a living one in full vigour and spirit; for the Gaelic has all the advantages of an original language. It is concise, copious, and pathetic; and as one word of it expresses more than three of ours, so it is well-known how impossible it is to preserve the full force and energy of a thought or image in a tedious circumlocution." We regret being unable, for want of space, to give the English version. It by no means lacks "vigour and energy," and we shall print it in "The History of the Camerons," when publishing it in a separate form. The English extends to no less than seventy-six lines of vigorous verse, and if the Gaelic original was so far superior to it as our authority would have us believe it must have been a very highly successful effort indeed.

Macaulay,—who can never be fairly charged with undue praise to his Highland countrymen—in his *History of England*, refers to this poem, and the occasion of it, in the following terms. Of Lochiel, whom he describes as the "Ulysses of the Highlands," and of it he says—"As a patron of literature, he ranks with the magnificent Dorset. If Dorset, out of his own purse, allowed Dryden a pension equal to the profits of the Laureateship, Lochiel is said to have bestowed on a celebrated bard, who had been plundered by marauders, and who implored alms in a pathetic Gaelic ode, three cows and the almost incredible sum of fifteen pounds sterling." We shall next follow the famous chief through, perhaps, the most interesting period of his career, from the Restoration to the Revolution.

(To be continued.)

THE HIGHLAND BAGPIPE.

"Will you play upon this pipe?
Give it breath with your mouth, and it will discourse
Most eloquent music."

HAMLET—Act iii., Scene 2.

IT is not proposed to give in this article a description of the construction of the bagpipe, but merely a short sketch of its history, gleaned from a variety of sources, the principal among these being Logan's invaluable work. Dion Chrysostom, a Greek writer, informs us that the Emperor Nero played upon the flute, with a leather bladder under his arm. This, undoubtedly, was a primitive form of bagpipe, and it is said that its music afforded the Emperor great pleasure. It was called *tibia utricularius* by the Romans. Nero had the figure of a man playing upon this instrument impressed upon several of his coins, a few of which are still in existence. There is also preserved in the Palace of Santa Croce at Rome, a fine Greek marble, upon which is represented, in basso relievo, a man playing upon something strongly resembling a bagpipe. The Roman Catholic Church has gathered round itself some strange traditions, but perhaps the most curious of all is, that the shepherds who first received the news of Christ's birth, signified their joy by playing a salute upon the bagpipe, and Albrecht Durer, the great engraver, has worked out this idea in a woodcut of the "Nativity." In the library of King's College, Old Aberdeen, there is an old Dutch missal, the illuminator of which has actually ventured to pourtray one of the appearing angels playing upon that instrument.

The introduction of the bagpipe into Scotland is a point which has given rise to much discussion. In a book entitled the "National Music of Ireland," by Michael Conran, it is said that the Romans took it from the Greeks, and afterwards introduced it into Scotland, where, from its warlike sound, it was quickly adopted by the people, who used it as an incentive to battle; and it soon became the national instrument of Caledonia.

In the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for 1879-80, we are told that in 1362 forty shillings was paid to

the King's pipers, and mention is also made in that work of a set of bagpipes belonging to Mr Robert Glen, bearing date 1409. James I. of Scotland writes in his "Peblis to the Play" as follows :—

"The bagpype blew and they outhrew
Out of the townis untald,
Lord, sic ane schout was thame among
Quhen their were owre the wald."

And again, in the same poem :—

"With that Will Swane come sueitand out,
Ane meikle miller man,
Gif I sall dance have done, lat se
Blaw up the bag-pyp than."

In 1598, the then minister of Logie wrote, in a poem on the fate of the Spanish Armada :—

"Caus michtelie the weirlie nottes breike,
On Heiland pipes, Scottes and Hybernicke."

After the Reformation, the Scottish Reformers held the bagpipe to be the devil's own musical instrument, and in consequence pipers were severely persecuted, especially from 1570 to 1624. In the Highlands, however, where scarcely any other music was known, the bagpipe was esteemed highly, and the *tail* of no chief was complete without the piper and the piper's servant, the former of whom was higher in rank than any of the other retainers, and was entitled to the name of a gentleman. Logan gives a number of very good anecdotes of pipers, one or two of which we may be permitted to give. At a dinner given by a Mr Thomas Grant at Cork, several years ago, MacDonell, the famous North of Ireland piper, was sent for to entertain the company. Although MacDonell was quite entitled to a place at the dinner-table, the master of the house had a table and chair placed for him on the landing, outside the room. A bottle of claret and a glass were put on the table, and a servant stood behind the chair. MacDonell arrived, looked at the refreshment set apart for him, filled up a glass of claret, stepped to the door of the room where the company were assembled, said, "Mr Grant, your health and company!" and drank it off. He then threw half-a-crown upon the little table, saying to the servant, "There, my lad, is two shillings for my bottle of wine, and sixpence for yourself," and he immediately

ran down stairs, mounted his horse, and rode off, followed by his groom.

At one time a Captain of the 42nd Highlanders had received instructions from headquarters to provide a drummer for his company, in addition to the customary piper. In obedience to this order a drummer was soon procured, and he took his place beside the rival musician. Here, however, came the tug-of-war, for each wanted to be on the right hand of the other, and a heated dispute arose between them. Ultimately, to avoid a hand-to-hand fight, the Captain interfered, and, after hearing both parties, decided the knotty point in favour of the drummer. This decision injured the feelings of the piper so much that he exclaimed, with unfeigned disgust, "The devil, sir, and shall a little rascal that beats upon a sheepskin take the right hand of me, who am a musician?"

At the battle of Vimiera, while the 71st were gallantly charging the enemy, one of their pipers was disabled by a bullet in the leg. Unable to advance any further, he sat down upon the ground, and arranging his pipes, shouted out as the final columns swept past him, "Weel, lads, I'm sorry I can gae nae further wi' ye, but de'il hae ma saul gin ye sall want music,' and immediately struck up a lively pibroch, thinking more of his comrades' glorious charge than of his own wound.

After the suppression of the Rising in 1745, a great number of pipers belonging to the Prince's army were taken prisoners, and at their trial they invariably urged in defence that they had not borne *arms* against the House of Hanover. But the Government acted in no spirit of mercy at that time; the bagpipe was declared an instrument of war! and the poor pipers in many cases paid a heavy penalty for their loyalty to a fallen House.

The bagpipe still continues, and we hope will long continue, to be the national musical instrument of Scotland; and at all our Highland gatherings at home and abroad, its music occupies the most prominent place. The power which pipe-music has over the minds of Highlanders in every part of the world is well known, and a piper is very often engaged in autumn to play in the harvest field for the purpose of cheering and encouraging the reapers in their work. Every Highland regiment has its company of pipers, and in time of war their thrilling

music has almost invariably struck terror into the hearts of the foe, who knew full well that in a few moments the red line of kilted heroes, with waving feathers and tartans, and gleaming bayonets, would spread carnage and dismay among their ranks. Amid the din of the battle, high above the roar of artillery, the rattle of musketry, and the shouts of the combatants, is still heard the triumphant sound of the bagpipe, leading the Highland regiments to victory or a glorious death, like the exultant scream of the mountain eagle, as he swoops down with unerring aim upon his quarry. It was the bagpipe that cheered the hearts of the beleaguered British in the Residency of Lucknow, as the gallant Havelock and his brave Highlanders marched through a storm of shot to the relief of their countrymen ; and it was the bagpipe that led the Highlanders over the parapet at Tel-el-Kebir, to put to flight the swarthy legions of Egypt.

Long may it exist to lead Highlanders to victory !

H. R. M.

SUTHERLAND EVICTIONS AND BURNINGS.

TESTIMONY OF LIVING EYE-WITNESSES—*(Continued).*

WIDOW JOHN MUNRO, *Strathy, 90 years of age.*

I am over ninety years of age. I was born in Rhihalvaig, a small township on the east side of Lochnaver. The families in the place were those of my grandfather, William Mackay, and of Roderick Macleod, and Robert Mackay. There were no middlemen above Achness. All the townships elected men to go with their rents to Golspie ; and the last mentioned crofter lost a son, Donald Mackay, while on his way to Dunrobin with the rents of the village. He perished in a wreath of snow at the back of Ben-Clebrig. He refused to delay going till the storm would abate, lest he might be too late in arriving with the rents of the township.

We were removed to make room for Marshall, and my father got a croft in Badanchavag, above Mudale, where we lived for some years till we were evicted the second time to make room for Sellar. I viewed from the side of Ben-Hee, the smoke of the houses burning at Grumb-mhor and Grumb-bheag. The distance would be about ten miles. These townships were evicted before the heights, where we lived, were cleared. In this last place we had not much arable land, but kept a large stock as our hill pasture was extensive.

The rent we paid was £5 sterling, and we found no difficulty in paying it. I remember that on one particular occasion, the expenditure we had to meet between groceries, rent, etc., amounted exactly to £20. My father, having gone to the hill with a cattle-dealer, returned in the evening and told my mother that since he had

left he got by selling only horses, and a cow, what would meet this expenditure, "and one pound for snuff to the bargain." MRS JOHN MUNRO.

Witnesses, { ADAM GUNN, Student, Strathy.
20th Aug. 1883. { JOHN MACKAY, Strathy.

ROBERT MACKAY, *Strathy, regarding Rhinnirie.*

I was about seven years of age when the township was burnt. When Sellar's men arrived, my father and mother happened to be in Caithness-shire, laying down the crops in Latheron, which was to be their future home. An old woman, my aunt, remained with me and my sister at Strathnaver. We began early in the day to remove our effects to the hill-side, in anticipation of their visit; but, before we had finished, they were upon us, and set fire, first, to the byre which was attached to the dwelling-house. This made us redouble our efforts, as the flames were making rapid progress. I remember we encountered serious difficulty when we came to remove the meal-chest. To ask the assistance of Sellar's men would be absurd; but we succeeded at last by removing the meal in small quantities to the hill-side on blankets. We then made a ring of the furniture, and took our station inside, from which we viewed the flames. Here we slept all night, wrapped in woollen blankets, of which we had plenty; and I remember very vividly the volumes of flame issuing from our dwelling-house, and the crackling sounds when the flames seized upon the fir couples and timber supporting the roof of turf. At the same time, also the three remaining houses in the township were fired.

I declare this statement of mine is true. ROBERT MACKAY.

Witnesses, { ADAM GUNN, Student, Strathy.
20th Aug. 1883. { ROBERT MACKAY, Strathy.

GEORGE MACKAY, *80 years of age, crofter, Airdneskich, Farr.*

I was born at Ridsary on Strathnaver, and was about 16 years of age when that part of the Strath where my father lived was depopulated, and our habitations burnt to the ground. I saw these four townships all in flames on the same day:—

Ceann-na-coille, with 7 houses	Syre, with 13 houses.
Kidsary, with 2 houses	Langall, with 8 houses.

I saw in all thirty houses burning at the same time.

When this was taking place, I was leading two horses up the Strath, to carry from Kidsary some of our furniture, which was left by my father near the place, when we were evicted from our home a few days previous to this. As the houses were all covered with dry thatch, dwelling places and steadings, the crackling noise as well as the fire and smoke were awful. I noticed one house at Langall, having a good stack of peats beside it, which the burning party, on coming round, put to the same fate as the houses, and if any other thing remained in or near the premises it was at once consigned to the flames.

It may be mentioned that the inhabitants left these houses a day or two before they were set on fire, being ordered off the ground by Sellar. It was heartrending to hear the cries of the women and children when leaving their happy homes, and turning their faces they knew not whither. The most of our cattle died the first winter, as we had no provision for them. We got no compensation for our burnt houses, nor any aid to build new ones, or trench land.

I declare this statement of mine is true. GEORGE MACKAY.

Witnesses. { ALEXANDER GRAHAM.
30th Aug. 1883. { MURDO MACKAY, Student.

WILLIAM MACKAY (Bàn), *80 years of age, army pensioner and crofter, Achina, Farr.*

I am a native of Rossal on Strathnaver, and now living at Achina. One morning in May, when I was about twelve years of age, I went up to Achcaoilnaborgin to see Sellar's party putting the houses in that township on fire, as I, like a child, thought it grand fun to see the houses burning. The burning party was under the leadership of one Branders. When I reached the place the houses were ablaze, and I waited till they were all burnt to the ground, six in number. Then I accompanied the burners to Achinlochy, where six more houses were reduced to ashes.

In one of these houses I saw an old man, Donald Mackay (MacWilliam), who was over 100 years of age, lying in bed. Branders and his men, on coming to this house, glanced at the old man in bed, and then set fire to the house in two or three places, and the poor man, who could not escape, was left by them to the tender mercies of the flames. The cries of the sufferer attracted the attention of his friends, who, at their own peril, ran in and rescued him from a painful death. It can be said with certainty that the terror and the effect of the fire on his person tended to hasten the man's death.

I may state that I have travelled a large portion of the four quarters of the globe, lived among heathens and barbarians, where I saw many cruel scenes, but never witnessed such revolting cruelty as I did on Strathnaver, except one case in the rebellion of Canada.

I knew Donald Macleod, the author of "The Gloomy Memoirs of Sutherland," to be honest and truthful, and what I read in his book was nothing but the simple truth.

I declare this statement of mine is true. WILLIAM MACKAY.

Witnesses, WILLIAM CAMPBELL.
30th Aug. 1883. MURDO MACKAY.

ANGUS MACKAY, *89 years of age, crofter, Leadnagiullan, Farr.*

I spent twenty-three years on Strathnaver, in my birthplace Ceann-na-coille, and I am confident they were the happiest days I ever spent. We were very happy and comfortable on the Strath.

There were seven houses in Ceann-na-coille, which I, with a sad heart, saw burnt to the ground. I saw Rossal, with upwards of twenty houses, also burnt. Sellar's orders to the people were to have their furniture, and whatever else they wished to bring with them, removed from these townships before a certain day. My friends, and several of the townspeople endeavoured to obey this cruel summons, and carried their effects down to the river's side. Here they formed a kind of raft, whereon was placed all their furniture, farm implements, clothes, etc., in fact all their worldly possessions, except their cattle. Then they took shelter, and anxiously awaited the rising of the river to enable them to float the raft down the stream towards their new home.

Soon, however, the furious burners came, and in spite of the poor people's entreaties and promises, the raft was easily set on fire, and before the party left the ground it was all in ashes along the banks of the river.

Nor did the ruthless work of Sellar's party end here. They now turned their course to the township of Baclinleathaid, and there commenced the burning again. In a certain hut there, there was an old woman who, perhaps, had none of her friends alive, or at least at hand, to be of any help to her in the hour of need. The party came to the hut of this friendless woman, set fire to the house, and instantly marched off, leaving the poor decrepit woman, who was within the house, to burn. It is true

the woman's body was taken out by some neighbours who, too late, knew what was taking place, but death relieved her from pain ere they carried her across the threshold of her burning house.

I was well acquainted with Donald Macleod, who wrote "The Gloomy Memoirs of Sutherland," and always found him to be a truthful man. I heard some parts of his book read, and can emphatically say from my own experience, which now extends over a period of eighty-nine years, that it states the truth. Macleod only wrote what hundreds could testify to ten years ago, but now almost all the people who knew much about the Strathnaver cruelties are dead, and the young generation, though they have heard of these things from the lips of their fathers, cannot testify to them as eye-witnesses could. People now-a-days cannot imagine the awful cruelties perpetrated on Strathnaver by Sellar and his minions.

I declare this statement of mine is true. ANGUS MACKAY.

Witnesses, ANN MACKAY.
29th Aug. 1883. MURDO MACKAY.

HUGH MACDONALD, *83 years of age, fisherman and merchant, Armadale, Farr.*

I was born in Dal-Langall, near Strathy, but went when a young boy to Achness, on Strathnaver, to live with an aunt of mine. I remained in Achness till some time in the beginning of the year 1810. I was then about ten years of age. I then came down to the foot of the Strath, where I stayed some time.

I am not aware of seeing any of the houses on Strathnaver actually burning, though the people who were pouring down the Strath from time to time always told of the awful scenes enacted up. That the houses were burnt I have not the least doubt; but I cannot speak as an eye-witness. I remember one morning, when on my way to school, seeing a very thick smoke blown by the wind down the Strath, which I was told arose from the burning houses up that way. Next day I heard that some boats which had been to sea fishing that evening lost their course while making for the Inver-Naver bay, owing to the denseness of the smoke. I know that hundreds of families were turned off Strathnaver by Sellar and his gang, and that their land was formed into a sheep farm for Sellar. By these means he got a farm over forty miles long.

The people were very happy on the Strath, and very obedient to their superiors—in fact, "ower simple;" that was how they were turned away so easily. I am sure the present generation would have fought and died sooner than suffer such cruelties. Old as I am myself, I think I would be disposed to fight.

I declare this statement of mine is true. HUGH MACDONALD.

Witnesses, WILLIAM M'DONALD.
29th Aug. 1883. MURDO MACKAY.

(To be continued.)

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.—Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., author of the valuable papers on "Celtic Mythology," appearing in these pages, was, last month, elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

ANCIENT CELTIC TENURES.

By H. C. Macandrew, Provost of Inverness.

In the earliest condition of our race of which we have any knowledge, the only bond of union between men was blood relationship. Every man was to every other a blood relation or an enemy. The earliest political organisation was the tribe, a number of families associated together for defence and other purposes, and bound together by their belief in a common ancestor. When, however, the tribe ceased to be a wandering body, and settled on some fixed and defined area as its permanent residence, and still more when it ceased to be entirely pastoral, and commenced to till the land, it is obvious that a new relation of man to man was created, and the foundation laid of a great revolution in the idea as to what constituted the bond of social and political union. How great a revolution has taken place we may see when we consider how, in civilised communities, common residence in the same place has come to be regarded as almost the only foundation of political organisation—when we consider, for instance, the readiness with which the crowds of various races who are annually pouring into the United States become Americans. The tribal or race idea has, however, always died hard, as we shall see later on when we come to consider the condition of the Scottish Highlands—and in Eastern and Central Europe, it is a question of moment at the present time whether the inhabitants are not to break up into new states and associate themselves according to real or supposed community of race.

The relation which a people once settled on, and permanently occupying land, bore to that land, and the change which the mode of the use and occupation of it produced in their relations to each other, and in their social and political organisation, must always be questions of the greatest interest to the student of history. And there is nothing that strikes one more than the circumstance that the further we trace back the history of the various families of the Aryan race, the stronger becomes the similarity of their laws and customs, the stronger the evidence that they are a common family. Whether in the Hindoo

village community of the present day we see an organisation to which our remote ancestors were accustomed before they left the cradle of the race and the traditions of which they carried with them in their wanderings, is a question which cannot yet be answered ; but it certainly is very remarkable how, in all families of the race, communities remarkably similar uniformly developed themselves. To trace any of the land systems of the European nations to their source, and to consider their relations to each other, is, however, a subject too wide for this paper, and what I purpose to do at present is to consider the system of land tenure in this country and in Ireland at the time when we first have any authentic history of these countries, to endeavour to describe the stage at which it had then arrived, and to glance shortly at the survivals of the system which we still have in our own country. This enquiry, limited as it is, is especially interesting on these grounds, that long after the contact of the Saxons with the Roman organisation, which they found in England, had produced the manorial system, and after the fusion of the Roman and barbarian systems on the Continent had produced the feudal system, Scotia, as Ireland was then called, and Albyn remained almost entirely unaffected by any foreign influence, and continued to develop in their own way, and that there remains to us a great body of the customary law of the peoples which inhabited these countries.

At the time of which I write, Ireland and Scotland (Scotland or Albyn at that time being the country north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde) were inhabited by two races—the Picts and the Scots. The Picts inhabited all Scotland and the North of Ireland, and the Scots the rest of Ireland—there being, probably in both countries, and certainly in Ireland, considerable survivals of earlier races. I accept the theory that both these peoples were of kindred race, and that they spoke dialects of the same language. This I know is disputed, but whether it is true or not, I think that there can be no doubt that at the time the Irish were converted to Christianity the people of the two countries had much intercourse, and the same political and social organisation ; and I accept the picture of that organisation as given in the Brehon Laws as equally applicable to both.

The Brehon Laws are singularly interesting and valuable, in

as much as they profess to be not a system of law enacted by a legislature, but a record of the customary law of the people handed down from the remotest antiquity. They are called the Brehon Laws, because they were preserved and administered by a hereditary caste of lawyers called Brehons, who seem to have taken the place in Christian times which the Druids occupied in heathen times, and who were the judges and arbitrators of the tribes. What we know of these laws is derived from a number of manuscript tracts preserved in various libraries in Ireland, and a number of which have recently been translated and published. None of the manuscripts are older, I believe, than the 13th century, but as they all give the text of the laws followed by glosses, commentaries, and explanations, it is evident that the laws are older than the manuscripts. The most important of the tracts which has been published is the Seanchus Mòr, and in it it is stated that the laws which it contains were compiled and written down in the time of St Patrick, and there can be no doubt that these tracts represent the customary law of the people as it existed at or about the time of the introduction of Christianity. They continued to be the law of Ireland beyond the pale, until they were abrogated by a decision of the Irish Supreme Court in the time of James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England and Ireland.

These laws nowhere contain any description of a system of land tenure, and what the system of land rights was which existed at the time they represent is only to be gathered from what may be almost called incidental references. These are not at all times easily to be reconciled, and accordingly very opposite opinions have been formed as to the state of matters represented. Some writers contend that under these laws the land continued the common property of the tribe, and was periodically divided among the free tribesmen ; others maintain that they exhibit a state of things in which there existed all the elements of the Feudal System, while others, and I think correctly, hold that they represent society as in a transition state, the customs represented in some of the tracts being older than those represented in others.

The political unit, according to these laws, was the tuath. This word originally, I believe, meant a tribe, and afterwards it

came to mean the territory possessed and occupied by a tribe. Over the tuath in Ireland was the Ri-tuath or king. Next above the tuath was the Mòr-tuath or great tuath, embracing several tuaths, with its Ri-Mor-tuath. Above that the provincial king, and over him the Ard-righ, or supreme king of Ireland. In Scotland the ruler of the tuath was called the Toseich or Toiseach, the next in rank above him was the Mormaer ruling a province, and above these were the kings of the northern and southern Picts, ruling, the one at Inverness and the other at Scone.

It is in the internal organisation of the tuath, however, that, as might be expected, we find traces of the actual relation of the tribesmen to the land. And when we examine this, we find the tribe divided into a number of grades or ranks, the Fer-midba, or lowest grade of free tribesmen; the Bo-aires or cow-lords, of whom there were several classes, and whose rank was derived from their wealth in cattle; the Aire-desa, of whom also there were several grades, whose rank was derived from the possession of land, up to the tanist, or elected successor to the king, and the king himself. The office of king was not hereditary, the law which regulated it being that of tanistry. By this law or custom a successor was always elected to the king in his lifetime, and was called the tanist. To each of these there was apportioned a part of the tribe land as deis or mensal land, and this land always passed to their successors undivided. Here, then, is a first indication of separate property in land and succession to it, although at first at least the title was official. The Aire-desa, as I have said, took their rank from the possession of deis or property in land. They were of the same grade or class as the king and tanist, being chiefs or flaths, and the distinctions in rank among them consisted in the number of ceile or tenants whom they had on their land. Thus the Aire-desa simply, or lowest grade, had ten ceiles, five bond and five free, while the Aire-forgaile, who ranked next to the tanist, had forty ceiles, twenty bond and twenty free. The Bo-aire possessed a house and homestead, and he seems also to have had a certain definite portion of land allotted to him, for it is stated that when a Bo-aire possessed the land which had been possessed by his father and his grandfather, then he became an Aire-desa. The relation which these Aires bore to their tenants seems to have been as follows—and it strongly indicates to what

an extent the ideas arising out of the purely pastoral state of the tribe still existed:—In addition to giving to his ceiles the use of land, the Aire or Flath also gave them a stock of cattle, and for these they rendered certain services and homage, and in the case of bond tenants, paid him in kind a food-rent, and the number of cattle which he gave to his ceiles; and the food-rent and services which he received from them in return, were regulated according to the rank of the Aire. What the exact distinction between the free ceiles and the bond ceiles was it is very difficult to learn. It was probably this, that the free ceile had stock of his own, as well as the stock which he received from his chief, and could terminate the contract with his chief at any time; while, on the other hand, the bond ceile received all his stock from the chief, and was bound at least for a certain number of years. It seems clear, however, that the bond ceile was a tribesman, and had certain tribal rights, and was in no sense a serf or bound to the soil. Of serfdom, or villenage, as it existed in England, and afterwards in the portions of Scotland which submitted to Saxon customs, there appears to be no trace in Celtic law.

In addition to the ceiles or tribal tenants, there were two other classes who appear to have lived on the land of the chiefs in a state of more or less dependence—the cottars or Bothacks, and the Fuidir. The former appear to have been poor tribesmen, and the latter were broken men and strangers from other tribes whom the chiefs took into their service and settled on their land as tenants-at-will. The service required of them, and their condition, is thus described:—"A Fuidir tenant is of this kind—however great the thing may be which is required of him, he must render it, or return the stock or quit the land, and however long he may have been in the service he must quit the land at length." Even this class, however, after nine generations, became free, and entitled to the rights of tribesmen. In the case of the flaths or chiefs, the contracting of the relation of ceileship was voluntary, but in the case of the Ri or King it was not. Every tribesman—even the flath—was bound to take stock from his king, and thus to become bound to do him service and homage; and the Ri-tuath was bound to take it from the Ri-Mòr-tuath, and so upwards; and in some tuaths we are told that

there were no flaths holding ceiles under them, but that all took stock from the Ri or King.

The classes of whom we have been treating, the Aires, were the privileged classes of the tribe, the Bo-aires being the lowest in rank who possessed full political rights ; that is, who were entitled to be witnesses and compurgators, to be sureties, to sue, and to make contracts ; but it must be obvious that there must have been large numbers of men who were members of the tribe who were below the privileged classes, and it becomes most interesting to enquire what relation they bore to the land. It seems quite clear that every free tribesman had a right to a share of the tribe land. We read that the Corns-feine law or Sept law "divides the land among the natural tribesmen ;" and again it is asked, what is the Corns-feine law ? And the answer is, among other things, "tillage in common" Again we read of the Aire-echtai, who was the representative of a community of five or more persons possessing among them the wealth sufficient to constitute an Aire, and who associated themselves together in order that they might be so represented, or who were, perhaps, associated in this way for purposes of taxation, and military and other services. It is particularly to be remarked, too, that this class were ranked among the landed class or flaths, and that they were elected and held office for a time only. Thus, in one of the tracts we read as follows :—"The true knowledge of a flath, viz., a flath from a Deis to a King. How many grades of distinction are these divided into ?—Seven. Which are they ?—Aire-desa, Aire-echtai," and so on ; and again, "Aire-desa, why so called ? Because of the fact that it is according to his property in land that his Dire is regulated. Not so the Bo-aire, it is according to his cows his Dire is regulated." And again, "Aire-echtai, why so called ? Because it is the Aire of five men, he is assigned to perform his function, to enforce the observance of the peace for a month."

At the time we are treating of, a very powerful factor in the national development had been introduced into Ireland, and afterwards from Ireland into Scotland, viz., the Christian Church. At a very early period, and before the mission of Saint Columba to the Northern Picts, the Celtic Church had become monastic in its organisation—that is to say, its clergy principally consisted

of communities of monks living together, and owning land granted to them by the King's Mormaers, or Toiseachs. Of such grants the examples are numerous, but it may be sufficient to quote one, which is all the more interesting that its place is the East of Scotland, and that the record of it is the earliest example of written Scottish Gaelic which has yet been discovered. The book in which it occurs is itself a part of the Service Book of the Monastery of Deer, in Buchan, and contains the Gospel of Saint John, and parts of the other gospels, in Latin; and part of an office for the visitation of the sick, in Gaelic; and, on the margins, records of the various gifts to the Monastery, commencing with the legend of the foundation, which I may read.—

Columcille and Drostan, son of Cosgrach, his pupil, came from I *(Iona)*, as God had shown to them unto Abbordoboir, and Bede the Pict was Mormaer of Buchan before them, and it was he that gave them that town in freedom for ever from Mormaer and Tosech. They came after that to the other town, and it was pleasing to Columcille because it was full of God's grace, and he asked of the Mormaer, to wit Bede, that he should give it to him, and he did not give it; and a son of his took an illness after refusing the clerics and he was nearly dead. After this the Mormaer went to entreat the clerics that they should make prayer for the son that health should come to him, and he gave in offering to them from Cloch in tiperat to Cloch pitte mic Garnait. They made the prayer, and health came to him. After that Columcille gave to Drostan that town, and blessed it, and left as his word, "Whosoever should come against it let him not be many yeared or victorious." Drostan's tears (deara) came in parting with Columcille. Said Columcille let Dear be its name henceforward.

There are records of similar grants down to the time of King David I., to whom the book was produced in evidence of the rights of the monks, and who confirmed these rights.

The picture, then, which we have of the condition of a tuath, or tribe territory, at the time which we are considering, seems to be this: The land was divided into *(first)* the Mensal lands of the kings, and, in some cases, of the inferior chiefs, who had established septs; *(second)* into land possessed as property by the Flaths, and occupied partly by themselves, as demesne lands cultivated by Bothacks and Fuidirs, and partly by their Ceiles, whether bond or free; *(third)* the land granted to the church and occupied by the monastic community, and tilled partly by them, and partly by their Ceiles, Bothacks, and Fuidirs; *(fourth)* the common tribe land, to which every free tribesman had a right; and *(fifth)* the waste land of the tribe, over which all the members of the tribe had a common right of pasturage, the number of cattle or other stock which they were entitled to graze being

apparently regulated by their rank in the tribe. The common tribe land was probably divided periodically. As population increased new portions of the waste and unoccupied land would naturally be appropriated to the common occupation, and, as I take it, this land would be mainly occupied by communities of families living together in a sort of co-partnery, dividing the arable land among them at stated intervals, and regulating the division, perhaps, according to the varying number of families; and having an elective head man to represent them in the assemblies of the tribe, to make contracts for them, and to be witness, surety, suitor, and defendant for them in law-suits—points to which apparently very great importance were attached.

The tie which bound the inhabitants of these territories together was certainly first tribal—the belief that they were all of one kindred—but second, there were certain tributes and services which each tribesman seems to have owed, either in virtue of his membership of the tribe, or of his consequent possession of a part of the tribe land. These services were mainly four—First, a certain tribute in kind, which, in Ireland was called bestighi, or house tax, in Scotland cain or can. Second, the right of the chief or lord to entertainment for himself and his followers in the house of his tenant for so many nights in the year. This, in Ireland, was called coshering, and in Scotland conventh, or cuddicht. There are numerous rules in the Brehon laws intended to prevent the abuse of this right, and prescribing the number of followers for which each rank was entititled to demand entertainment, and the kind of entertainment they were entitled to receive. Thus, of one rank it is provided that his feeding is to be "new milk and groats, and of corn meal and butter on Sunday. He is entitled to seasoned fowl, dulesc (that is dulse), onions, and salt." Of another that his company is seven, and that he "gets butter, with condiments, and bacon and ale, and new milk, for he is entitled to them on the second, on third, on fifth, on ninth, on tenth, on Sunday." The third and fourth services were attendance on the king on internal and external expeditions, and assistance at building his dun or fort. When there were intermediate chiefs they appear to have been responsible to the king for the services of all those living under them.

(To be continued.)

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

IX.—The Gaelic Gods in History.

Material for reconstructing the Olympus of the Gaels is not at all so scanty as we have found it to be in the case of the Welsh. There is, it is true, no general description of the Irish Olympus, but references to particular deities are not uncommon. The earliest reference to any Irish gods occurs in one of the oldest monuments we possess of the Gaelic language ; a manuscript of the St Gall Monastery contains incantations to the powers Diancecht and Goibniu. This manuscript Zeuss sets down as of the eighth century, and it is, therefore, eleven hundred years old. Cormac's glossary, originally composed in the ninth century, mentions as deities Art, Ana, Buanann, Brigit, Neit, and Manannan. Keating quotes from the Book of Invasions a poem that makes the Dagda "king of heaven," and he further enumerates Badb, Macha, and Morrighan as the three goddesses of the Tuatha-de-Danann. The Tuatha-de-Danann themselves appear often in the tales as the fairy host, the *Side* that dwell in the Land of Promise ; they interfere in the affairs of mortals long after they are represented as having been expelled from Ireland, thus, if not actually mentioned as having been the pagan gods of the Gael, yet, despite the rampant Euhemerism of Irish tales and histories, implicitly considered as such. And again, by adopting the same method as in the case of the Welsh myths, we shall make the Irish myths and histories, with their imposing array of invasions and genealogies, deliver up the deities they have consigned to the ranks of kings and heroes.

We must, however, first briefly indicate the leading points of early Irish history, as set down in the sober pages of their own annalists. Forty days before the flood the Lady Caesair, granddaughter of Noah, with fifty girls and three men, came to Ireland. This is reckoned as the first "invasion" or "taking" of Ireland. Of course she and her company all perished when the flood came —all, with one doubtful exception. For some legends, with more patriotism than piety, represent Fionntan, the husband of Caesair, as actually surviving the flood. The way in which he accom-

plished this feat is unlike that of the ancestor of the Macleans, who weathered the flood in an ark of his own. Fionntan, when the flood began, was cast into a deep sleep, which continued for a year, and when he woke he found himself in his own house at Dun-Tulcha, in Kerry somewhere (for O'Curry has not been able exactly to localise this important event). He lived here contemporaneously with the various dynasties that ruled in Ireland down to the time of Dermot in the sixth century of our era. He then appears for the last time, "with eighteen companies of his descendants," in order to settle a boundary dispute, since he was the oldest man in the world, and must know all the facts. This story is not believed in by the more pious of the historians, for it too flagrantly contradicts the Scriptures. It, therefore, falls under O'Curry's category of "wild stories;" these are stories which contain some historic truth, but are so overloaded with the fictions of the imagination as to be nearly valueless. The Irish historians have as much horror of a blank in their history, as nature was once supposed to have of a vacuum. The Lady Caesair fills the blank before the flood; Partholan and his colony fill the first blank after the flood. He came from Migdonia, the middle of Greece, "twenty-two years before the birth of Abraham," and was the ninth in descent from Noah, all the intermediate names being duly given. He was not in the island ten years when the Fomorians, or sea-rovers, disturbed him. These Fomorians were a constant source of trouble to all succeeding colonists, and sometimes they actually became masters of the country. Some three hundred years after their arrival, the colony of Partholan was cut off by a plague. Plagues, and eruptions of lakes and springs, fill up the gaps in the annals, when genealogies and battles are not forthcoming. For thirty years after the destruction of Partholan's colony, Ireland was waste. Then came Nemed and his sons, with their company, from "Scythia," in the year before Christ 2350. They were not long in the island when the Fomorians again appeared, and began to harass the Nemedians. Both parties were extremely skilled in Druidism, and they opposed each other in a fierce contest of spells as well as blows. The Fomorians were finally routed. Nemed was the 12th in descent from Noah. He had four sons—Starn, Jarbonnel, Fergus, and Aininn. Some two hundred and sixteen years after coming to

Ireland, the Nemedians were overthrown by the Fomorians and the plague together, and only thirty escaped under the leadership of the three cousins, grandsons of Nemed, Simeon Breac, son of Starn; Beothach, son of Jarbonnel; and Britan Mael, son of Fergus. Simeon Breac and his party went to Greece, and after eleven generations returned as the Firbolgs. Beothach, with his clan, went to the northern parts of Europe, where they made themselves perfect in the arts of Divination, Druidism, and Philosophy, and returned eleven generations later as the Tuatha-de-Danann. Britan Mael, with his family, went to Mona, and from there poured their descendants into the island, which is now called Britain, after their leader, Britan Mael. The Firbolgs, the descendants of Starn, son of Nemed, being oppressed in Greece, much as the Israelites were in Egypt, returned to Ireland, and took possession of it. "They were called the Firbolgs," we are told, "from the bags of leather they used to have in Greece for carrying soil to put on the bare rocks, that they might make flowery plains under blossom of them." The Firbolgs held Ireland for thirty-six years, and then they were invaded by their 12th cousins, the Tuatha-de-Danann, the descendants of Jarbonnel, son of Nemid. Next to the Milesian colony yet to come, the Tuatha-de-Danann are the most important by far of the colonists, for in them we shall by-and-bye discover the Irish gods. What the annalists tell of them is briefly this. They came from the north of Europe, bringing with them "four precious jewels;" the first was the Lia Fail, the Stone of Virtue or Fate, for whereever it was, there a person of the race of Scots must reign; the sword of Luga Lamfada; the spear of the same; and the cauldron of the Dagda, from which "a company never went away unsatisfied." The Tuatha landed in Ireland on the first of May, either 1900 or 1500 years before Christ, for the chronologies differ by only a few hundred years. They burned their ships as a sign of "no retreat," and for three days concealed themselves in a mist of sorcery. They then demanded the Firbolgs to yield, which, however, they would not do, and the great battle of Moytura South was fought. The Firbolgs were routed with immense slaughter. Nuada, leader of the Tuatha-Dé in the battle, lost his hand in the fight, but Credne Cerd, the artificer, made a silver one for him, and Diancecht, the physician, fitted it on, while

Miach, his son, infused feeling and motion into every joint and vein of it. For thirty years the Tuatha held undisputed possession of Erin, but the Fomorians, who were continually hovering about the coast, now made a determined effort to conquer them. The battle of Moytura North was fought between them. In it Nuada of the Silver Hand fell, and so did Balor of the Evil Eye, leader of the Fomorians. He was slain by his grandson Luga of the Long Arms, who was practically leader of the Tuatha, and who succeeded to the kingship on the death of Nuada. After a reign of forty years Luga died, and was succeeded by the Dagda Mor, the central figure of the Tuatha-de-Danann, and in the pages of our Euhemerist annalists, an inscrutable and misty personage. O'Curry ventures even to call him a demigod. The Dagda was the twenty-fourth in descent from Noah ; let it be observed that Nemid was the twelfth in descent. The Firbolg chiefs also were in the twenty-fourth generation from Noah. Among the leading personages of the Tuatha were Manannan, the son of Alloid or Lir ; Ogma, son of Elathan, and brother of the Dagda, surnamed " Sunface ;" Goibniu, the smith ; Luchtine, the carpenter ; Danann, mother of their gods ; Brigit, the poetess ; Badb, Macha, and Morrigan, " their three goddesses," says Keating. The Tuatha held Erin for nigh two hundred years, but when MacCuill, MacCecht, and MacGreine, who were so called " because Coll, Cecht, and Grian, the hazel, the plough, and the sun, were gods of worship to them," were ruling over Ireland with their respective queens Banba, Fodla, and Eire (three names of Ireland), the last colony of all appeared on the southern coast. These were the Milesians or Gaels from Spain and the East. They were in no respect related to the previous races, except that they were equally with them descended from Noah, Golam Miled, after whom they were called Milesians, being the twenty-fourth from Noah in direct descent. They were also called Gaels or Gaidels from an ancestor Gadelus, the seventh in descent from Noah, and son of Scota, daughter of Pharaoh. The family lived for the most part in Egypt, but Golam Miled, who was also married to a second Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, settled in Spain. The sons of Miled, to avenge a relative's murder, resolved to invade Erin. Under the leadership of Heber, Heremon, and Amergin, and accompanied by Scota, a vast army in many ships invaded Ireland.

No resistance was offered at first. The Milesians arrived at Tara, and there met the three kings and queens of the Tuatha-de-Danann. The latter complained of being taken by surprise, and asked the Milesians to embark again on board their ships and allow them have a chance of opposing their landing. The Milesians assented, entered their ships, and retired for "nine waves" on the sea. On facing about again no Ireland was to be seen! The Tuatha by their sorcery had made the island as small as a pig's back, and the Milesians could therefore not see it. In addition to this they raised a violent storm on the sea, with clouds and darkness that could be felt. Many Milesian ships were lost, and the danger was brought to an end only when Amergin, who was also a Druid, pronounced a Druidic prayer, or oration, evidently addressed to the Tuatha Dé, and the storm ceased. They then landed peaceably; but they did not get the island without a few battles of a very hazy sort, indeed. It probably at first was intended to be shown that the Tuatha allowed them to land, and themselves retired to the Land of Promise—the country of the *Side*—where they still took an interest in mortal affairs, and often afterwards appeared in Irish history and tales. The Milesians, or Gadelians or Gaels, are a purely mortal race; they were, in fact, the dominant race of Ireland in historic times. Their history and full genealogies from some thirteen hundred years before Christ till the introduction of Christianity, are gravely told in the Annals of the Four Masters and Keating's Ireland; every king has his pedigree given, and many are the details that are recorded of their doings in war and in peace, in society, and in the chase, in law, and in the care and seizure of land and of cattle. Mythic persons constantly flit across the page; the demigods become mere mortal chiefs, and the "last reflections" of the sun-god appear in the features of Cuchulainn and Finn.

There are many interpretations put upon the history that we have just summarily given. Naturally enough, ethnological theories form the greater part of such explanations. The leading invasions of the Firbolgs, Fomorians, Tuatha-de-Danann and Milesians, are made use of to refute or support some favourite theory about the various races that go to compose the Irish nation. Two hundred years ago an Irish genealogist, of the name of Dubaltach MacFirbisigh, advanced the theory, doubtless sup-

ported by tradition, that "every one who is white-skinned, brown-haired, bountiful in the bestowal on the bards of jewels, wealth, and rings, not afraid of battle or combat, is of the Clanna-Miled (the Milesians); every one who is fair-haired, big, vindictive, skilled in music, druidry, and magic, all these are of the Tuatha-de-Danann; while the black-haired, loud-tongued, mischievous, tale-bearing, inhospitable churls, the disturbers of assemblies, who love not music and entertainment, these are of the Feru-bolg and the other conquered peoples." Skene, in modern times, gives this theory of MacFirbisigh in our modern terms: the Firbolgs belong to the Iberian or Neolithic and pre-Celtic tribes; the Celts themselves are divided into Gaels and Britons; the Gaelic branch is again subdivided into (1) a fair-skinned, large-limbed, and red-haired race—the Picts of Caledonia and the Tuatha-de-Danann of Ireland; and (2), a fair-skinned, brown-haired race, "of a less Germanic type," represented in Ireland by the Milesians, and in Scotland by the band of invading Scots. We have already presented the best modern scientific views on the ethnology of these islands; there would appear to have been three races—(1), A primitive small, dark, long-headed race, of the Basque type in language and Iberian in physique; (2), a fair, tall, rough-featured, round-headed, and rough-limbed race, also pre-Celtic, which we called the Finnish; and (3), the Celts, fair, straight-featured, long-headed and tall, and belonging to the Aryan family. We might equate the Firbolgs with the dark Iberian race; the Tuatha-de-Danann with the Finnish race; and the Milesians with the Celts. The legendary and traditional account can easily be fitted into the present scientific view of the subject. But, after all, the truth of such a theory must be gravely doubted; even its agreement with proper scientific methods in such cases must be questioned. We may grant that the strong contrast between a small dark race and a tall fair race might give rise to a myth like that of the Firbolgs and Tuatha-de-Dananns. But in Wales, where the contrast is even stronger, no such myth exists. Again, the Milesians were really fair-haired and not brown-haired; the heroes of Ulster are all fair or yellow-haired, and so are the Feni. It is best, therefore, to adopt a purely mythological explanation of the matter. Despite its pseudo-historical character, the whole history of the invasions of the

Firbolg, De-Dananns, and Fomorians appears to be a Gaelic counterpart of what we see in Greek mythology, the war of the rough and untamed powers of earth, sea, and fire, against the orderly cosmos of the Olympians; the war, in short, of the giants and Titans against Zeus and his brothers. The Firbolgs may be, therefore, looked upon as the earth-powers; too much stress need not be laid on the fact that they and their brethren, the Fir-Domnans, were wont to dig the soil, make pits, and carry earth in bags to make flowery plains of bare rocks; but it should be noticed that they always meet the Tuatha-de-Danann as natives of the soil repelling invaders. The gods of the soil often belong to a pre-Aryan people, while the greater gods, the Olympians and the Tuatha-de-Danann, are intrusive, the divinities of the new-comers into the land, the patrons of warriors and sea-faring men. Behind these last there often stand deities of older birth, those who had been worshipped in ancient days by the simple and settled folk of the land. Such were Pan or Hermes of Arcadia, Dionysus of Thrace, and Demeter and Dione. The Firbolgs may, therefore, be looked on as either the homely gods of preceding tribes of the non-Aryan races, or as answering to the giants and Titans of kindred Aryan races. "The King of the Feru-Bolg," says Mr Fitzgerald, "Eothaile—whom we shall find reason to suspect to be a fire-giant—fled from the field when the day was lost, 'in search of water to allay his burning thirst,' and by the water of the sea he fell on Traigh-Eothaile, 'Eothaile's Strand,' in Sligo. His great cairn, still standing, on this strand was one of the wonders of Ireland, and though not apparently elevated, *the water could never cover it.*" If we turn to the Fomorians, we shall find quite as easy an explanation. The meaning of the word is "Sea-rover;" it has always been derived from the words "fo," under, and "muir," sea, and the meaning usually attached to the combination has been "those that rove on the sea." The Fomorians are, therefore, sea-powers: the rough, chaotic power of the Atlantic Ocean. They meet the Tuatha-de-Dannan in the extreme West of Ireland, on the last day of summer, that is, November eve: the fierce ocean powers meet the orderly heaven and air gods on the Atlantic borders when winter is coming on, and the latter do not allow the former to overwhelm the country. Balor of the Evil Eye, whose glance

can turn his opponents into stone, and who, in some forms of the legend, is represented as having only one eye, is very suggestive of Polyphemus, the giant son of the Grecian ocean god. To this we may compare the Gaelic tale of the Muireartach, where the Atlantic Sea is represented as a "toothy carlin," with an eye in the middle of her forehead. The Tuatha-de-Dananns will, therefore, be simply the gods that beneficially direct the powers of sky, air, sea, and earth; they will correspond exactly to Zeus, Poseidon, Pluto, and the rest of the Grecian god-world, who benignly rule over the heavens, the sea, and the shades. The Milesians will accordingly be merely the main body of the Gaelic people, whose gods the Tuatha-de-Danann are. Why there is no more open acknowledgment of the Tuatha-de-Danann as the pagan gods of the Gael may easily be accounted for. The accounts we have are long posterior to the introduction of Christianity; and it was a principle of the early Christian Church to assimilate to itself, following the true Roman fashion, all native religions. The native gods were made saints (especially the female divinities, such as Brigit), fairies, demons, and kings. Christianity was about five hundred years established before we have any native record of events; the further back we go the nearer do the Tuatha-Dé come to be gods. Even in the 8th century an Irish monk could still invoke Goibniu and Diancecht, the Tuatha gods answering to Vulcan and Arsculapius, for relief from, and protection against, pain.

(To be continued.)

THE GLASGOW LOCHABER HIGHLANDERS.—The fifteenth annual meeting of the Natives of Lochaber, and their friends, was held in the Queen's Rooms, Glasgow, on Friday, 14th December, Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P. (who delivered a very interesting address on Lochaber, its history and people), in the chair. On the platform were the Rev. L. Maclachlan, of St Columba; Rev. William Thomson, Greenock; Donald Macphee, Procurator-Fiscal, Glasgow, and President of the Association; Hugh Austin, Vice-President; Alex. Mackenzie, Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*; Alex. Kennedy and A. C. Macintyre, Joint Secretaries; A. W. Macleod and Hugh Macleod, representing the Skye Association; Henry Whyte, Charles M. Ramsay, of the *Citizen*, and Peter Stewart, representing the Inverness-shire Association; and several others. Mr Mackenzie and Mr Macphee delivered short addresses, the former speaking both in Gaelic and English.

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Concluded.

X.—Distributive Justice.

Of Rent and Taxation.—1. In the introduction to his Manual of Political Economy, Mr Fawcett remarks :—"Political economy, if kept within its proper limits, does not provide a code of social ethics which will enable us to decide what is right or wrong, and what is just or unjust." It is, perhaps, as difficult to define the limits of political economy as it might be to write a code of social ethics, and as the principles of the former science do not command universal assent, it may be safely asserted that the politics of the country are likely to be shaped in future more for the public benefit, if governed without such aids, by a mere sense of what is right or wrong, and what is just or unjust. If such claims of exactness and accuracy were not put forward in support of a science which has been thrown into confusion by unsettled theories, it might appear an ill-natured remark to make, that we should not regret the absence of a code of ethics if it supplied a good system of logic. The introduction of a false theory into the reasoning of political economy is like a repeating error in a mathematical computation ; it vitiates every conclusion. The Ricardian theory of rent, of which Mr Fawcett is a very stout advocate, is one of these confusing hypotheses, but as I have discussed it at some length in a former article, I shall now merely point out the remarkable way in which Mr Fawcett applies it. He says—

> "From Ricardo's theory of rent there can be adduced the very important proposition, that rent is not an element of the cost of obtaining agricultural produce. A no less eminent writer than the late Mr Buckle has assured his readers that the proposition just stated can only be grasped by a comprehensive thinker ; we, however, believe that it may be made very intelligible by a simple exposition. If rent is not an element of *cost of production*, food would be no cheaper if all land were arbitrarily made rent full."

It is not necessary to quote the argument at greater length, as the last sentence embodies the whole substance of it. The reader will remember that Mr Buckle referred to the passage in the "Wealth of Nations," where it is stated that rent "enters into price" or

forms a component part of it, and he (Mr Buckle) mentioned that the question was the corner stone of political economy. We could hardly charge Mr Fawcett with a wilful misrepresentation of eminent authors, and must suppose that a zealous adherence to this theory led him into an unconscious error. As rent is a surplus over the "cost of production," it is a self-evident fact that it cannot form a part of the cost. If I heap a bushel of corn, and draw the roller over it, the surplus cannot be contained in the measure. The surplus constitutes the rent that the producer can afford to pay, and if this is the important conclusion that may be drawn from the theory, it only proves that land affords a rent, and shows how well its advocates can argue in a circle. This is putting the case as it stands between the landlord and the farmer, with regard to whom the question does not assume all its importance. It must be observed that price and "cost of production" are not synonimous terms, and do not represent the same class of individuals, as the producer and consumer are not, in political economy, the same person. It is the consumer who pays the price which includes cost of production and also rent, and what the school to which Mr Fawcett belongs really wants to prove is that rent does not form a component part of price, because, as these economists say, if all land were arbitrarily made rent-free, it would not make the price of produce any lower, and there they are satisfied to leave the question. But what Mr Buckle actually did say is as follows :—

"I may mention the theory of rent, which was only discovered half a century ago, and which is connected with so many subtle arguments that it is not yet generally adopted, and even some of its advocates have shown themselves unequal to defend their own cause."

2. This theory is not so well known to the ears of general readers as the Malthusian theory of population. These theories favour the materialistic views of economists who regard the phenomena of nature and of human life as resulting from mere physical causes, and it would seem to be repugnant to the science, and perhaps to their own notions, to rise to the contemplation of pre-established laws of design, as manifested in the adaptation of external nature to the wants of man, on the one hand, and on the other they overlook those intellectual and moral attributes which are so liable to be affected for good or evil by political

institutions. But whilst the Malthusian theory of population has been so eagerly seized upon, and applied in a way which that celebrated and humane author little thought of, his theory of rent has been considered so little scientific that it has been relegated to ethics, of which political economy takes no account! Mr Malthus says :—

"It seems rather extraordinary that the very great benefit which society derives from that surplus produce of the land which, *in the progress of society*, falls mainly to the landlord in the shape of rent, should not yet be fully understood and acknowledged. I have called this surplus a bountiful gift of Providence, and am most decidedly of opinion that it fully deserves the appellation."

3. It is clear from the reasoning of Aristotle in his chapter on distributive justice, referred to in a former article, that he regarded the rent of land as common property, and refers to it as a mean proportion.—

"Now, it is clear," he says, "that disjunctive proportion implies four terms ; but continuous proportion is in four terms also ; for it will use one term in place of two and mention it twice ; for instance, as A to B so is B to C ; B has, therefore, been mentioned twice. So that if B be put down twice, the terms of the proportion are four."

Political economy might be more accurately termed the Science of Social and Economic Ratios, for society is naturally constituted by gradations of ranks and positions. The reward of every man must clearly be in some proportion to worth, and Adam Smith made labour, or human effort, the foundation and only real standard of value. Now, with regard to rent, it is obvious that the misconception of the economists arises from not recognising the truth that the world of man, and its government, must conform to the pre-established law which awards nothing to the idler in respect of the soil, for it is impossible to believe that benificent nature could have made an exception, without the privilege becoming a burden upon society in some form or other. This surplus, or *residuum*, arises from trade and commerce, for which man was designed, and of which Price is the collective expression, or Mercury, and it has always been regarded in every age of the world as the revenue of the State, and appropriated for the support of the Church and civil administration. From the above reasoning, it appears that rent is a mean proportion, which is in ratio with cost of production, and capable of bearing the same ratio with Price, or cost of living to the whole of society. When

it accrues to the Sovereign (whose throne is the seat of justice and mercy) it is a mean of justice which is capable of adjusting the extremes according to the law of geometrical proportion. But when appropriated by a privileged class it is clear that it enters into price, from the fact that the indirect taxation, which has been substituted for it, enters into the cost of living, and from this it appears that it is a mean proportion, and homologous with taxation. Then if all taxation were commuted into a rent charge, it would become a mean of justice, and society, as a whole, would enjoy this "gift of Providence."

4. I feel very confident in making the assertion that, in respect of the first principles of the science, where Adam Smith's expositions have been traversed, it will eventually be found that he was correct in his deductions, and that such hypotheses as have been added since his time, and are not already exploded, will receive their *quietus* at the hands of posterity, if not in our own time. It is true he did not completely eliminate rent as a labour *residuum*, nor point it out exclusively as the revenue of the Sovereign, but it must be admitted that he came so remarkably near it as to leave very little excuse for his successors in departing so widely from his doctrine. He considered the ratio of rent to the cost of production to range between one-fourth and one-fifth of the gross rental, and as late as 1775 (the date of the publication of the "Wealth of the Nations") he stated the question as it then stood with reference to taxation, as follows:—

"In the present state of the greater part of the civilised monarchies of Europe, the rents of all the lands in the country, managed as they perhaps would be if they belonged to one proprietor, would scarce, perhaps, amount to the ordinary revenue which they levy upon people even in peaceable times. The ordinary revenue of Great Britain, for example, including not only what is necessary for defraying the current expense of the year, but for paying the interest of the public debts, and for sinking a part of the capital of those debts, amounts to upwards of ten millions a-year. But the land-tax, at four shillings in the pound, falls short of two millions a-year. . . . . Both ground rents and ordinary rent of land are a species of revenue which the owner, in many cases, enjoys without any care or attention of his own. Though a part of this revenue should be taken from him in order to defray the expenses of the State, no discouragement will thereby be given to any sort of industry. The annual produce of the land and labour of the society, the real wealth and revenue of the great body of the people, might be the same after such a tax as before. Ground rents and the ordinary rent of land are, therefore, perhaps, the species of revenue which can best bear to have a peculiar tax imposed upon them."

Keeping in view that the author of the above placed all ex-

change value in labour, and made it the foundation of all created wealth, the phenomenon of rent ought to have appeared to him in a stronger light, and it must be admitted that the case is stated with too much indecision. The important scientific inquiry, in its practical bearing, is, manifestly, to estimate, or ascertain, whether in every civilised and industrial nation, land yields a sufficient revenue for all the ordinary pacific purposes of State, in excess of the wages of labour and profits of capital, originally bestowed upon the ameliorations. The valuation upon which the two millions were assessed was made in 1692, and it has been generally supposed (as we may readily believe), that it was much below the real value at that period. In 1775, after the lapse of 83 years of great commercial activity, and a large increase of population, it is, perhaps, not too much to estimate the lands of the United Kingdom to have trebled that valuation. This would give a revenue of six millions. Now, the interest on the public debt in 1775 was nearly four and a-half millions, and we cannot suppose that a natural law would provide for a war fund. Deducting this from the total revenue there would be left only five and a-half millions as the ordinary expenses of Government, on a peace footing, which would be more than covered by a land-tax, or rent, at the supposed increase in the value of land. If we deduct the interest of the public debt from our present heavy expenditure, the ordinary expenses of the State would probably be covered by ground-rents and the ordinary, or natural, rent of land. But as nations are armed to the teeth, we are hardly in a position, perhaps, to judge what the ordinary expenses on a peace footing would be. It may be fairly concluded, however, that in every civilised and industrial nation this "gift of Providence" is sufficient to meet the expenses of the State, for the civil and moral government of society.

5. In support of the views of Adam Smith, I quote another eminent economist of great weight and authority. Dr Chalmers wrote, just fifty years ago, as follows:—

> "The commutation of taxes into a territorial impost, will be the work of a later age; though we should rejoice, even now, did we witness a commencement, however humble, an approximation however slow, to this great political and economical reform."

In reference to a question of such deep import, where vast

interests are involved, confiscation is not an appropriate word to be bandied about during a period of public excitement, and our notions on the subject are liable to be further confused by the expression: "The nationalisation of the land." We could hardly imagine the land to be *de*nationalised except by conquest, or by the introduction of another race of inhabitants; and what those reformers really mean, as a practicable measure, is the nationalisation of rent, which is a much more intelligible expression, besides which, there is the great advantage of having a constitutional precedent to go upon, as well as the opinions of philosophers and economists, who were certainly not second to men of the present day in either of these departments of human knowledge, and who did not discuss politics *minus* a code of ethics, or a sense of right and wrong, of justice and injustice.

Although the corrupt and servile Parliaments of last century practically voted themselves free of the land tax, and threw the taxation of the country upon the commercial and industrial classes, it is still an inalienable right of society to reimpose it. On the passing of the Commutation Act, Mr Pitt entered a *caveat* to the effect that the Act was not to preclude that or any other Parliament from reimposing it; and after so long enjoyment of an ever increasing increment it is evidently absurd to regard an equitable adjustment of taxation as confiscation. What may truly be regarded as unjust is to confiscate part of the hard-won earnings of the working classes. For instance, a crofter from Tiree goes to town to sell the produce of his labour, and, among other things, buys, say 1 lb. tea, 2s. 6d.; 1 lb. coffee, 1s. 6d.; 1 lb. tobacco, 4s.; and a bottle of whisky, 3s. 6d.; in all 11s. 6d. Out of this portion of his wages the Government confiscates no less than 5s. 9d., just the one-half; so that the Duke of Argyll may appropriate the sea-weed, and permit it to be worked on the "truck system."

Unjustly, however, as the burden of taxation falls on the working classes, it is, perhaps, not so much in that respect that the country suffers, as by the restraints that are imposed upon agricultural industry and individual freedom, resulting in the dislocation of society by driving the rural population into towns, to overstock the labour market, and swell the pauper roll Recent

legislation, and the discussions which proceeded upon it, have clearly shown that all attempts to adjust equities between landlord and tenant can only result in a flood of litigation, and postpone a more radical reform. The natural position of the agriculturist and house-owner is to own the lands which they occupy, irrespective of the size of holdings. This is to be a freeman, which is an essential condition to every progressive and harmonious society. It is an essential of liberty that a man should be as free to remain in his locality as to leave it. If under the necessity to place himself in the bondage of a lease to another man he is no longer a freeman. The nature of the land, as well as the principle of liberty, does not sanction the unnatural relationship. The private appropriation of the gift of Providence to society, and using this privilege as an instrument of power and oppression, is an evident transgression of a moral-physical law, which receives not the sanction of nature or of human nature.

Guernsey. MALCOLM MACKENZIE.

CELTIC AND LITERARY NOTES.

We observe with sincere pleasure that, through the liberality of friends of the Celtic Chair, a considerable sum has been provided for distribution as prizes at the close of the first session. Professor Blackie has himself contributed £25, with promise of other £25; the Inverness, Ross, and Nairn Club, £10; and the Edinburgh Sutherland Association, £5. 5s. A fund has also been set on foot for the purpose of establishing travelling scholarships in connection with the Chair, to which the following sums have already been devoted, viz:—£12. 12s. from the Heather Club, Edinburgh; £10 from Mr Shepherd, Burntisland; £100 from a Highland landowner; and £25 from Mr Ralph Carr Ellison of Dunstanhill, Newcastle. Nothing could be better calculated to give a healthy stimulus to the work of the Celtic classes than such incitements as these rewards afford, and we earnestly hope that the better-to-do friends of the Gael, in all parts of the world, will follow the good example shown in this very encouraging beginning. An admirable medium through which such aid might be applied, would be the movement now a-foot under the guidance of the Council of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, for the collection of a fund in recognition of the unprecedented labours of Professor Blackie, in establishing the Chair. The proposed Testimonial will, in the main, in terms of the Professor's own desire, assume the form of rewards and incitements to the students of the Gaelic language and literature in connection with the Celtic Chair.

An association with objects quite kindred with the bursary and scholarship scheme of the Celtic Chair, and one the importance of whose good work in this field cannot be over estimated, is the Ladies' Highland Bursary Association, which held its

annual meeting in Edinburgh in the month of November, under the presidency of Principal Tulloch. The general object of the Association is to give tangible encouragement to Gaelic students prosecuting their studies with the view of entering the ministry of the Church of Scotland. The Rev. Mr Mackenzie, of Kingussie, the indefatigable Secretary of the Association, presented the Report, which testified to a very large amount of successful work. It gives us pleasure to note that the capital of the scheme seems quite appropriately to be centred in the Capital of the Highlands. Out of sixteen bursars to be provided for, no fewer than thirteen are attending Raining's School, Inverness. It were well that in other populous centres in the Highlands there should be similar auxiliaries in the work of preparing students for the more systematic studies of the Celtic Chair.

Much as the gradual decay of the Gaelic language is to be observed on every hand, there is no agency to which even the present hopeful condition of things, and the great interest taken in the cause of that language and its literature, are more largely attributable than to the labours of the late venerated Dr Norman Macleod of St Columba's, Glasgow. It was, therefore, most appropriate that the centenary of his birth should not be allowed to pass without some demonstration. Accordingly there was held in the City Hall, Glasgow, on the 4th of December, a gathering of some 2000 of the friends and admirers of "Caraide nan Gaidheal," presided over by the energetic and genial minister of St Columba, Mr Maclachlan. Among those who took part in the meeting were Dr Macleod's youngest son, the Editor of *Good Words;* his nephews, Dr Norman Macleod, of Edinburgh, and Dr John Macleod, of Govan; Professor Blackie, Sheriff Nicolson, the Rev. Mr Blair, and others. In our day of cheap postage, easy communication, and literary activity, it is not easy to realise even the mechanical difficulties of conducting single-handed, as Dr Macleod did, such an enterprise as the "Teachdaire Gaidhealach," which made its visits regularly month after month among our hills and glens, carrying its budget of sweet and racy anecdote, ancient history and lore, and its eagerly-looked-for items of contemporary intelligence.

No less pleasant are the reminiscences still fresh among us of the period, some dozen years later, when "Cuairtear nan Gleann," under more encouraging physical circumstances, but in greatly more troublous times, made its welcome visits. To these two agencies are particularly due any measure of romance attaching to Gaelic literature in Scotland, as well as the wonderful state of preservation in which we have the language still among us, notwithstanding the cold and repressive attitude of School Boards and teachers.

To Dr Macleod also we credit the fact that, notwithstanding the paucity of the remains of ancient Gaelic in Scotland as compared with Ireland, the modern literature of the Scottish dialect is largely in excess in point of quantity, and we venture also to say much superior in literary and classical excellence, to the productions of the present day Celts of the sister island. All honour, then, to the memory of Dr Norman Macleod, of St Columba. The bright halo of the good man, and the healthy influence of his handiwork, have passed down from generation to generation of the sons of the Gael, and even yet in a foreign land how many a hearth is cheered

with a rehearsal of what the fathers have told of the times and tales of the "Teachdaire," and "Cuairtear."

"The page may be lost, and the pen long forsaken,
And weeds may grow wild o'er the brave heart and hand;
But ye are still left when all else hath been taken,
Like streams in the desert sweet *tales* of our land."

WOODS, FORESTS, AND ESTATES OF PERTHSHIRE, WITH SKETCHES OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES OF THE COUNTY. By THOMAS HUNTER. Perth: Henderson, Robertson, & Hunter. 1883.

NEXT to Mr Hunter's "pleasure in the pathless woods" will be the delight of every reader of this charming book. It consists, as he tells us in his preface, of sketches which originally appeared in the *Perthshire Constitutional*, of which Mr Hunter is the accomplished editor and part proprietor. In an introductory chapter, the author discourses pleasantly on the impressive effects produced by the appearance of a woody landscape, and the important part which the trees of the forests play in the economy of Nature. After placing the poets, sacred and profane, under tribute in illustrating his essay, he sums all up as follows:—"All our ideas of beautiful scenery are associated with woods. The landscape that is destitute of trees presents a barren and uninteresting appearance, while a country that is rich in arboreal features is as refreshing to the eye as is a sheet of water in an arid land. The majestic oak with its grey rifted trunk and its dark indented foliage, and the equally majestic beech with its fine silvery bark and pale green leaves add dignity and grace to the well-kept ancestral park. The light graceful birch which overhangs the mountain stream, imparts to the landscape that fairy-like charm, which is so attractive to the lover of the picturesque; while the pine with its straight tall stem and evergreen foliage clothes the landscape with a pleasing uniformity."

The commercial importance of tree planting is strongly presented; and this is a feature of Mr Hunter's work which cannot be too much laid to heart by proprietors and administrators of Highland property. Even to those who devote their attention to the rearing of game, no condition of country is more profitable than that which affords the most cover, while it is well known that its grazing capacity and the shelter it supplies against the winter's storms is highly favourable to the raising of stock. It can thus be found that successful cultivation and abundant game are not at all so inimical to each other when properly regulated as might be supposed.

A second chapter of a general character is devoted by Mr Hunter to a comparison of the past and present arboreal character of the county of Perth. We are also furnished with an interesting table, showing the acreage under trees in all the counties of Scotland. Taking the Highland counties we find that Inverness tops the list with 162,201 acres; Perthshire comes next with 94,563; Ross and Cromarty, 43,201; Argyle, 42,741; Sutherland, 12,260; Nairn, 13,241; Bute, 3,454; and Caithness, 210 acres, respectively. The woods of Perthshire Mr Hunter estimates at £35 per acre, showing a total value for the county of nearly three and a half millions sterling. Proceeding to details, he devotes his next chapter to a description of Athole, with its gigantic forests and its stately trees. He goes in a similar manner over all the important districts of the county, leaving scarce a tree unvisited. His pages teem with entertaining gossip, about not merely the trees and woods, but the people and

their history as gathered by him in the course of his enthusiastic rambles. Visiting Glenlyon, for example, he makes a discovery which may well surprise the natives of that respectable neighbourhood. It is no less a fact than that Pontius Pilate of evil memory was actually born in the parish. Let Mr Hunter state his grounds for this astounding assertion in his own words. He says, page 430 :—

"The story told concerning it being the birthplace of the Roman Governor of Judea in the days of our Saviour is very circumstantial, and there is no reason to believe that it may not be absolutely true. We are told that a short time previous to the birth of Christ, Cæsar Augustus sent an embassy to Scotland, as well as other countries, with the view of endeavouring—what has been so often tried since—to effect a universal peace. The Roman ambassadors are said to have met Metellanus, the Scottish King, in this region, one of the ambassadors being the father of Pontius Pilate. As the story goes, a son was born to the ambassador at Fortingall while he was sojourning there on his laudable mission, and it is asserted that the son was the veritable Governor of Judea whose name is handed down to us in Holy Writ. It is, at all events, certain that such a mission was sent to Scotland by Cæsar Augustus about the time of the birth of Pontius Pilate, and that Metallanus received the ambassadors at Fortingall, where he was hunting and holding Court. The ambassadors brought rich presents with them, and the Scottish King, who was desirous of friendly relations with the Masters of the World, sent valuable gifts to the Emperor in return, and was successful in obtaining 'an amitie with the Romans, which continued betwixt them and his kingdome for a long time after.' The tradition may, therefore, be perfectly true. The remains of the Roman Camp are pointed out by the natives, with no small pride, although it requires some examination to trace its outline—

'No towers are seen
On the wild heath, but those that fancy builds,
And, save a fosse that tracks the moor with green,
It nought remains to tell of what may there have been.

And yet grave authors, with no small waste
Of their grave time, have dignified the spot
By theories to prove the fortress placed
By Roman hands to curb the invading Scot.'

The camp is traditionally said to have been formed by Agricola, who fought a battle with the Caledonians in the neighbourhood. Many interesting Roman remains have been found from time to time in and about the site of the camp. Of these may be mentioned a Roman standard, the shaft of which encloses a five-fluted spear, and which is preserved at Troup House. In the prætorium of the camp was found a vase of curious mixed metal, and in shape resembling a coffee-pot. This was found about 1733, and is preserved in Taymouth Castle. Of late years a number of urns and flint arrow-heads have been picked up in and around the camp. The camp is situated about a quarter of a mile west of the village, the outline of the camp being about one and a-half acre. The ramparts are almost entirely levelled with the ground, but can still be traced. The prætorium is remarkably complete, as also the marks of a deep fosse, which is supposed to have surrounded Agricola's headquarters. The ditch or outer trench is now in many places filled in, so that its course is not so easily followed."

Space prevents our quoting further from this delightful book. It will amply repay perusal by the general reader, while it will prove an invaluable and reliable guide to the local historian, and pre-eminently so to the connoisseur in arboriculture and estate management.

Books reviewed, or noticed in our "Literary Notes," or indeed any book, will be supplied, to order, from the *Celtic Magazine* Office at the published prices, and sent by Parcels or Book Post to any address.

THE REV. DONALD MUNRO, M.A., HIGH DEAN OF THE ISLES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—I am glad to see from the *Celtic* for November, just to hand, that you have resolved to publish a new edition of Dean Munro's "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland." As you are aware, I am engaged in compiling a History of the Clan Munro, or Rothaich, and have been successful in collecting a considerable amount of matter relative to the Clan and individual members of it. The following are all the "Notes," respecting Dean Munro, I have as yet succeeded in unearthing; and I submit them to the readers of the *Celtic*, in the hope that those of them who may be in possession of any further information concerning the Dean, or, indeed, any member of the Clan Munro, will communicate with me, and thereby render valuable assistance :—

Donald Munro was the eldest son of Alexander Munro of Kiltearn, by his wife, Janet, daughter of Farquhar Maclean of Dochgarroch. Alexander was fourth son of Hugh Munro I. of Coul, in the parish of Alness, who was second son of George Munro, tenth Baron of Fowlis, by his second marriage with Christian, daughter of John Macculloch of Plaids, who was Bailie of the "Girth," or Sanctuary "of Sanct Duthouis of Tayne" in 1458.

Donald Munro, like his uncle John (from whom the present family of Teaninich in the parish of Alness is descended) became a churchman. His place of education is not recorded, but as he was a Master of Arts, it must have been at one of the three Universities then existing in Scotland, probably at King's College, Aberdeen, where most of the northern students then generally resorted.

His earliest ecclesiastical preferment, hitherto ascertained, was the Archdeaconry of the Isles, to which he was nominated in, or shortly after, 1549. The Archdeacon in 1544 was Roderick Maclean, in whose favour Bishop Farquhar of the Isles then resigned his See; and in 1548, Queen Mary presented "Master Archibald Munro, Chaplain, to the Archdeaconry, when it should become vacant by the demission of the venerable clerk, Master Roderick M'Clane :" the latter, however, was not confirmed as Bishop of the Isles by Pope Julius III. till the 5th of March 1550, and he died in 1553.

Dean Munro visited most of the Western Isles in 1549, and wrote an interesting account of them in the Scottish dialect, which was first printed from his own MS. at Edinburgh in 1744, 12mo., pp. 67, with the title, "A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, or Hybrides, in 1549, with Genealogies of the Chieff Clans of the Isles; by Mr Donald Munro, High Dean of the Isles." Only fifty copies of the work were printed, and, as it had become scarce, editions of it were reprinted in 1805 and 1818. These are now quite out of print, and it is a work well deserving of being re-edited, with more care than has hitherto been shown. Buchanan, who was a contemporary of his, as also, it is said, a correspondent and acquaintance, mentions the Archdeacon of the Isles with praise, as "Donaldus Monrous, homo doctus et piusqui eas Ebrides omnes et ipse peragnavit et oculis per lustravit"; that is, Donald Munro, a pious and diligent person (or learned man), who travelled in person over all those islands, and viewed them exactly."

In 1563, a charter by Alexander Bain of Tulloch, in the parish of Dingwall, is witnessed by "Donald Munro, Archdeacon of the Isles."

In "The Register of Ministers and thair Stipendis, sen the Yeir of God 1567," preserved in the General Register House, at Edinburgh, and which was printed as a contribution to the Maitland Club at Glasgow, by Mr A. Macdonald, in Edinburgh, in 1830, under the "Ministers in Ros," is found "Mr Donald Monro, Commissionar to plant Kirkis in Ros, and to assist the Bischope of Caitnes in semlable planting (similar labours), to begyn at Lambmes (1st August) 1563 . . . iiijc merkis"; and in the "Register of Ministers and Readers in the Kirk of Scotland," from the MS. "Booke of the Assignatione of Stipendis" for the year 1574, and printed in 1844, in volume I. of the "Wodrow Society," ably edited by the late David Laing, under the "Diocie of Ros," occurs, as Commissioner of Ross, "Master Donald Monro, minister," but his stipend is not specified. At the same time he was minister at Alness, Kiltearn, and Limlair, with a stipend of £66. 13s. 4d. Scots, or £5. 11s. sterling, and the kirk lands.

The date of his appointment as parson of Kiltearn was apparently between 1560 and 1563—that church, as well as those of Alness and Limlair, being Prebends of the Cathedral of Ross—his total stipend being then £27. 15s. 8d.

In "The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland," printed in 1839 by the Maitland Club, occur the following notices of the Commissioner of Ross, on pages 34, 40 51, 63, 175, 257, and 282 respectively:—

"June 26, 1563.—Commission was given to Mr Donald Monro to plant kirks within the bounds of Rosse; to endure only for a year."

On the 27th December following, the General Assembly found that "it was complained that he (Donald Munro) was not so apt to teach as his charge required," and certain clergymen were "ordained to take a tryall of his gift, and to report to the Assemblie."

"June 30th, 1564.—Mr Donald Munro his commission to plant kirks within Rosse was continued for a year."

On the 28th of June of the following year, complaints were given in by Mr Munro against the Ross-shire ministers for non-residence at their kirks.

The General Assembly, on the 5th of July 1570, ordered assistance to be given him as Commissioner of Ross, because he "was not prompt in the Scottish tongue"—the Gaelic language.

On the 6th of March 1573, "the Assemblie, for certain causes moving them, continued," among other ministers, "Mr Donald Munro in the office of Commissionarie to plant kirks till the next General Assemblie"; and his appointment as Commissioner of Ross was renewed for the last time at Edinburgh, on the 6th of August 1573, "till the next Assemblie."

A successor was appointed on the 6th of March 1575; and it is probable that he died about the same time, and certainly before the year 1589, when his successor, Robert Munro, third son of John Munro II. of Balconie, grandson of Hugh Munro I. of Coul, was parson of Kiltearn.

Tradition states that Donald Munro lived at Castle Craig (the ruins of which still remain), on the opposite side of the Cromarty Firth, which he crossed by boat, and preached on Sabbaths in one of his churches—Kiltearn, Alness, or Limlair. He was evidently a man of some eminence in his time, and inclined to literary pursuits, and topographical as well as genealogical research. At first he was doubtless a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, but on the dawn of the Reformation he followed the

example of his relative and chief, Robert Munro, XV. Baron of Fowlis, and became a Protestant, when he must have been a man of middle age. It is much to be regretted that a fuller account of his career is not now available, or known to exist.

The Rev. Dr John Kennedy of Dingwall, in his "Fathers of Ross-shire," page 4, has the following reference to Commissioner Munro :—"It was in 1563 the first ray of Reformation light broke through the darkness of Ross-shire. By the General Assembly of that year, Mr Donald Munro was appointed 'Commissioner of Ross.' The Lord came with him to his work, and before seven years had passed, the cause of truth had made such progress in Easter Ross, where he chiefly laboured (?), as to attract the notice of 'Good Regent Murray;' who presented to the people of Tain a pulpit for their church, as an acknowledgment of their zeal."—I am, yours, &c.,

Milnton Cottage, ALEX. ROSS.
Alness, November 1883.

THE "CLACHNAHAGAIG" STONE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—As I find that the conclusion of my argument respecting the above Stone has been omitted in the letter you were good enough to publish in your last number, may I request the favour that you will next month find a corner for what follows :—

The ground I took up in my former letter was that there is no evidence that the "Clachnahagaig" of James VI.'s Charter was the same as the Clachnahalaig Stone mentioned on the plans and in title-deeds; but I intended further to show that, even as to the position of the latter stone itself, there is much room for difference of opinion; and at the end of my letter, as it appeared, I adverted to the evidence adduced by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh in reference to the erection of the present stone on the Canal Bank.

I intended, however, and now wish, to cite important evidence in favour of my latter contention. In Decree of Special and General Service of Isabella Rose or Innes and others, dated 7th June, recorded in Chancery 8th June, and in Register of Sasines 12th July 1869, the Dunain Salmon Fishings are described as "on the water of Ness and Lake of Ness or Loch Ness, from the March Stone called Clachnahalig, *at and in the said Loch*." (The italics are mine.) This is from the title of the vendors of the Estate of Dunain, from whom Sir John Ramsden acquired it, which, therefore, regulated his rights. In conveying the fishings, however, which he sold to Mr Fountaine Walker, Sir John inserted the following description of the site of Clachnahalig, which, I believe, I am fully justified in saying is not to be found anywhere in his own titles. He assumed to give "the sole and exclusive right of fishing for salmon and all other fish in the River Ness, *ex adverso* of that part of the northern bank thereof formerly part of the said lands and Estate of Dunain, but now the property of the Caledonian Canal Commissioners, extending from the Stone called Clachnahalig, situated at the point where, prior to the formation of said Canal, the lands of Dunain marched with the lands of Bught, up the river to a point now indicated by a march stone recently erected by me directly opposite the centre of the mouth of the Laggan Burn."

As the above facts are, I conceive, most important as traversing Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's assertion that the site of Clachnahalig has been unnecessarily questioned, my reply to that assertion cannot be complete without their publication.—I am, &c.,

London. ANGUS MACKINTOSH.

THE

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CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XIII.

SIR EWEN CAMERON—*Continued.*—FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE ANCIENT FEUD WITH MACKINTOSH.

LOCHIEL and his clan lived in peace during 1659, though considerable commotion was going on at headquarters. When his good friend, General Monk, resolved upon supporting the Scottish Parliament against the English Generals, Lochiel determined to join him, and accompanied him in his famous expedition to England, which resulted in the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660. His reputation had preceded Lochiel in the south, and he was treated with the greatest civility and consideration, wherever he went, by the English people, who came in crowds to meet the Scottish Army, expecting deliverance at their hands, praying for their success, and petitioning for a free Parliament in England. Lochiel, who was the guest of Monk during the celebrated march to London, was carefully provided for in suitable quarters on his arrival. The General had him along with himself on all occasions where there was opportunity of doing him honour, and when the King made his triumphant entry to the city, "the

General desired Lochiel to keep all the way as near to him as he possibly could ; and when his Majesty alighted, it was his own fault but he held the King's stirrup, as he had an inviting opportunity. The effect of his modesty, or rather bushfulness, he had some reason to repent of, for another, who had more assurance, got before him and performed that office, for which he was royally rewarded." He was, however, afterwards introduced to kiss the King's hands ; when he was received very graciously, the General having previously made known who he was, and the nature of his merit and services to the Crown. He was also introduced to the Dukes of York and Gloucester. General Middleton had already made the former fully acquainted with Lochiel's position and past history, especially as to the incident of biting out the Englishman's throat at Achadalew, which had become a leading subject of conversation in Court circles. The Duke of York especially received him most graciously, with marks of esteem and favour, and on several occasions he took pleasure in chaffing him about the famous mouthful, and other incidents of his early life.

The garrison at Inverlochy was ordered South, when by an order of General Monk to Colonel Hill, then governor, the houses and all the material which could not be shipped was granted to Lochiel ; while, at the same time, the key of the fortress itself was given up to him. The order is dated, 18th of June 1660, at Cockpitt, where General Monk then resided. But while Lochiel was thus in favour at Court, he was not yet destined to be free from trouble in his own country, though, for a time at least, his quarrels were not of a sanguinary nature.

The Marquis of Argyll having been brought to trial before the Scottish Parliament, condemned and executed, in 1661, turned out most unfortunately for the Camerons. Lochiel's uncle, Donald Cameron, who had been his tutor during his minority, and two others of his relations, having advanced to Argyll, between 1650 and 1660, the sum of 16,345 merks, obtained a mortgage from him of a certain property which had been forfeited by the Marquis of Huntly and granted to Argyll, and as an additional security, he gave them a warranty over the estates of Suinart and Ardnamurchan, then Argyll's property. Having been duly infefted in these lands, his relatives made them

over to Lochiel. On the death of Argyll, Huntly had the estates regranted to him free of all the debts, and Lochiel was thus left with nothing but his claim upon Suinart and Ardnamurchan. Parliament acknowledged this claim, and recommended that a charter of the lands should be granted to him "suitable to the extent of the sum" advanced by his relatives, but in consequence of the crafty and able tactics of his great enemy, the Duke of Lauderdale, he was unsuccessful in the end, though Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, Middleton, and the Crown were all in his favour. "The King, being perpetually dunned by the continued application of the greatest men of his Court, at last ordered Lauderdale to present the signature or grant of these lands to be superscribed by his Majesty, according to the usual form; and this being part of his office, as principal Secretary of State, he was obliged, after repeated orders, to comply at last. But when the grant came to be laid before the King, he took care that there should not be as much ink in the pen as would suffice to write the superscription, so that when his Majesty had wrote the word 'Charles' he wanted ink to add 'Rex,' and though the King often called for more," not another drop could be procured at the time, and the matter was left in that incomplete state, while Lauderdale induced several of Lochiel's enemies to raise actions against him for old scores, thus for the time skilfully diverting his attention from his claims on the lands in question.

The Earl of Callender succeeded in getting Parliament to grant him a claim against Lochiel for acts committed before the Restoration, but our hero was afterwards acquitted, the Earl being unable to substantiate the details of his claim before a Commission appointed for the purpose.

About the same time Mackintosh again began to press his ancient claims to the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig. With the nature of this claim the reader is already acquainted. On the advice of Lauderdale, Mackintosh, in 1661, petitioned Parliament, and ultimately obtained a decree adjudging the lands to him, and ordering Lochiel not only to divest himself of the property, but to find security that neither he nor his clan should for the future molest Mackintosh nor his tenants in the peaceable possession thereof, under a penalty of 20,000 merks. This happened in Lochiel's absence, he being at the time at Court in

London, pushing his claims to the lands of Suinart and Ardnamurchan, and to a pension of £300 sterling per annum which the King agreed to grant him, but never effectually carried out. The action of Parliament in this matter the Court of Session held to be an encroachment upon its privileges. The Chancellor, Lord Glencairne, wrote a letter to the "Lord President and Lords of Session, now sitting at Edinburgh," dated London, 7th June 1661, to the following effect :—

"Since I came to this place, I understand his Majesty has taken such notice of the Laird of Lochiell his faithful service done to him, that he has proposed a way for composing the difference betwixt Mackintosh and him, which will shortly come to your hands: ' I shall desire you, therefore, if Mackintosh offer to take advantage of Lochiell his absence, or to prevent his Majesty's commands by insisting in action before you against Lochiell, now in his absence, that you continue the action until you know his Majesty's further pleasure, which will be signified to you by my return. This being all at present.—I am, my Lords, &c.,

(Signed) "GLENCAIRNE."

The Lords of Session at once intimated the receipt of this letter to the Parliament and Privy Council, with the result that nothing was done until July 1662, when Mackintosh obtained a Decree of Removal against Lochiel and his clan from the lands in question, based on the sentence of Parliament of the previous year. The question was debated before the Lords of Session by the ablest men at the bar, and reasons given on both sides, for which much could be said ; but legally, Lochiel had the worst of it, and decree went against him. He had, however, great influence at Court, and he determined to use it in this emergency. He at once petitioned the King, who gave him a private audience, and listened patiently to all he had to say. Lochiel urged upon his Majesty to interpose his authority, and compel Mackintosh to accept a sum of money in lieu of his claim for restitution of the lands ; pointing out that, as the Camerons were, and had been, in possession for centuries, they would never give up the lands and their dwellings without great bloodshed. He foresaw the consequences of attempting to remove them by force, and he had good reasons to conclude that this would be the last occasion on which he himself would have the honour of seeing his King. "He had," he said, "been a great part of his youth a fugitive and outlaw for his attempting to serve his Majesty ; but that gave him no great pain, because

he suffered in a glorious cause, and only shared in the common calamities of his country, but henceforth he must resolve to live among hills and deserts, a fugitive and vagabond, merely because he was the Chief of a clan for whom, though he was bound by the law, he was sure he could not answer when they came to be dispossessed by the ancient enemy of his family." To this his Majesty replied—"Lochiel, I know that you were a faithful servant to the Crown, and that you have often, with great bravery, hazarded your life and fortune in that cause; fear not that you shall be long an outlaw, whatever shall happen in that quarrel, while I have the power of granting a remission; but as to the affairs of law and private right, I will not meddle with it, but shall write to my Council to endeavour to compromise matters, so as to prevent public disturbance. In the meantime, I think it your interest to hinder Mackintosh's attaining to possession; and I assure you that neither life nor estate shall be in danger while I can save them." Lochiel felt naturally much encouraged by the reception he had received, and by the encouragement given him by the King. He informed the Duke of Albemarle of what had passed between them, and urged upon him to do all in his power to keep Mackintosh from getting into favour at Court. His Grace promised every assistance. The Duke of York, to whom Lochiel was previously known, used his influence with the King in his behalf. His Royal Highness had also recommended him to the Earl of Clarendon, then Prime Minister, and to several others of the leading men at Court, but the Earl of Lauderdale still continued his implacable enemy, and went the length of opposing the King writing to his Commissioners in Scotland in Lochiel's favour, as long as he could; but his Majesty having determined that his wishes in this should be at once carried out, the following letter was addressed "To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, the Earl of Middleton, our Commissioner to our Parliament in Scotland":—

"CHARLES REX,

"Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousine and Counsellour, wee greit yow well.—We haveing formerly written to our Privy Councill about the difference likely to arise betwixt the Lairds of Macintoish and Locheill, we are still of the same opinion that though we will not meddle in the point of law or right, which (we are informed) is already determined, yet we have thought fitt to recommend to your

care, to endeavour so to settle and agree them as the peace of those parts be not disturbed. Given att Hampton Court, the 30th May 1662, and of our reign the 14th year.

"By his Majesty's command. (Signed) "LAUDERDAILL."

Lochiel returned from London, and arrived in Edinburgh about the same time as this letter, when he found that a warrant for his seizure and imprisonment had been obtained by Mackintosh during his absence. He at once petitioned the Privy Council for protection. His request was granted, but it was only available to the 24th of June immediately following. During this interval he married his second wife, a daughter of Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart ; and having done all he could to secure the active interest of his friends in Parliament and in the Privy Council, he left Edinburgh before his order of protection had expired, and in due time arrived with his young lady safely in Lochaber, to the great joy and gratification of his devoted clansmen.

Through Lauderdale's influence in the Privy Council, the King's letter was not read until the 4th of September following, and in the interval Mackintosh petitioned for a Commission of Fire and Sword against Lochiel and his friends. Through the influence of the Commissioner and Chancellor, Mackintosh, on this occasion, failed in his object; but in 1663 he was more successful, and obtained a warrant charging Lochiel to appear before the Council within fifteen days, upon certification that, if he did not, their Lordships would issue a Commission of Fire and Sword against him. He received information of what had occurred through his friend the Chancellor, but resolved not to appear, and the commission against him was issued. Among those named and authorised to execute it were the Marquis of Montrose, the Earls of Caithness, Murray, Athole, Errol, Marshall, Mar, Dundee, Airlie, Aboyne, and several others of the leading men in the Lowlands as well as in the Highlands. Letters of Concurrence and Intercommuning, or Outlawry were issued against Lochiel, and the whole Clan Cameron ; while all the men between sixteen and sixty years of age in the Counties of Inverness, Ross, Nairn, and Perth, were ordered to convene in arms, and put the law in execution against "these rebels and outlaws," whenever Mackintosh should consider it fit to call

them together for that purpose. On his return to Dunachton, Mackintosh wrote to each of those named in the Commission, and afterwards visited them in person, urging upon them the necessity of preparing to carry out the Council's commands, but not one of them would move. On the contrary, they strongly opposed the action which he proposed, and urged upon him to accept the money payment which Lochiel was willing to give in satisfaction of his claim. Mackintosh then resolved to punish the Camerons by his own clan, with any of the neighbours which he could induce to join him. In this he was also unsuccessful, and Lochiel, in the meantime, to show his determination and ability to fight, sent several parties to the enemy's country, with instructions to carry away the cattle of such of the Mackintoshes as were still willing to follow their Chief on the proposed expedition to Lochaber. Mackintosh showed fight, and at once sent a party of his men on a similar expedition to Lochaber. Ultimately he arranged with his followers by granting them several demands which he had previously refused them, and so induced them to agree to follow him—going the length, in the case of the Macphersons, of granting "a renunciation of any title or pretence he had to the Chiefship, and a premium of £100 sterling" for their services on this occasion.

Lochiel was able to keep himself fully informed of his enemy's proceedings, and being so far in favour with the principal Lords of Parliament and of the Privy Council, he succeeded in procuring an order, signed by the Duke of Rothes, then—January 1665—the King's Commissioner to Parliament, commanding Mackintosh to appear in Edinburgh within a certain number of days, and directing him not to put his Commission of Fire and Sword in force until the pleasure of the Privy Council was made further known to him. Mackintosh reluctantly obeyed, but complained bitterly of the action taken against him. To this he received no reply but a peremptory command to remain in the city until Lochiel, who had also been sent for, should arrive. On the appointed day a meeting of the Privy Council was held, at which the Commissioner, Chancellor, all the principal Officers of State, and others in authority, were present. Both Lochiel and Mackintosh put in an appearance, and the King's letter was read in their hearing. The Chancellor stated that his

Majesty's zeal for the welfare and happiness of his people, and the particular commands which he had in consequence laid upon his Parliament and Council to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the parties by way of compromise, could not but have its due influence, and dispose them "to agree to such measures as should be agreeable to justice and the wisdom of his Majesty's Council." In answer to the questions put to them, both answered that they were willing to submit the dispute between them to the arbitration of the Privy Council. A few days later they were again called before the Council, when it was intimated to them that the Council had satisfied themselves as to the value of the lands in question, and the nature of all the questions in dispute. After a long argument the Chancellor recommended that they should, by the aid of friends, agree upon a price to be paid by Lochiel, stating at the same time that, failing this, the Council would proceed to settle the question. Lochiel and Mackintosh, with the aid of powerful friends and lawyers on either side, tried to come to an agreement, but they still differed so much that there was not the least probability of any terms being agreed upon. Within eight days they were again called before the Council, when it was declared, through the Chancellor, as their unanimous decision, that a sum of 72,000 merks paid by Lochiel to Mackintosh would be a just amount between the demands of the one and the offers of the other, and the Council decreed accordingly. Mackintosh would scarcely listen to this proposal, and he resolved to remove privately out of the city, without coming to any arrangement. His intentions were, however, discovered, and just as he was leaving he was arrested by order of the Council, and detained captive until he found security that he and his clan and followers should keep the peace. He finally offered voluntarily to delay the execution of his Commission against Lochiel for a year longer, on condition that the Council would agree to dispense with his finding caution for any but his own tenants. Lochiel and the Council agreed, and Mackintosh was allowed to return home. He, however, no sooner reached his destination than he called all the leaders of his clan to an entertainment, with their friends and followers, at his own house, and by granting such demands as they had been for some time making upon him,

induced them to subscribe a bond, obliging them to follow him in an expedition to Lochaber whenever he might call upon them to do so.

Lochiel, who was kept fully informed of what Mackintosh was doing, wrote to his friend, the Earl of Moray, then Sheriff of Inverness-shire, asking his lordship to hold his usual Circuit Courts in Badenoch, Strathspey, and neighbouring districts—where the Macphersons, and others, who usually followed Mackintosh, resided—and as his vassals were bound to attend the Earl on such occasions, they would not be able to follow Mackintosh. This plan was at once adopted by Moray, after which he marched to Inverness, to settle some disputes there between the Town and the Macdonalds.

At this time attempts were made among certain of his own friends to dissuade Mackintosh from proceeding to extremities, but he would listen to nothing but the carrying out of his own views; and he finally marched, at the head of an army of 1500 men to Lochaber, reaching the plain of Clunes, on the west side of the River Arkaig, where he encamped.

In connection with this expedition, we are informed that, "Lochiel, having heard that Mackintosh was on his march, thought it full time to provide for his defence, and in a few days he got together his whole clan; who, having been prepared beforehand, and willing for the service, were sooner with him than he expected. He was likewise joined by a small party of the MacIans of Glencoe, and another of the Macgregors, who offered their services as volunteers; and found, upon the muster, that he had got 900 armed with guns, broadswords, and targes, and 300 more who had bows in place of guns; and it is remarkable that these were the last considerable company of bowmen that appeared in the Highlands. With these he marched straight to Achnacarry, and encamped on the bank of the River Arkaig," immediately opposite the Mackintoshes, thus securing the only ford on the river. Here they remained facing each other for two days, after which Mackintosh moved his men two miles further west along the side of Loch-Arkaig. Lochiel, after throwing up an embankment at the ford, left it in charge of fifty doughty fellows, moved his main body westward, and took up his position opposite the Mackintoshes. Here he called a Council of War, and informed his

friends of his determination to settle the long-standing feud now, once and for all, by the sword. He expressed his full confidence in his men, and told them that as he had the King's promise of a remission, he had no apprehensions as to the result; concluding by telling them "that if any of them wanted inclination to engage, and had not put on a fixed resolution to die or conquer, he begged of them to retire, and he would afford them such opportunities as would save their honour." Such a cowardly action was spurned by every one present, and Lochiel determined to execute his plans that very night. In the meantime, John Campbell, younger of Glenurchy, afterwards First Earl of Breadalbane, who had been sent by the Earl of Argyll, arrived, and presented himself to Mackintosh with proposals of peace. A preliminary conference was arranged. The first day's deliberations produced no result. At a second meeting certain proposals were made to which the friends of both parties agreed, but Mackintosh rejected them, declaring that he would rather hazard his whole fortune than consent to such terms. His leading followers rebelled, refused to fight under existing conditions, but Mackintosh continued unbending. Next morning, however, his friends found him more willing to listen to reason. They offered to make up the difference in money themselves, and finally succeeded in inducing him to consent to the absolute sale of the lands to Lochiel on the terms previously offered, and now repeated by him, namely, 72,500, or just 500 merks more than the sum named as a fair compromise by the Privy Council a few years before. Mr Mackintosh-Shaw describes the final settlement in the following terms, which are quite consistent with the more detailed account given in "Lochiel's Memoirs":—While Mackintosh was undergoing the persuasive attempts of his friends, young Glenurchy had arrived at the Clan Chattan camp, and had shown additional reasons why those attempts ought to succeed in a force of 300 men which accompanied him, and in a written order from the Earl of Argyll to employ all the power of the latter, if necessary, to bring the dispute to an end. Campbell's arrival, and Mackintosh's assent, seem to have taken place at an opportune moment, as Lochiel had concocted one of the surprises for which he was famed, and in which he was generally successful. On the preceding night

he had dispatched Cameron of Erracht, with a body of picked men by boats, to the northern side of Loch-Arkaig, there to remain concealed until an opportunity should present itself of taking the enemy by surprise. He himself was, in the meantime, to make his way with the main body by the head of the loch to the same place, a distance of some eighteen English miles. He had not advanced far on his march when he was met by young Glenurchy, bringing back with him Erracht and his party. It was only by advancing the same cogent reasons which he had already urged upon Mackintosh that Glenurchy could prevail on Lochiel to give up his intention of fighting, and to consent to the agreement into which his opponent was now willing to enter. On the following day (Monday, 18th September), a formal contract was drawn up and signed, on the one hand binding Mackintosh to sell Glenlui and Locharkig to Lochiel, or any person he might nominate, and on the other binding Lochiel and six others to pay to Mackintosh 12,500 merks of the price in the town of Perth on the 12th of January 1666, and at the same time to give sufficient security for the payment of the remainder of the price at the Martinmas terms of 1666 and 1667. On the 20th, Lochiel crossed the Arkaig, and met his late enemy at the house of Clunes. Both were attended by their principal friends and clansmen. They "saluted each other," says the Kinrara MS., "drank together in token of perfect reconciliation, and exchanged swords, rejoicing at the extinction of the ancient feud." The feud had raged for three centuries and a-half, during which time, says tradition, with its usual looseness of expression, a Mackintosh and a Cameron had never even *spoken* together.*

The author of the Memoirs informs us that "Lochiel, though much fretted at the disconcerting of his measures, was still resolved to fight the enemy the very next day [after his arrival], and to continue his march, but Breadalbane [Glenurchy] told him roundly that he was equally allied to them both; that he came there to act the part of a mediator; and whoever of them proved refractory, he would not only join with the other against him, but also would bring all the power that Argyll was master of, with his own, into the quarrel; and he thereupon

* "History of the Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan," pp. 381-382.

showed a communication he had from the Earl of Argyll to that purpose. Lochiel found himself under the necessity of consenting; and his firm resolution of fighting had this good effect that it hastened on the agreement, and in a manner compelled Mackintosh, who was pushed on by his people, to consent to these very proposals that had been formerly made by the Privy Council and afterwards by the Earl of Murray," on Lochiel's behalf. This agreement was concluded on the 20th of September 1665, about 360 years after the commencement of the quarrel, which was, perhaps, one of the longest duration mentioned in history, and, considering the strength of the parties, as bloody as any that we have any record of. Though Mackintosh gained nothing, Lochiel lost largely by it in men and property, and the final settlement was considered as favourable by the Camerons and their friends as they could possibly expect in the circumstances, though during the long period of the dispute they, in defence of their claim and position, "gave away or abandoned their original inheritance, which was four times above this in value, as their original charters from the Lords of the Isles, all confirmed by King James IV., with the charters granted by succeeding Princes, erecting the whole into a free Barony, with many powers and privileges, testify to this day; and all this, besides the loss of the pension of three hundred pounds sterling per annum," already mentioned, and of Suinart and Ardnamurchan, which now belonged to the Earl of Argyll, with the rest of his father's forfeiture, by a grant from the Crown.

(To be continued.)

TO THE CLAN CAMERON.—The Editor of the *Celtic Magazine* will esteem it a favour if members of the Clan Cameron will communicate with him, on an early day, with the view of completing full and correct genealogies of the respective branch families of the name, for his forthcoming "History of the Camerons." It is impossible for him to include the living and later members of the various branches in the work unless he is supplied, at least, with particulars as to the present generation. This has been already done in several cases. The complete work will contain, in addition to the General History of the Clan, Biographies of General Sir Allan Cameron of Erracht; Colonel John Cameron of Fassiefern; Dr Archibald Cameron; and other distinguished gentlemen of the Clan, and will be published by subscription, during the year, in a handsome volume of about five hundred pages, uniform with the author's "History of the Mackenzies," and his "History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles. The Camerons of Glennevis, Erracht, Callart, Strone, Fassiefern, Clunes, and others, will be noticed at length under separate headings, while a genealogy of the Lochiel family will be brought down to date, in connection with the general history of the family.

ANCIENT CELTIC TENURES.

By H. C. Macandrew, Provost of Inverness.

II.

The law of succession is of course a powerful factor in regulating the development of any society. In the cases of the Mensal land of the chiefs there were instances of undivided succession; in the case of the Church lands there were instances of corporate and continuous possession. In the case of the families of the Flaths or chiefs there is described a very artificial and complicated system of a family of seventeen persons, consisting of three groups of four and one of five, and representing the relations of the chiefs in four different degrees, he himself being the fifth member of one group. These had certain complicated rights of succession among the groups on the extinction of any of them, which it is very difficult to understand, and which could hardly have been long in practical operation. Apart from this, the rule seems to have been that of gavel-kind, as it is called in England; that is equal distribution among children, and under this custom in Ireland, daughters might succeed if there were no sons; and there was a certain power of bequest.

If I am at all correct in the picture which I have here given, it is clear that there was a state of society in which the idea of individual property in land, or of the exclusive right to the possession and enjoyment of land, had gone a considerable way, and if further evidence of this were wanting, numerous instances could be given of regulations for the letting of land on hire. On the other hand, there are many provisions showing that the power of dealing with land was limited by the rights of the tribe and of the family, and although in the Book of Armagh, whose date is about the year 800, there is a case of a sale of land recorded in the following terms:—"Cummin and Brethan purchased Ochtern-Achid with its appurtenances, both wood and field, and plain and meadow, together with its habitation and its garden"—this seems to be a solitary instance of a direct sale, while it seems to be an excellent description of the early settlement. While thus

we have individual rights limited by tribal and family rights, it must always be kept in mind that there existed the undoubted right of the free tribesman to a share of the common tribe land and grazing on the tribe waste or common.

In the case of Ireland, outside the pale, as I have said, the Brehon Law continued in force until the time of James the First, when, by a decision of the Court, it was abolished, and the law of England imposed on the country, and, as a consequence, all rights subordinate to those of chiefs ignored. The state of matters which then existed on land which had not previously been forfeited and granted to Englishmen is thus described by Sir John Davis, Attorney-General for Ireland, in 1606. In speaking of M'Guire's country, he says :—"Touching the free land, we found them to be of three kinds : (1) Church lands, or termon lands as the Irish call it ; (2) the Mensal lands of M'Guire ; and (3) land given to certain septs privileged among the Irish, viz., the lands of the chroniclers, rimers, and gallowglasses"—the last representing, as I take it, the free tribesmen.

There is no existing evidence that any such code of laws as the Brehon Laws was ever committed to writing in Scotland, but there is, I think, ample evidence that the picture I have attempted to draw was as applicable to Celtic Scotland previous to the time of Malcolm Canmore as it was to Ireland. In the Book of Deer we have mention of gifts by Toseichs, Mormaers, and chiefs of clans ; and we have grants by these showing that they had each certain rights in the land, or rights to certain duties and tributes out of it. Thus, grants are given free of Mormaer and Toseich, that is free of the payments and services which these could exact. There is mention also of Brehons or Judges, and in old charters and other records we find numerous mention of duties and services, exactly analogous to those of the Brehon Laws existing in Scotland, to comparatively recent dates. To adduce proofs of this would occupy much too great a space for our present purpose, but those who are interested in the subject will find it fully discussed in the third volume of Skene's "History of Celtic Scotland," and in his appendix to the second volume of "Fordun's Chronicle," recently published.

The ancient law of Scotland was not, as in Ireland, all at once abolished by statute or by decision of a court or of a king;

but from the time of Malcolm MacKenneth it was subjected to contact with, and the influence from, other systems, which gradually obliterated all its distinctive features. This began with the acquisition of Lothian in 1018, and increased with the accession of Malcolm Canmore and his marriage with the Saxon Princess, Margaret. And during his time, and the times of his immediate successors, Saxon language and Saxon law and customs spread over the country outside the Highland line. With the Norman conquest of England, Norman and Feudal ideas began to penetrate into Scotland, till in the time of David I. the country became a Feudal Monarchy; and it was assumed, although never formally enacted, that all the land in the country belonged to the King, and that there could be no legal title to land except a grant from the King, or from some person holding a grant from him. Under these influences, the Mormaers became earls, and ultimately the earldoms all became feudalised, although there long—down, at least, to the time of the War of Independence—remained a distinction between the ancient earldoms of Scotland and the newer feudal earldoms created by the kings. The Toseichs became Thanes, and a number of Thanages existed for a very considerable time principally on the borders of the Highlands, and never penetrating far within the Highland line, but these gradually were lost or were converted into Feudal Baronies—the only one where the name is retained, so far as I know, being Cawdor—the lands possessed by Lord Cawdor being still designated in his charters as the barony, or, perhaps now, the earldom and thanage of Cawdor.

From the time of David First it may be said that the Feudal Law was the law acknowledged by the supreme power, and in the parts of the country where the Saxon language prevailed, it was the law in practice as well as in theory, although vestiges of the old Celtic usages lingered long, especially on the lands held by the Church, and on the lands which remained in the hands of the Crown.

In the district of the country where the Gaelic language prevailed, however, older ideas remained, and had vital force until the power of the central government became supreme after the last rebellion, and feudal ideas made their way very slowly, although there is no doubt that they were gradually penetrating.

The vigour with which the tie of kindred remained in force is instanced by the Clan system itself, and by the superiority which the tie of clanship bore to any tie arising from mere relationship arising out of the land. Of this there are instances without number: Landed gentlemen who held their land on the same tenure as the chiefs themselves—that is, from the Crown or from some intermediate superior—followed the chief rather than the feudal superior. Tenants who held their lands from alien landlords followed the chief to whom by blood they owed allegiance. Of this, too, there are numerous and well-known instances. That there remained an idea of a right to land better and older than any feudal title, is likewise proved by many well-known instances. Dunmaglass was purchased by the family of Cawdor from William Menzies in 1419, but the Macgillivrays possessed it then, and had possessed it from time immemorial, and continued to possess it until after 1621, when they acquired first a wadset, and afterwards a feudal right. Before they acquired a written title they held by "Duchus" or native right, but they were in law only tenants of the Thane of Cawdor. But while he held by "Duchus," and when he was a feudal vassal of the Thane, the head of the house of Macgillivray was an important member of the Clan Chattan, and commanded the clan at Culloden, although his feudal superior was a Whig. Lochiel held Glenlui and Loch-Arkaig for 360 years in spite of written charters in favour of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, and only acquired a written title in 1666, and by a transaction which was carried through in front of two hostile armies which were met to contest the right. The Macdonalds of Keppoch fought the last clan battle in the year of the great Revolution in defence of their native right to the ancient habitation of the tribe, as against the paper right of the Mackintosh; and in 1745, when the head of the sept was in law only a tenant of Mackintosh, he led his tribe to Culloden in the following of his natural chief, Glengarry. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the legal possession of land tended more and more to become a powerful factor in the development which was going on. The Frasers of Lovat were a Norman family who came to this country and acquired land in quite historic times, and yet they very shortly became the heads of a powerful and united clan. Whether the founder of the

Chiefship of the Mackenzies was a Fitzgerald or native Highlander, he also, in comparatively recent times, rose to power, and became the head of a, so to speak, homogeneous clan. It is evident, however, that all the Frasers, or all the Mackenzies, could not be blood relations of the chief, and that the tie of clanship arose, to some extent at all events, out of the possession of land; but the readiness with which the belief in community of race was accepted is, perhaps, as strong a proof as any of the strength of the tribal idea. The people could not think of the tie between Chief and clan as arising out of anything but common origin, and when such common origin did not exist, the fiction that it did was accepted as a belief.

While, therefore, the ancient ideas continued to have force in the Highlands, they worked, so to speak, under the ever-deepening shadow of the feudal system, and what resulted after the break up of the great tribal organisations represented by the Mormaerships, and afterwards by the Celtic earldoms, and later, as it appears to me, by the descendants of Somerled, who, for several centuries exercised so singular a power in the Western and Central Highlands—a power which, as I think, can only be accounted for on the supposition that they were believed to be the representatives of the ancient order of things—was the clan system. The value of feudal titles was very early seen, and when we come to have an intimate knowledge of the country in later times, we find that it was all, like the rest of Scotland, held under feudal tenure, although, as I have said, the feudal right of the stranger was often disputed by the ancient possessor. But while it is not to be forgotten that feudal rights became general, it is always to be borne in mind that the fact that the Chiefs or landowners had obtained feudal titles to their land did not in any way affect the position, or, according to their view, the rights of those who occupied under them; that it was only after a time, and then by slow degrees, that the feudal titles would be put forward as the foundation of rights which the ancient customs did not warrant, and especially that it was only with the increase of the power of the central authority to enforce its law that the worth of a clansman, as such, came into competition with his worth as a tenant or contributor of rent to the Chief.

The Clan system, although waning, existed, as we know, till

the great rebellion of 1745-6, and then it succumbed, not to the force of any law directly abolishing it, but to an Act abolishing heritable jurisdictions and certain incidents of feudal holding, and which, by converting the Chiefs into mere modern landlords, deprived them to a great degree of the interest which they had formerly had in their clansmen, and deprived the clansmen of all value to them except as contributors to their revenue.

We have recently had it laid down that the clan never was an institution recognised by the law, and that there now exists no means of deciding in what membership of a clan consisted. The clan, however, was till recently a very potent fact. It is beyond doubt that it was a survival from an earlier state, and it becomes interesting to enquire to what extent we can find in what existed before the final break up of the clans traces of the much earlier social and political condition represented in the Brehon Laws.

What I say on this subject must, in the first place, be very short; and in the second place must be more or less speculative, for the history of the social condition and progress of the Highland people has yet to be written. Still, the view I take seems to me to represent so very much what we might expect from what we know of the causes at work, that it presents itself to my mind with considerable force.

In the first place, then, it appears to me that in the Chief of a clan we have the representative, if not always the successor, of the Ri-Tuath or Toseich, the head of a tribe. The Flaths, or subordinate Chiefs of families and septs, are represented by the heads of the smaller septs in clans, such as the Clan Chattan, by the smaller landed proprietors owning a clan allegiance to a superior chief, and by the great gentlemen tacksmen holding large tracts of land with numerous sub-tenants. All these, I think, represent the sept or family within the clan in different stages of development. Those septs which had been longest in existence, and were the more numerous and powerful, would naturally trace descent from their immediate founder, and look on themselves as a sub-race. When feudal ideas began to make way, the larger proprietors, or holders of separate portions of land, would naturally seek to obtain feudal rights in their own favour; and on the other hand, as we have seen that all Flaths, or minor chiefs, were more or less in a sense ceiles of the Ri-Tuath or Toseich, inasmuch as they

were bound to submit to the relation implied in taking stock from him, it would naturally follow that when the Toseich obtained a feudal right to the whole tribe land, the Flaths would come to be regarded by him as his tenants, and would ultimately come to regard themselves as such. That the giving of stock by the superior to the inferior survived in the custom of Steelbow tenancy, is, I think, beyond question. In the more or less inferior septs which we find attached to some clans, and having no Chief of their own, we see, I think, the descendants of Fuidirs, or strangers and broken men whom the Chiefs had settled on their land, although instead of employing them as cultivators, the circumstances of the country rendered it more convenient for the Chiefs to employ them as cattle lifters. The Macphies, for instance, dwelt on Lochiel's land, and owned him as their Chief, but they did not suppose themselves to be of his blood or lineage, and if tradition does not belie them, their principal employment was to be his thieves. In Donald Bain Lean, in "Waverley," we have a modern instance of the Fuidir as employed in the Highlands.

The most interesting question, however, is that as to where we are to look for the representatives in modern times of the great body of free tribesmen too poor to be privileged or to be much noticed in records or in history, yet inheriting the right of free tribesmen to a living on the tribe land. To me it seems beyond all doubt that these are found in the townships and club farms which were once so numerous all over the Highlands, and which, in a modified, and, it appears to me, somewhat degraded form, exist in the crofter communities of to-day. I am aware it has been contended, on the evidence of old rentals, that this class of small tenants is a modern development, and we are told that because they are not to be found in the rentals of the larger proprietors they did not exist. But it is to be kept in mind that the large tacksmen were to a great extent middlemen, and that such communities would in later days hold under them, and would not appear in the proprietor's rental. That such communities were numerous in all parts of the Highlands every one who travels over the country may see. That they might exist without appearing in the proprietor's rental one instance may be sufficient to show. My friend, Mr William Mackay, has kindly shown me an extract which he made from the records of the

Baron Bailie Court of The Chisholm in 1657, where it is set forth that upwards of eighty persons were fined in one day for various offences. These persons are all described in groups as tenants in such and such a place, yet none of them appear in the rent roll of the proprietor. That such communities are ancient, may, I think, fairly be inferred from the fact that on the lands held by Macdonald of Keppoch, the last in Scotland which submitted to the feudal laws, there are several of them existing till this day. If any one should contend that such communities are a result of the modern relation of landlord and tenant, it is only necessary for the refutation of such a contention to read the account which Mr Carmichael has given of certain townships still existing in North Uist, and which is embodied in the third volume of Skene :

"The townland of Hosta is occupied by four, Caolas Paipil by six, and the island of Heisgeir by twelve tenants. Towards the end of autumn, when harvest is over, and the fruits of the year have been gathered in, the constable (Constabal, Foirfeadeach) calls a meeting of the tenants of the townland for Nabachd (preferably Nabuidheachd, neighbourliness). They meet, and having decided upon the portion of land (Leob, Clar) to put under green crop next year, they divide it into shares according to the number of tenants in the place, and the number of shares in the soil they respectively possess. Thereupon they cast lots (Crannachuradh, Cur chrann, Tilgeadh chrann, Crannadh), and the share which falls to a tenant he retains for three years. A third of the land under cultivation is thus divided every year. Accordingly, the whole cultivated land of the townland undergoes redivision every three years. Should a man get a bad share he is allowed to choose his share in the next division. The tenants divide the land into shares of uniform size. For this purpose they use a rod several yards long, and they observe as much accuracy in measuring their land as a draper in measuring his cloth. In marking the boundary between shares, a turf (Torc) is dug up and turned over along the line of demarcation. The 'torc' is then cut along the middle, and half is taken by the tenant on one side and half by the tenant on the other side, in ploughing the subsequent furrow ; similar care being afterwards exercised in cutting the corn along the furrow. The tenant's portion of the runrig is termed Cianag, and his proportion of the grazing for every pound he pays, Coir-sgoraidh."

This, obviously, is a survival of a very ancient community, and it appears to me that wherever there are traces of land having been held in runrig, we have traces of a portion of the ancient free tribeland, with its grazing rights attached, common to the inhabitants of the township, and perhaps to them in common with the inhabitants of other townships, held anciently by the tribesmen in right of their membership of the tribe, and subject only to the dues and services which, as tribesmen and householders, they owed to their tribal or family chief. And wherever

there is such a holding the individual property of any one, we have an instance of the absorption—if we may not use a stronger word—of tribal rights; accomplished, no doubt, through the course of centuries, and latterly, at all events, acquiesced in by the people; for by the time of the breaking up of the Clan system the possessors of such holdings seem in common with the larger holders to have accepted the position of tenants, either under lease or at will. The last relic of the tribal right to land we have, I think, surviving, is the dislike to leases which the crofters of this day exhibit; and this dislike can only, I think, have originated in the idea that by accepting a lease they relinquish an older and more permanent right.

THE HIGHLAND WIDOW.

In a sheltering nook, from the tempest and rain,
Stood the widow's lone cot, like a grotto so clean;
There her cow and her croft were the last to remain
Of all the rude grandeur her fathers had seen;
And the cliff of the mountain towered high overhead,
Where fortune her life's humble portion had laid.

She sprung from a line who were chieftains of old,
And ranked with the fierce and the valiant of yore,
Faced the barbarous Cumyns, the bloody and bold,
And wielded like giants the cleaving claymore;
'Gainst the power of oppression their banner was borne,
In the ranks of the Bruce crushed the champion of Lorne.

No grasping, luxurious, degenerate race,
The rights of their clansmen like brothers would shield;
They merrily joined them in sports of the chase,
And valued them not as the beasts of the field;
Nor their country a people-less desert was then,
When our kings cried for aid from the bravest of men.

She had seen a wide region of hamlets in flames,
And her kinsmen sent out mid the mountains to die.
Still, the tyrants, remorseless as fiends to their pains,
Though the heavens should rend and the desolate cry,
Stood callous, unmoved at the shrieks of despair,
With adamant hearts, for no pity was there.

With the armies of India and legions of Spain,
They, sturdy of limb, ever stood to the foe;
They were still with the conquerors again and again,
Where a Briton would dare, there a clansman would go;
In the tumult of danger they ever have been,
Gaining laurels of war for our Empire and Queen.

For such they had reaped the abundant reward
Of the howl of the tiger, while hunted to shame;
For such did their forefathers die by the sword,
Exalting their lordlings to honour and fame;
The savage, she thought, gave a home to their kind—
Seemed the warmer of heart, though the dormant of mind.

For the exiled her prayers still fervently rose,
Like the incense of balm from her garden of flowers;
Her riches was love in a soul of repose,
Not the wealth that embitters the while it empowers;
And she thought of the brave who had gone in their prime,
Like the beauty that's lost in the vista of time.

Their letters, like heirlooms, she read and re-read,
As her memory lingered o'er happiness gone,
Then her tears o'er the doom of her country were shed,
Where she drooped like a briar in a desert alone;
Where clansmen once lived in contentment and cheer,
Were the wandering flocks and the homes of the deer.

The great ones on earth are not always the blest:
The blest are the nearest the Heavenly Throne;
For that land by her son was her head laid to rest,
In the land she had cherished and loved as her own;
And that son, who for long did her absence bewail,
For a home far away left the land of the Gael.

And the avalanche fell from the mountain of snow,
And the once cosie cottage in ruins was laid,
And the owl nightly cries with his sad plaint of woe,
And the croaking dark ravens their pinions have spread
Where the notes of the pibroch was borne on the gale,
And the song of the maiden gave joy to the vale.

O land of my sires, like a land of the dead,
Thou art silent and dreary, a wilderness sad,
With the grandeur around thee that nature has spread,
Where once were the tribes in frugality glad.
To the festival joys, and the dance on the green,
Return, oh return, and enliven the scene!

Greenock. KENNETH MACLACHLAN.

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

X.—Gods of the Gaels.

Whatever interpretation we give to the Feru-bolg and the Fomorians, there can be little question as to the fact that the Tuatha-De-Danann are the Gaelic gods. The Irish historians, as we saw, represent them as kings with subjects, but even they find it difficult to hide the fact that some of these kings and queens afterwards appear on the scene of history in a supernatural fashion. The myths and tales, however, make no scruple to tell us that the Tuatha-De-Danann still live in Fairyland, and often take part in human affairs. In a very ancient tract which records a dialogue between St Patrick and Caoilte Mac Ronain, they are spoken of as "sprites or fairies, with corporeal and material forms, but indued with immortality." Their skill in magic, shown in their manipulation of storms, clouds, and darkness, is insisted on in all the myths, and is a source of trouble to the historians and annalists, who regard them as mere mortals. "They were called gods," says Keating, "from the wonderfulness of their deeds of sorcery." To them is first applied the term *Side*, which in modern Gaelic means "fairy," but which in the case of the Tuatha-De-Danann has a much wider signification, for it implies a sort of god-like existence in the "Land of Promise." The Book of Armagh calls the *Side* "deos terrenos," earthly gods, whom, we are told in Fiacc's hymn, when Patrick came, the peoples adored—"tuatha adortais *Side*." *Sid* was a term applied to the green knolls where some of these deified mortals were supposed to dwell: the word appears in the modern Gaelic *sith* and *sithean*, a mound or rather a fairy mound. The Tuatha-De-Danann were also called "Aes Side," *aes* being here used in the sense of "race" and not of "age." We may remark that the Norse gods were also known as the Aes or Aesir, one of the many remarkable coincidences in words and in actions between the Irish gods and the deities of Asgard.

In attempting to reconstruct the Gaelic god-world from the almost hopeless ruins in which piety and time have laid it, we must

not merely remember the Aryan character of it, but also Cæsar's brief account of the Gaulish Olympus. There can be little doubt but that the Gaelic and Gaulish Olympi were similar in outline, and probably also in details. We shall, therefore, expect Mercury to be the most important of the Gaelic deities, while Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva take rank after him. These deities and others, as was pointed out, represent the personified powers of nature—the wind, the sun, the storm, the sky, and the moon. Not only are these elements personified as deities and so worshipped, but we also find the elements in their impersonified state, as it were, invoked for aid and for good faith. The classical examples of this are extremely numerous. One instance will suffice: In Virgil, Æneas and Latinus are represented as swearing by the sun, the earth, the sea, the stars, by the Almighty Father and his Spouse, by Mars and Janus, by the spring and rivers, the ether and the deities of the sea. The first instance of such an oath in Irish history is when Breas, the Fomorian, swore by "the sun and the moon, by the sea and the land, and by all the elements, to fulfil the engagement" which Luga imposed on him. Vows to the heavens and the earth, to day and night, to the rain, the dew and the wind, are exceedingly common, appearing even in historic times both in Ireland and Scotland; among the Picts and Scots in the 4th century, in Ireland in the 5th, as when Loegaire was made to swear by the elements that he would never again demand the cow-tribute, and with M'Conglinne in the 8th century. It is said that Loegaire forgot his oath, and thus met with an evil end, for "it was the sun and the wind that wrought his death, because he had violated their sanctity;" so say the Four Masters, good Christians though they were! The divine elements are known in Gaelic as *duli*, and one of the oldest and most favourite epithets of the Deity is "rig na n-dul," the King of the Elements, to which may be compared "Dia nan dul" of the Gaelic Psalms: the word for Creator in old Gaelic is *Dulem*, the genitive of which is *Duleman*.

Our description of the Gaelic gods will naturally begin with the Jupiter of the Gaels. This honour belongs most probably to the Dagda, "in Dagda mor," "the great good one" (?) as Mr Fitzgerald explains his name. Some interpret the name as the "good fire." In any case, *dag* signifies "good," appearing in

modern Gaelic as *deagh*, but what *da* means is yet undecided. Though the Dagda is very often mentioned, yet little information is given about him. He was one of the leaders of the Tuatha-De-Danann from Scythia to Ireland, and he brought with him from "Murias" a magical cauldron capable of satisfying the hunger of everyone. He is the most renowed of all the Tuatha for his skill in Druidism. With Luga he makes and carries out all the arrangements of the second battle of Moytura, in which, however, he was wounded with a poisoned weapon by the amazon queen Cethlenn. The venom of that wound caused his death 120 years later. For eighty years previous to his death, he ruled the Tuatha as king. There is little in these meagre details to help us to a true notion of the character of the Dagda. It is in the epithets attached to his name, and the incidental references to him, scattered through many tales, that we can hope to understand his position among the gods. He is called Eochaidh Ollathair, that is, Chevalier All-father, and, further, Ruadrofhessa, "the red one of all knowledge." The epithet "Ollathair"—All-father—puts him on a level with Jupiter, Zeus, and Odin; he is the father of gods and men, king of heaven and earth. Zeus, we know, is the sky-god, the beneficent power of light and life, who regulates the atmosphere and its phenomena—notably, the thunder—for the good of men: Odin is, however, a wind-god more than a sky-god, answering rather to the Roman Mercury and the Greek Hermes than to Jove and Zeus. Is the Dagda a wind-god or a light-god or a fire-god? Mr Fitzgerald classes him with Odin as a sky- and wind-god, and appeals to the epithet "Eochaid"—horseman—as confirmation; for horseman and huntsman are nearly allied, and seem rather to belong to the wind deity, as in the case of Odin they do so apply. Mr Elton makes the Dagda a spirit of heat who ruled all fires in earth and heaven, for he interprets the name after O'Donovan as signifying "the great good fire." The view which we will adopt on the matter differs from both the foregoing. The Dagda represents rather the sky-god, exactly the Roman Jove. He is the All-father; he is the Red-one—the sky in certain states being so, just as at other times he is said to be "greyer than the grey mist"—who is all-wise; he is the Dag-da, the good-father or good-one, the deus optimus maximus, the benign provi-

dence, who arranges, provides, and superintends everything. His cauldron is interpreted by some as the canopy of heaven; like the thunder-god, Thor, he possessed a hand-stone which returned of itself to the place from which it was thrown, just as Thor's hammer—the thunder-bolt—did.

The most important deity in the Gaelic pantheon must have been Mercury: which of the Tuatha-De-Danann was he? The honour of being the god most worshipped by the Gael must fall to Manannan, the son of Lir, whose attributes we have already discussed. Manannan is always a deity; he is never a mortal hero like the others. We represented him as god of sea and wind, as opposed to Mr Elton's view, who made him a sun-god. There is little doubt but Manannan is a wind-god: he possesses all the prominent requisites of such a deity. He is the owner of the wonderful steed, Enbarr, of the flowing mane, who is swift as the cold clear wind of spring; his also is the sword, Frecart, the answerer, from whose wound there was no recovery; and he possessed the curious mantle that will cause people never to meet again. The three characteristic possessions of Odin are his sword, his mantle, and his horse Sleipnir. The sword is the lightning; the mantle is the air and clouds, and the grey horse Sleipnir is the rushing grey cloud driven by the wind. Odin is, as already said, mostly a wind-god; so, too, is Manannan. Both deities, however, usurped features belonging to more departmental gods, in proportion as they took the first place in the worship of the people. Manannan also possessed the wonderful canoe which could hold any number of people, suiting its size to them, and which obeyed the will of those it bore, and swept over the ocean as fast as the March wind. He, too, instituted the "Feast of Age," known as the feast of Gobnenn the smith. Whoever was present at it, and partook of the food and drink, was free ever after from sickness, decay, and old age. The Land of Promise is often identified with *Inis-Mhanann*, or Isle of Man, which was ruled over by Manannan, but his connection with the land of promise is rather more like that of Mercury with the land of shades; he would appear to have been the psychopomp—the conductor of the shades of men to the happy Isles of the West. He was, as we saw, god of merchandise and also god of arts for he is represented as teaching Diarmat in all the arts when he was with him in Fairyland. Why the Celts and Teutons made

the wind deity their chief god is fairly clear. The atmospheric conditions of Western and Northern Europe make the wind and storm powers of comparatively more importance than they are in sunnier lands, where the gods of light on the other hand are supreme. Manannan is further very properly denominated the "son of Lir," the son of the sea, for sure enough where else does the wind come from in these islands of ours but from the sea?

There is little trouble in settling the identity of the Gaelic Apollo. This is Luga Lamfada, surnamed the Ildana; Luga of the Long Arms, the many-arted one. He appears with a stately band of warriors on white steeds, "a young champion, tall and comely, with a countenance as bright and glorious as the setting sun." But more definite still is the reference to his *sunlike* countenance; in another place the Fomorian champion, Breas, is made to say in reference to the approach of Luga from the west: "A wonderful thing has come to pass to-day; for the sun, it seems to me, has risen in the west." "It would be better that it were so," said the Druids. "The light you see is the brightness of the face and the flashing of the weapons of Luga of the Long Arms, our deadly enemy." He also possessed the swiftness and keenness of the ocean-wind-god Manannan, for we are told that he rode Manannan's mare Enbarr of the flowing mane, that is, the driving wind; his coat of mail—the clouds; and he is further represented as having Manannan's sword, the lightning flash. But this last is doubtful, for two of the precious jewels that the Tuatha-De-Danann took from the east are Luga's sword and his spear "Gae Buaifneach," tempered in the poisoned blood of adders. These weapons are merely the flashing rays of the sun, just as Luga's helmet, Cannbarr, glittered with dazzling brightness, with two precious stones set in it, one in front and one behind. Whenever he took off the helmet, we are told that his "face shone like the sun on a dry summer day." His deeds are also "sunlike" in their character. He first frees the Tuatha from the hated tribute which was imposed on them after a temporary success on the part of the Fomorians. We are told that he put a Druidical spell on the plundered cattle, and sent all the milch cows home to their owners, leaving the dry cows to cumber his enemies. The cows of the sun-god are famous in all mythologies; they are the clouds of heaven that bring rain and moisture to men, when shone upon by the rays of the sun.

Luga's greatest feat is the overthrow of the Fomorians at Moytura. For years he had been preparing for this great fight. He summoned all the artists and artificers of renown and got arms in readiness. He himself lent his help to each tradesman, for he was a skilled carpenter, mason, smith, harper, druid, physician, cup-bearer, and goldsmith, "one who embodied in himself all these arts and professions," as he described himself on one occasion. When the sons of Turenn slew his father, he made them procure for him as "eric" or fine, several weapons of importance and several salves, with a view to using them in the great struggle against the stormy ocean powers. Such were the apples of Hisberna, which could cure any sickness and would return to the owner even when thrown away; the pig's skin whose touch made whole; the spear—"the slaughterer"—whose fiery blazing head was always kept in water; the steeds and chariot of Dobar—the steeds which travel with equal ease on land and sea; the pigs of Asal—"whosoever eats a part of them shall not suffer from ill health"—even when killed to-day they are alive to-morrow; and the hound-whelp Failinis, that shines like the sun on summer day—before him every wild beast falls to earth powerless. In the battle of Moytura, he killed Balor of the Evil Eye. That worthy had already turned Nuada of the Silver Hand into stone, and many more De-Danann, and just as he was opening it on Luga, the latter flung a "sling stone" at it, which passed through it and Balor's brain. Now Balor was his grandfather, and it had been foretold that he should be slain by his grandson. In view of this he kept his only child, a daughter, Aethlenn, secluded in a tower, where man and the idea of "man" were to be strictly excluded. But in vain. She became the wife of Cian, the son of Diancecht, the physician, and Luga was the offspring. We must note his connection with the god of healing; that god is his grandfather. In Greek mythology, Aesculapius is the son of Apollo. The name Luga, too, is suggestive; it is doubtless from the root *luc*, to shine, and it is interesting to observe that the Norse fire-god, also master of many arts, though evil arts, is called Loki. The epithet *Lamfada*, long arms, reminds us of the far-darter Apollo, and refers to the long-shooting rays of the sun—a most appropriate epithet.

(To be continued.)

SUTHERLAND EVICTIONS AND BURNINGS.

TESTIMONY OF LIVING EYE-WITNESSES—*(Continued).*

HUGH MACKENZIE, *Strathy, 90 years of age*

I am nearly 90 years of age. I remember the clearances on Strathnaver from beginning to end. The work was done piece-meal. My father's croft was in Dalmalart, near Achness, and the first part of Strathnaver from which the people were ejected lies on the east side of Lochnaver, viz.:—The townships of Clebrig, Rhihalvaig, Achool, Achness, Coirre-na-fearn, Coirre-chuiran, Alt-nan-ha, and Halmadary. The reason why so many places were made desolate, was to make room for a south-country farmer of the name of Marshall.

We were allowed the produce of hill and loch, and I remember it was Sellar personally who cut to pieces the creels with which we caught the salmon on the waterfall of Achness. My father, who was on the lower side of the water of the Malert, was not removed at that time. At a subsequent period, the west side of Lochnaver was cleared, including the townships of Grumb-mhor, containing about 16 crofters; and Grumbeg, 5 crofters, and Sellar obtained the land. My father wished to be removed as far as possible from the large farmers, and he obtained a croft near the sea-side. Another succeeded him, and took possession of his old croft at Dalmalart, but he was not allowed long to remain there, as Sellar was by no means satisfied. All the people from Malart to Rhifail—about 10 miles—were shortly after removed, and their houses fired. This was the second period when clearances on a large scale took place. Sellar also received the land, and put it under sheep. The remaining portion of Strathnaver, from Rhifail to the foot of the Strath, was not removed so long as Mr Dingwall was minister of Farr, who acted as a check upon the wholesale clearances. When the Rev. David Mackenzie succeeded him, he was not opposed to the work; so the people did not dare to resent. By this means the people in the lower part were ejected, and Sellar was again the new occupant. I may mention that the Rev. Mr Mackenzie was allowed 50 sheep on Sellar's farm at Skelpick; that, irrespective of his glebe, he got a park of 5 miles in circumference, cut off from the poor crofters' hill-ground, and a man having a salary of £10 to keep the dykes in repair.

When Sellar was setting fire to the house of William Chisholm, spoon-maker, Badinlosgin, he was told that Chisholm's mother-in-law was inside and bed-ridden. He told his men, however, to proceed with the work, saying with an oath—"Let the old witch burn." There was no house in the place but his own, and owing to his trade, Chisholm could not afford to remain long at home. Eric, his wife (the old woman's daughter), happened to be from home at the time the house was fired; but she shortly after, and with the help of some people who had come upon the scene, rescued the old woman from the flames. I knew the man Chisholm well.

HUGH MACKENZIE.

Witnesses { ADAM GUNN.
RODERICK MACKENZIE.

ANN MORRISON, *79 years of age, Dalacharn, Farr.*

I was born at Direadh Meidigh, where I lived till I was seven or eight years of age, and then was evicted to Dalacharn, where I now live. I saw the following townships burnt by Sellar's party:—

Dalnadroit, with 10 houses. | Skelpick, with 12 houses.
Dunviden, with 6 houses.

Thus I can testify to seeing 28 houses burning on the same day. A strong breeze of wind sprang up the night before these townships were set on fire, and next morning when the burning commenced smoke and sparks were carried down the Strath for a long distance.

The houses in Achina and Dalacharn, which were a good distance away from the scene of the fire, were in imminent danger of taking fire too; the sparks were so thick. All the steadings and dwelling places in the above mentioned townships were reduced to ashes, and in many places the heather caught fire, which added to the awfulness of the scene.

The houses, too, were thatched with dry, loose straw, and this rendered them the more liable to catch fire.

Some of the poor people who came down from Strathnaver lost the most of their furniture and bed-clothes in their burnt houses, and were in a miserable condition during the ensuing winter. They had to spend the winter in hastily-erected bothies, without much clothing, while the rain and snow came in through the openings in the turf walls. As they had no hill pasture or provision for the winter, the most of the cattle which they had brought with them died of starvation.

I declare this statement of mine is true. ANN MORRISON.

Witnesses, DONALD MACKAY.
20th Aug. 1883 MURDO MACKAY.

ABSTRACT OF THE FOREGOING TESTIMONY.

The places seen on fire—

By George Macdonald, Airdneskich, were—
Badinlosgin, with 1 house.....1

By George Mackay, Airdneskich—
Ceanncoille, with 7 houses
Kidsary, with 2 houses
Syre, with 13 houses
Langall, with 8 houses
— 30

By Rory Macleod, Skerray—
Grumb-mhor, with 16 houses
Achmhillidh, with 4 houses
— 20

By Grace Macdonald, Armadale—
Langall, with 8 houses
Na Totachan, with 2 houses
Ealan à Challaidh, with 2 houses
Sgall, with 6 houses
Coille an Kian, with 2 houses
— 20

By Wm. Mackay (Bàn), Achina—
Achcaoilnaborgin, with 6 houses
Achinlochy, with 6 houses
— 12

Carry forward.....83

Brought forward.....83

By Bell Cooper, Crask—
All the houses in the district between Rossal and Achcaoilnaborgin, about 55..... 55

By Angus Mackay, Leaduaginllan—
Ceanncaoil, with 7 houses
Rossal, with 20 houses
Badinleathaid —
— 27

By Ann Morrison, Dalcharn—
Dalnadroit, with 10 houses
Skelpick, with 12 houses
Dunviden, with 6 houses
— 28

By Widow B. Mackay, Kirtomy—
Skall, with 6 houses
— 6

By Wm. Morrison, Achina—
Rossal, with about 20 houses
Dalmalart, with 2 houses
Dalvina, with 2 houses
Achphris, with 2 houses
— 26

Total.....225

[Taking the average number in each family at five persons, which is far below the average in the Highlands, we have here one thousand one hundred and twenty-five souls burnt out of their homes in Strathnaver alone, in addition to those who lived in the houses referred to by Hugh Mackenzie in a district extending from Malart to Rhifail, a distance of ten miles, thickly populated !]

THE HIGHLAND LAND LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION OF LONDON.

THE following documents have recently been issued by this influential and energetic Association. The Address to the Crofters is issued also in excellent Gaelic :—

I.—TO THE PUBLIC.

Although it is only recently that acute distress and the disturbances in Skye attracted public attention to the depressed condition of the Highlands, the system, which in so many instances either expatriated or drove the people from fertile straths and glens to barren holdings on the sea-shore, began upwards of a century ago.

The story of Highland Clearances, detailing the process by which sheep, grouse, and deer have been substituted for the gallant race to whose forefathers the chiefs owed their chieftainship, and Britain the successful issue of many a hard-fought battle, is a harrowing record of cruelty and oppression. The remains of ruined houses, the dismal desolation of many a once-fertile strath, and the depressed condition of the few who are now permitted to live on, but do not derive their subsistence from the soil, testify too eloquently of a system which has uncompromisingly sacrificed the rights and welfare of the people for the purpose of sport.

The net result of the game-preserving mania is, that vast tracts of country, fit for cultivation, or suitable for grazing sheep and cattle, are reserved in unproductive idleness as the rearing-ground of game ; while the crofters, liable to capricious eviction, with no incentive to industry, year by year having their holdings curtailed, and subject to the arbitrary rule of landlords' representatives, are living from hand to mouth on insufficient patches of the worst soil.

Long and patiently Highlanders have endured a policy which has either crushed out or pauperised the rural population; but the recent destitution and the growing discontent are ominous indications that an equitable reform of the Highland Land Laws cannot with safety be much longer delayed. This Association in contending for reform, as laid down in Article 2 of its Constitution, will proceed strictly on constitutional lines, and disclaiming any political bias, will endeavour to carry on its work irrespective of party politics. Whatever wrong-doing and injustice may be attributed to individuals, it is the system which permits wrong-doing and injustice that shall be attacked; and although it may sometimes be necessary to cite as illustrations the doings of individuals, anything tending to excite class prejudices shall be carefully avoided. On the support accorded the Association will depend the vigour and extent of its operations, and the Committee earnestly appeals for sympathy and support not only to Scotsmen, but to those who are interested in the welfare of a loyal people, and to all who are concerned in preserving the Highlands as a national health resort.

II.—TO THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS.

The appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into your grievances is a tardy, though hopeful, acknowledgment on the part of the Government that the condition of the Highlands is not satisfactory. But, however fully you may justify your complaints and prove your case, the history of all great reforms should teach you that the changes necessary to promote your welfare will not be conceded without earnest effort and a well directed agitation on your part.

We would suggest for your consideration the following remedial reforms as the object to which your agitation should be directed, viz.:—

Such changes in the Land Laws as will secure—

(1) A Durable Tenure, under which the power of landlords to evict the people capriciously shall be abolished.
(2) Fair Rents, fixed, wherever necessary, by a Land Court.
(3) Due Compensation to Tenants for their improvements.
(4) Such a re-appointment of the land as shall admit of its being used for the production of food for man, instead of allowing it, as at present, in so many instances, to lie waste for sporting purposes.
(5) A well-considered scheme, by which tenants shall, under equitable conditions, be assisted to become owners of their holdings and all waste lands capable of improvement shall be reclaimed and rendered productive.

Your protests and complaints have hitherto been unheeded by Parliament, because a privileged body of landlords—hereditary and irresponsible—has been supreme in the Legislature, and in the Courts of Justice, in making and interpreting the law; but, above all, because you yourselves have hitherto had no voice in choosing your legislators. But ere long you will be enfranchised, and you should lose no time in preparing for the next general election, so that you may be able to return such men to Parliament as will interest themselves on your behalf.

The treatment to which you have been subjected in the past has been arbitrary and oppressive, because you have not been united; but now you must organise, be earnest of purpose, and prepared to work, and, if necessary, make sacrifices on behalf of the cause of Land Law Reform.

We would, therefore, suggest that your first duty now is to form, as soon as possible, Associations, through which you could speak and act and make your grievances known.

In forming a District Association, you might first convene a public meeting to discuss your affairs, resolve that an Association be formed, and appoint a provisional secretary and small committee. Then, the townships included in the district might each, under the direction of the committee, choose representatives, and these representatives, at a convenient time and place, might meet to frame a constitution and elect office-bearers.

An organization embracing the whole of the Highlands should be aimed at, in which each one has assigned him his place and work; so that an injustice done to one may be deemed an injustice to all, and the many united may be prepared, at whatever sacrifice, to support the righteous cause of individuals or communities whose rights are assailed.

Your cause has many influential well-wishers. This Association, for instance, includes among its adherents a goodly number of Members of Parliament, private gentlemen, clergymen, doctors of medicine, barristers, professors, and others, who will earnestly support your efforts; but on your own unity and determination success will chiefly depend; for, in the words of the old proverb, "God helps them that help themselves."

Any assistance or advice that this Association can give shall be readily rendered, and it is earnestly hoped that you will give the foregoing suggestions your serious consideration, and take such action as may be necessary without delay.

In an address, addressed specially

III.—TO SCHOOLMASTERS,

The Secretary says:—*The reform of the Land Laws is a* SOCIAL QUESTION, *and it is not only desirable, but essential to the success of the movement, that differences of opinion as to Political and Church matters should not be permitted to create disunion in the ranks of the Land Law Reformers.*

The Highland Land Law Reform Associations already formed, may at least lay claim to having aims and objects at once definite and intelligible; and the number and influence of the gentlemen who have so disinterestedly espoused the cause of the Crofters, should be an encouragement and incentive to those who are more immediately concerned in effecting Land Law Reform, to organise similar associations in every Highland parish.

The battle of Land Law Reform can only be won by earnestness of purpose and unity of action on the part of the Crofters and their friends; and this Association ventures to hope that your influence will be exerted in promoting the social emancipation of the people amongst whom your lot is cast, and their education in the duties of citizenship, on the same lines and under the same name as this Association.

PALACE CHAMBERS, 9 BRIDGE STREET,
WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

HIGHLANDERS OF NEW ZEALAND AND THEIR DISTRESSED COUNTRYMEN AT HOME.

IN addition to the sums already acknowledged, the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine* has received another draft from the Highlanders of Invercargill, New Zealand, for £33. 1s., to be distributed at his discretion among destitute people in the North West Highlands and Islands. This makes a total sum remitted to him by our patriotic countrymen, in that district, of £181. 10s.; for which, in the name of the Highlanders at home, we heartily thank them. Our good friends will be glad to learn that now no unusual destitution exists. It is, therefore, thought best to apply most of the money on hand to the supply of corn and potato seed in the Spring. Sufficient provision has been already made for the Strome Ferry fishermen. The following is the letter accompanying the remittance, with a list of the subscribers:—

INVERCARGILL, NEW ZEALAND, 8th Nov. 1883.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, Esq., Dean of Guild, Inverness.

DEAR SIR,—We have now the pleasure to enclose draft on London for the sum of £33. 1s., being the third instalment towards the fund for the relief of our distressed countrymen in the North. Enclosed please find list of the contributors, and we shall thank you to give it publicity as you have done in the case of our former remittances. We note with pleasure (by your letter of 28th August that appeared in the *Inverness Courier*) the alacrity displayed by you in the distribution of the funds in hand; and

although the value dispensed to each claimant may not be intrinsically much, still, the knowledge that their comparatively prosperous countrymen in this distant part of the world have not forgotten them, may make the gift doubly valuable to them. As yet we have not heard as to the results of the Royal Commission, and presume that their labours are not yet finished. Much sympathy is expressed here by a number of the contributors to this fund, on behalf of the Strome Ferry fishermen, who were wrongfully imprisoned for conscience sake; and we leave it to your discretion as to whether a portion of these funds should be applied in their case.—Yours faithfully,

D. L. Matheson.
Roderick Macleod.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Duncan Matheson, Waikaia	£2	2	0
D. N. Fitzgerald, do.	2	2	0
Henry Wilson, do.	2	2	0
Angus Macdonald, Nokomai	2	0	0
Hugh Mackenzie, Ronald Macdonald, and Finlay Murchison, Waikaia; Alex. Mackay, Tapanui; and J. T. Martin, Invercargil, one guinea each	5	5	0
James Grant, Miss Gunn, and Kenneth Maccrimon, Waikaia; James Macdonald and K. Mackinnon, Tapanui; A. Cameron, Nokomai; Donald Kellie, Gore; and John Macgibbon, Mataura, £1 each ...	8	0	0
Joseph Davidson, Waikaia; Rev. A. H. Stobo, Invercargill; J. G. Bremner, N. Simmonds, N. Colquhoun, W. T. Macfarlane, James Main, William Fraser, R. Elliott, James Duncan, Neil Gillies, Thos. Logan, and Hugh Mackay, Tapanui; Angus Cameron, Miss Wallace, and Job Coulam, Nokomai; Hugh Stewart, Gore; and Dugald Livingstone, Lochiel, 10s. each	9	0	0
R. Crawford, D. Maccoll, D. Mackenzie, and T. Buchanan, Tapanui; J. Dean, W. Fyfe, New Zealander, Miss Hamer, J. G. Brown, and Patrick Maher, Waikaia, 5s. each	2	10	0
	£33	1	0

CELTIC AND LITERARY NOTES.

An interesting feature has recently been introduced into the *Pictou News*, Nova Scotia, its conductors having added a Gaelic department to its columns. The superintendence of this portion has been intrusted to the accomplished hands of the Rev. A. MacLean Sinclair, Springville, N.S., well-known to the readers of the *Celtic Magazine*. Colonial and other Highlanders should extend to the *Pictou News* the encouragement which so patriotic and interesting a step as this deserves at their hands.

Another adminicle in the evidence of a decided Gaelic revival comes to us in the form of an announcement that the energetic and large-hearted Celt who holds the office of Minister of St Giles' in Edinburgh, is about to make the experiment of having Gaelic services, conducted by Highland clergymen of all denominations, as part of the non-canonical ordinances of the Cathedral. We have no doubt that this new departure by Dr Cameron Lees will be beneficial in many ways, and one of these may

be the promotion, in a greater degree, of intercommunion between the Gaelic membership of the various denominations.

There is no department of Gaelic worship where improvement could be introduced with greater advantage than in that of music. Without even approaching the subject of organs in public worship, there can be no question that there is room for vast improvement in our Gaelic praise. Our beautiful musical language is often twisted and tortured to suit ill-adapted and ill-sung Lowland and foreign tunes. We would direct the attention of Dr Cameron Lees and his Highland musical friends to the question, in the hope that some improvement may in this respect result from his new departure. It is scarcely a matter for congratulation that our native country cannot at present be charged with being a region

> "Where men display, to congregations wide,
> Devotion's every grace except the heart."

Another intimation of the extension of the area of Gaelic activity comes from Chicago. A Gaelic congregation is about to be established in the "Empire City" under the pastorate of the Rev. Dr Campbell, of Collingwood, Ontario. We trust that under such able and experienced superintendence, the Gaelic congregation of Chicago will be a large and prosperous one.

The *Scottish Review* for December last contains a very interesting and important article on "The Irish Language," with incidental references to Scottish Gaelic. Students of Celtic philology will find in it a careful and intelligent survey of the field, and a description of the available adjuncts and implements for its cultivation.

What promises to be a sumptuous book, has been announced by Messrs Blackwood. We refer to "The Old Scottish Regimental Colours," by Andrew Ross, S.S.C., Honorary Secretary to the Old Scottish Regimental Colours Committee. Mr Ross deems the present time a fitting one to place on record the "spirit-stirring deeds" of the Scottish Regiments, public interest having recently been pointedly directed to the subject in connection with the imposing ceremonial enacted in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, on the occasion of depositing in that ancient shrine the emblems of Scotland's military renown. The work is to be illustrated with a series of full-page representations of the old colours, and, judging from advanced plates with which we have been favoured, this part of the work will be a perfect luxury o chromo-lithographic art, apart altogether from the historical narrative, and the intrinsic interest attaching to the venerable and battle-stained subjects which these illustrations represent.

LAYS O' HAME AND COUNTRY. By ALEXANDER LOGAN. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 1883.

A NEW volume of Scottish poetry by the author of "Poems and Lyrics," needs no commendation from us. The present volume completely bears out the author's previous character as a tender and sympathetic exponent of the voices of the "soul in nature." It were difficult to select specimens surpassing the others, where most, if not all, are so full of delicate and pleasing beauty. We prefer to put our commendation in the form of advice by telling all "brither Scots," to get the book and enjoy it as we have done. The volume is tastefully got up and admirably printed.

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

XI.—Minneapolis.

Minneapolis was in high festival. The annual fair was in progress, and the Hotel was crowded. In the large entrance hall an auctioneer disposing of the stakes for next day's events had an audience of over a hundred well-dressed people. The scene was a lively one, but somewhat unintelligible to me, and after finishing my home letter I sauntered out. The main thoroughfares were brilliantly lighted by electricity, while tram-cars ran up and down the centre of the streets almost continuously. But yet the city is only in process of making. Lines of handsome buildings have been run up facing each other with intervals of from sixty to a hundred feet of open space between. On each side of this space wooden footways have been hastily thrown up, and in the middle, on what, for aught that appears, may be the original surface of the prairie, two double lines of iron have been laid down for tramway traffic. The scene all round was a busy one. Ruts and dents a foot deep did not seem to offer any impediment to the numerous carriages, buggies, and "sulkies" which trundled along over the soft dusty streets, at a pace which would be fairly described as rattling had there been anything to rattle. But there was no rattle, and at a corner just off the principal thoroughfare, a peripatetic professor of figures, in black gown and trencher, was able from the top of a barrow to discourse on a new system of arithmetic to an audience of some hundreds, and to sell them his book (price half-a-dollar—I have a copy) without any interruption from the noise of the traffic. It would be a mistake, however, to judge Minneapolis hastily from the state of her streets. Her people believe she is to be a great city, and the fact that between 1860 and 1870 the population increased from less than 6000 to 18,000, and between 1870 and 1880 from 18,000 to nearly 47,000, while in 1882 the estimated population amounted to over 76,000, affords fair ground for their belief. To make the city worthy of her destiny is the object of the people, and many things which in the early days were made hurriedly and unsubstantially, they

have resolved shall be re-made. This re-making process was in operation while I was there, and is probably in operation yet, but a few years will see the principal streets of Minneapolis as handsomely finished as those of any city of similar size in the Union.

Early in the morning, my friend Mr Miller called for me, and together we proceeded to Minneapolis' twin sister, the city of Saint Paul, twelve miles distant by rail. Our stay in Saint Paul was necessarily short, and as the city was visited for purely business purposes, I saw little of it. What I saw, however, afforded evidence of the same spirit of progress, the same faith in the future, which is visible in almost every city in North America. The natural levels of the site of Saint Paul do not please its people, and millions of dollars are being spent in pulling down large and handsome buildings, and re-erecting them on a different level, and in driving piles into low-lying sections of land preparatory to raising their level to suit the general plan of the city.

On our return to Minneapolis, my friend hired the only available conveyance—an open carriage, with a team of mules—to drive us round the city. A most pleasant drive it was, notwithstanding the occasional chaff which our long-eared team evoked. After visiting the outside of a fair number of the sixty odd churches which Minneapolis contains, and seeing something of the other public buildings, we drove to the river side—the Milling quarter. It is here the heart of Minneapolis beats. Without its water-power the city would never have existed; on its continuance the future of the city mainly depends. It may seem curious to speak of the continuance of a water-power furnished by one of the largest rivers in the world, as if it were a thing about which there could be any uncertainty. Yet at one time the loss of this power seemed a mere question of time. At the Falls of St Anthony, which furnish the water-power of Minneapolis, the bed of the Mississippi is formed of a hard, bluish-grey limestone, which rests upon a bed of soft sandstone. The erosive action of the water upon the sandstone is rapid, and when it is worn away from under the superincumbent limestone, the latter falls down into the bed of the stream. The banks of the river show that in this way the Falls have receded upwards of ten miles already. In 1851 about ninety feet of the limestone gave way at once, and as only 1200 feet more of it remained above the present site of

the Falls, Minneapolis was threatened with the complete loss of her water power. To avert this, a tunnel was run through the soft sandstone behind the Falls, and filled up with concrete, while the surface was protected by a strong apron of timber. These works, which were executed at a cost of between three-quarters of a million and a million of dollars, have stopped the recession of the Falls, and assured the prosperity of Minneapolis. The loose blocks of limestone scattered over the river bed below the Falls, the great rafts of timber, and the mass of floating sawdust and broken wood, do not by any means add to the beauty of the "Father of Waters" at this point, but the busy scene on the banks, where some twenty-two flour mills, capable of manufacturing over twenty-five thousand barrels of flour daily, and sixteen timber mills, which in the previous year had turned out over two-hundred and thirty million feet of timber, more than compensated for any lack of natural beauty in the surroundings.

In the afternoon our mule-team was exchanged for Mr Miller's pony and carriage—the former a Shetland of rare beauty, and not much bigger than a full grown Newfoundland dog. The carriage was of a size to match; and as I drove Mrs Miller into the Fair-ground, our turn-out attracted even more attention—this time of a different kind—than our morning equipage had.

A few trotting matches, a ten mile bare-back race between "Bille Cook of California" (who on the previous day had beaten Espinosa "the Mexican Dare Devil" in a twenty mile race), and "Little Cricket," in which the former won, after a brilliant and keenly contested race, satisfied us with the Fair, and after an hour or two pleasantly spent with my newly-made friends, speaking of the old home so far away, I returned to the city, when between 9 and 10 P.M. I took my seat in the car which was to carry me on to Manitoba.

For an hour or more the cars were pretty well filled with farmers and other families returning home from the Fair, and a happy and prosperous lot they all looked. Immediately on leaving Minneapolis I got into conversation with a farmer and his wife from the shores of Lake Minnetonka. They were past middle life, good, honest-looking, and decidedly "sonsy." The description that honest couple gave of the beauties of their home

and of the lake by which it stood was very enthusiastic, and much as their appearance favoured them, I was inclined to accept their statements with some reservation, but later on I learned from other sources that the country round Lake Minnetonka is rarely beautiful, and leaves little to be desired, either in natural beauty, fertility, or climate.

When we had got rid of our local passengers and settled down, I secured a sleeping berth; but I had fallen among a lot of farmers who were migrating westwards. One of them—a tall, raw-boned, leather-hided Yankee, who had sold out his farm in Iowa, and was now on his way to take final possession of a free homestead grant which he had chosen six months before in Dakota—lectured his fellow traveller on the relative advantages and disadvantages of selling out farms in the older settled States for a handsome price, and moving to the free lands in the West, and he wound up with "Yer keant of course hev yer orchards and sich like comforts in Dakeota as y'had at home; but what's that *to the chief object of life?*" This sentiment sent me to bed, and to think of the charming candour of this raw-boned pioneer of civilisation. Money-making is the chief object of life with ever so many of us, but how few will be found to avow the fact so unreservedly as this honest though rough piece of humanity did. That was my last sight of him. Before I was up in the morning he had left us, and gone westward.

From morning till night our route lay along the fertile valley of the Red River of the North. Away on either side of us, as far as the eye could reach, stretched rolling prairie lands, millions of acres of which are waiting for the settler. As we rushed over the small streams and creeks, or by the banks of the Red River, the richness and depth of the soil were apparent, but on the unbroken plain the scene was desolate enough. Here and there a log house was erected, and the farmer and his family were busy leading their crops to the stack-yard, but for miles there was at times no sign of human habitation in this, one of the richest agricultural valleys in the world.

Between four and five in the afternoon we crossed the International boundary at St Vincent, and in a few minutes we were at the "Gateway City" of Emerson. According to our ideas, Emerson would be called a very small town, but cities are easily

made in America; and Emerson, with a population of not more than 3000, but with unlimited faith in its own future, calls itself, and is entitled to call itself, a city.

Somewhere about 7 P.M. we steamed into Winnipeg, and having found my way to one of the two "good" (save the mark) hotels in the place, and enjoyed a cup of tea, I sauntered out—it was Saturday night—to have a look at the place by gas-light.

Shortly after my arrival in Canada, I learned from the *Montreal Herald* that the Civic Assessment of Winnipeg for 1882 was 30,000,000 dols., while in the previous year it amounted to only 9,000,000 dols. In the same period the population was said to have increased from 10,000 to 25,000. I naturally, therefore, expected to find in the city evidences of rapid progress, and I was not disappointed. Winnipeg, at the time of my visit, was not a comfortable place to move about in, according to our old world ideas of comfort. The streets are wide and straight, and like all new towns in America, they all run parallel, or at right angles to each other, but there had as yet been little attempt to make good travelling roadways of them. The original tough, clayey soil still formed the surface of the parts of the street devoted to carriage traffic. The side walks were of timber, and were raised sometimes as much as five or six feet above the level of the portion of the carriage-way immediately outside them. This rendered walking rather risky on a dark night in such poorly lighted streets as those of Winnipeg then were, but the nature of the subsoil is such that the surface-water can only be carried away by deep side drains. The form of the carriage-way was almost semi-circular, the sides being several feet lower than the centre. The footways were built up to about the same level as the centre of the carriage-way, and their bare, unprotected edges, towering so high above the street beneath, gave them a dangerous look to a stranger.

The principal street of Winnipeg is Main Street, which runs from beyond the Canadian Pacific Railway Station at one end of the town, to Fort-Garry at the other, considerably over a mile, I should say, judging from the time it takes to walk it. Running parallel with, and on either side of Main Street, are other streets of less importance, which were being rapidly covered with buildings—principally dwelling-houses. The intersecting streets were

also being built upon, the portions near Main Street being devoted to shops and warehouses. The whole town was littered with bricks and timber, and other building material, and buildings were being rushed up with marvellous rapidity. Bricklayers and carpenters were having a fine time of it, their wages ranging from twelve to over twenty shillings of our money per day. The cost of living was rather high, and house rents very high. The Winnipeg *Sun*, an evening paper, was then publishing a series of papers by a special reporter who was interviewing some of the mechanics who had migrated from Ontario to Winnipeg. These all agreed that, notwithstanding the increased cost of living in Winnipeg, they were better off than they had been in the older province. One man, a carpenter, with a wife and seven children, was reported to have said that although he paid 35 dols. a-month of rent for a house he would only pay 7 dollars for in Ottawa, he had been able to save 50 dollars every month since he came to Winnipeg nearly a year before. But then he added that he could not do this and pay a rent of 5 dols. a-month for every room in his house unless he rented his rooms or took boarders. He had boarders, and in that connection he said—"I and my wife have figured it down pretty closely, and we find that our boarders just pay for the food consumed by all of us, my family included." A single man could board for five dols. a week, which left a pretty wide margin for saving, or he might, if he preferred it, live in a tent during the summer months, as many were doing in Winnipeg at that time.

Writing from Winnipeg to the *Inverness Courier*, in September 1882, I said—

> How long this state of things will continue in Winnipeg it is impossible to say. So long as men are found to invest money in buildings things will go on smoothly enough. But Winnipeg will not continue to increase as it has done in the past if its capitalists are to build nothing besides hotels, shops, and houses, and mainly the last. Even now, indications are not wanting that a present limit is being reached. Many houses are vacant, and one of the Winnipeg papers, the *Times*, devoted a leader this week to soundly rating landlords for demanding rents which give them a return of twenty per cent. on their outlay, and letting their houses stand vacant rather than reduce rents.
>
> When we consider that ten years ago all that existed of the City of Winnipeg was Fort-Garry, a Hudson Bay Company's trading station, we cannot help being impressed by the change which has transformed the lonely prairie into a busy town, and the people of Winnipeg are entitled to great credit for what they have done and are doing.

But Winnipeg looks forward to being, within a very few years, a much more important place than it now is, and it was this expectation that gave rise to the famous *boom* of last spring, when the prices of building lots in Winnipeg went up to a fabulous figure. And yet it looks as if Winnipeg is not doing what it might to secure its growth into a large city. A few miles east of Winnipeg is the eastern limit of the fertile belt. Beyond that the country, for hundreds of miles, consists of rock and swamp. To the north, along the Red River Valley, the soil, though rich, is low, and will probably not be much more thickly peopled than it is, so long as better land can be got in the west, which will be for many years to come. To the south, or south-west, lies the "Gateway City" of Emerson, close to the International boundary, and its people do not look as if they intended to let Winnipeg become supreme in the North-West without a struggle. They are so situated, too, that they have competing lines of communication with the markets of the world to which they are at present nearer than Winnipeg. To the west and north-west are millions of acres of fertile land, some of it being, according to report, the most fertile in the world, and this land is being rapidly settled. It is in this direction that Winnipeg must look for her customers; it is to serve this district, and make herself indispensable to its people, that she should now lay herself out. But this she does not appear to be doing, or to have any intention of doing. Winnipeg is full of shops and warehouses where goods can be purchased wholesale and retail, and the people think that the future trade of Winnipeg will be a wholesale one — importing goods from the East and distributing them throughout the West and North-West. Well, this may be, but there are other towns further west, notably Portage la Prairie and Brandon, going into the same trade, and as they have the advantage of being nearer the consumer than Winnipeg, and seem determined to make a fight for the trade, they may run Winnipeg a close race. The only manufacturing industry of any importance in Winnipeg is a lumber mill. Although the whole country from which Winnipeg will draw its business is a grain-producing one, there is not a grain elevator or a grist mill in the city.

There may be a great future in store for Winnipeg, but if there is, her citizens must *work*—a policy of waiting for something to turn up will not do. Even building speculators will not make a city. On the contrary, they may, by giving the place a reputation for dearness, tend to unmake it. There is one scheme on foot which, if carried out, will have an important bearing on the future of Winnipeg—that is, the proposed line of communication with Britain by Hudson's Bay. Looked at on a flat map, it does not look as if Hudson's Bay was nearer Britain than New York, but so it seems it is. I had an interesting conversation with the manager of one of the banks in Winnipeg on this subject, and from him I derived my information. There are two proposals made, and two companies have obtained charters. The one proposes to build a railway from Winnipeg to Churchill, on Hudson's Bay, a distance of between 600 and 700 miles. The other scheme, and the one which is supported by the best men, is to utilise the water communication by the Red River and Lake Winnipeg, and have a railway from the end of Lake Winnipeg to Churchill, a distance of about 360 miles. It is claimed for these routes that either of them would bring Winnipeg and the North-West Territory about a thousand miles nearer Liverpool than the present route by Duluth and the Lakes, and between 500 and 600 miles nearer than by the Canadian Pacific through line when complete. If this is so, and if either of the two schemes should be carried out, Winnipeg would probably become the great centre of the grain trade of the Canadian North-West, and indeed the natural point where all the trade of that immense territory would be transacted. Meantime, Winnipeg goes

forward with a light heart, introducing the electric light, enlarging her Town Hall at a cost of 60,000 dols., laying drains, and wondering what she will do to make her streets passable after a shower of rain—borrowing a few hundred thousand dollars here and there where they can be got, without waiting to think how they are to be repaid —in short, playing to perfection the *role* of Micawber among Western cities.

It is a very safe rule never to "prophesy unless you know," but however fond one is of the rule as a guiding principle, he is sometimes tempted to disregard it. This was my case in Winnipeg. Its whole method of going to work appeared to me to be unsound. No business is more precarious in a new town with new towns rising on every side of it than "shopkeeping," and yet Winnipeg seemed to me to pin its faith to its counters. Speculative house and shop building, the only other form of industry extensively carried on in the city, was, if anything, worse than shopkeeping. The Hudson Bay Railway and Navigation scheme will, however, if practicable and carried out in time, save Winnipeg, and if coupled with energy on the part of her citizens make her a great city. Without it she will become, on the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, little more than a roadside station on the route to the great West. K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

THE HIGHLANDS AND HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND: PAPERS HISTORICAL, DESCRIPTIVE, BIOGRAPHICAL, LEGENDARY, AND ANECDOTAL. By JAMES CROMB, Author of "Working and Living, and other Essays." Dundee: John Leng & Co.

THIS is a most attractive and readable book, written by a Lowlander about the Highlanders. It is a sign of the times when a "Sassenach" writes in such a pleasing, almost flattering, manner of the hereditary enemies of his forbears. No Celt could have paid a warmer tribute to the many excellencies of the Celtic character than Mr Cromb has done in this book, and we heartily thank him for it. We have our faults, and Southern scribblers have not failed to present them to the world in their worst aspects and to greatly magnify them without any reference to the other side. Mr Cromb perhaps leans a little too much to virtue's side, but such a book as his was wanted, and it will do much good. The work treats of the Highland dress, the Highlander's love of country, Highland Bards, Pipers, Music,

Tartan, Superstition, Feuds, Fidelity; with special chapters devoted to each of the Massacre of Glencoe, Rob Roy Macgregor, Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, Montrose, Viscount Dundee, President Forbes, Prince Charles, and Flora Macdonald; and it is very nicely illustrated with lithographs and drawings by a Dundee artist, Mr Martin Anderson. The chapter on Highland Fidelity is particularly good. We should like to quote it at length, but even did our space admit that would be unjust to the author. No Highlander should be without a copy of the book, and we feel safe in predicting that all who peruse it will feel a glow of gratitude to its author.

The "Introduction" is worthy of the book. After describing the mistaken opinions held regarding the Highlanders of the past by their Southern neighbours, the author proceeds—"When they became known, they were found to be honourable and brave men—devoted to those to whom they owed allegiance, and regarding their life as of less value than their integrity." Of their leaders he says:—

> The Chiefs, whose dignity of manner was not equalled by accomplished courtiers, were hospitable and kind, and the good things of their table were as freely offered to the wandering stranger or the meanest of their clan as to the King or his Councillors. The meanest of them could boast a line of ancestry sufficient to put an English baron to the blush; and while their occupation was war, and their delight to be warlike, they had sentiments in their bosom deep and tender as any breathed from Southern maiden's lips.

After telling us that the fidelity of the clansmen to these Chiefs, and of Highland soldiers to their officers, was one of the most distinctly marked characteristics of the Gael, and that selfishness was foreign to their nature, he states, with evident regret, how in recent years—

> They have suffered vicissitudes which call forth the sympathy of all who are acquainted with their independent character and self-denying lives. Neither their tastes, habits, nor traditions have been respected. The country has been invaded by bands of pleasure-seekers, and the young and the old sent forth from the happy homes in which they lived in contentment and peace. Brave men and virtuous women have had to seek a home beyond the seas, that room might be made for sheep and deer and Cockney sportsmen. The day may come when we shall go to the glen to pipe, and find no one to dance; we may be in need of bold hearts and lusty arms, and when we turn to the mountains and cry for help, no response but the echo of our own voice will break the silence. . . . . We cannot refrain from expressing the opinion that it is not good for the people nor for the country that the Highlands should be made first a sheep run, then a mere hunting and pleasure ground. Perhaps there is exaggeration in the statements regarding the extent of ground wasted for the breeding of game. Thousands of acres in the Highlands are scarcely fit for any other purpose. Many who have been compelled to leave their native glens, and seek homes in the south, or beyond the seas, have, however severe the wrench to sentiment, really benefited themselves from a material point of view. Yet it is unquestionable

that the country, as a whole, is capable of sustaining in comfort a much larger population than it does. There are fertile valleys, remote glens, and cheerful straths, rich in mingled green and purple, from which no smoke ever rises, and where the eye cannot find a habitation. Traces there are of cold hearth-stones, and of a people who are gone, yet who lived pleasant and happy lives amid these fair surroundings. But sheep, deer, and grouse have hustled them out, and the country is the weaker and the poorer. The sporting craze is, besides, demoralising the people. Does anyone think that the boatman or gillie of to-day, who carries his gun and bag over the hills, or rows his boat over the loch, is a fair representative of the clansman who responded a century and a half ago to the call of his Chief? Not a bit of him. He is often cringing and servile, and this cringing servility is a condition of obtaining employment. Buggins from the City demands it, pays for it, and the poor Gael must give it. We do not blame him. It is the lesson he has learned from contact with the South. . . . . The general influence of the Saxon on the Gael is to "unman" him. And that is not all the evil. This grouse and deer rearing is a loss to the nation. Can deer, costing £100 per head to rear, and sometimes a great deal more, or grouse, often from £1 to £5 a brace, ever be profitable for any one concerned, either in breeding or killing them?

These quotations from the Introduction will indicate the nature of the book, and the warm-heartedness of its author.

LAYS OF LEISURE: POEMS AND SONGS. By WILLIAM ALLAN. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1883.

AN old Highland proverb says, "An uair a bhios Murachadh na 'thàmh bidh e 'ruamhar" (when Murdo is resting he will be delving), a remark which may be appropriately applied to the author of this work. The publication not many months ago of his "After-Toil Songs," and now the issue of the present volume show that the author does a fair share of "delving" in the fields of poetry and literature in his leisure hours; and the quality of the crop satisfies us that his croft is truly on some well-favoured spot on the slopes of Parnassus itself. Nay, it would appear that he has been fortunate enough to secure "fixity of tenure" on those classic grounds. While saying this, however, we are not sure that the last season has been quite so propitious as former ones. The present volume consists of a rather mixed variety, alike in point of subject and merit. The "Lays" are characterised by much of the native force which Mr Allan infuses into his productions, and there are not wanting many of the more delicate touches which his hand can so well impart. His genius is like one of his own Nasmyth hammers, which, in the hand of the mechanic, can be made to come gently down on an egg, and barely crack its shell, or, with a force that can crush to atoms a mass of solid oak. Very musical and pretty is that short piece, "The Bell in the Valley." Right bold on the other hand, like its fearless subject, is the poem entitled "Rob Roy's Death," which appeared some time ago in our own pages. A longer poem, which also appeared in the *Celtic Magazine*, is "Drumclog," in which our author breathes the old sturdy Presbyterianism of his native country. Perhaps, however, the most powerful and vivid in the collection is that entitled "The Preacher of Portree," which, notwithstanding a considerable amount of metamorphosis, his readers will recognise as the anonymous metrical tale which appeared some months ago under the title of "St Michael and the Preacher." Mr Allan, now that he avows the paternity, prefers that it should appear in a Scotch garb. He has also shorn it of a good deal that was gruesome in its former aspect, but here it is with its "natural force" not one whit abated. The poem of the "Preacher" is one of Mr Allan's most powerful and successful attempts, and contains pictures that would have done no discredit to the author of "Tam o' Shanter." Its subject is Highland landlord oppression, clerical indifference and sycophancy, and their ultimate reward; and the treatment of it is quite in keeping with the theme. We cordially commend the "Lays of Leisure;" and the best we can say of them is that they wear the impress of the powerful hand and large warm heart of the true Scot that every one knows Mr William Allan to be.

GOLDEN WEDDING OF CLUNY MACPHERSON, C.B.

IT will be remembered that on the 20th of December 1882, a great gathering took place at Cluny Castle, on which occasion Cluny and his lady were presented with addresses from almost every representative Society in the County of Inverness, in celebration of their Golden Wedding. A strong desire has since been expressed that a record of the interesting proceedings should appear in a more enduring form than newspaper reports. We have the result before us in a beautifully printed *brochure* of 96 pages, containing all the addresses presented to the grand old Chief and his lady, and life-like portraits of both. It also contains a list of the subscribers to the magnificent Centre-piece, formally presented on the 20th of December 1883, with a genealogical account of the family from Macgillicattan Mor to the present day. The whole has been prepared and edited by Mr Alexander Macpherson, banker, Kingussie, Honorary Secretary to the Testimonial Committee, and it does no small credit to his good taste, from a literary as well as from an artistic point of view. The readers of the *Celtic Magazine* do not at this time of day require that we should refer at any length to Cluny's unblemished life and record as a Highland Chief. A sketch of himself and his career appeared in these pages a few years ago, which has since been re-printed and circulated by the Testimonial Committee among the subscribers; and it is quoted in the "Golden Wedding," by Mr Macpherson.

The presentation to Cluny and his lady consists of a massive silver Candelabrum, or Centre-piece, manufactured by Mr James Aitchison, Edinburgh, weighing about seven hundred ounces. A sturdy oak tree, springing from the heather and bracken, forms the stem, from which radiate nine branches, fitted for crystals or candles, and in the centre a richly cut dish for fruit or flowers. In front of the tree is placed a group representing one of the most interesting and characteristic incidents in the history of the famous Chief of 1745, for whose capture the Government of the day offered a reward of a thousand guineas and a company in one of the regiments of the line, to any one who would bring him in dead or alive. The incident is thus described in a letter by his son, Colonel Duncan Macpher-

son of Cluny, to Colonel Stewart of Garth, author of the Sketches of the Highlanders, dated "Cluny House, 9th June 1817:"—

> On another occasion, when my father was at Cluny, in a small house inhabited by the family after the Castle was burnt, the house was suddenly surrounded by a party of soldiers (*redcoats*, as they were then called,) commanded by Ensign Munro, whose information was so correct, and managed matters so secretly that there was no possibility of my father making his escape; but, on the emergency, his presence of mind did not forsake him, and he stood firm and collected in himself, and although he saw himself on the brink of destruction, and ready to fall into the hands of his persecutors, by which he must suffer an ignominious death, he deliberately stepped into the kitchen, where a servant man was sitting, and exchanged clothes with him, all of which was the work of a moment; and when the officer commanding the party rode up to the door, he, without any hesitation, ran out and held the stirrup while dismounting, walked the horse about while the officer was in the house, and when he came out again, held the stirrup to him to mount, on which the officer asked him if he knew where Cluny was; he answered that he did not, and if he did, he would not tell him; the officer replied, "I believe you would not; you are a good fellow, here is a shilling for you."

Unfortunately no authentic portrait of Cluny of the 'Forty-five exists, and the artist, Mr Clark Stanton, A.R.S.A., has, most appropriately, adopted the features of the present sturdy Chief. The conception is a happy one, but we cannot help feeling a slight regret that the incident illustrated should have necessitated such a prominent position for Ensign Munro, while Cluny himself, in whose honour the design is got up, should hold such a comparatively subordinate place; but we presume this could not be avoided, without sacrificing the historical value of the illustration. Suspended on the trunk of the oak, and serving to break the line, are a target and other warlike accoutrements. The base has been designed as far as possible in keeping with the Celtic sentiments of the occasion, and bears on one side the combined arms of Cluny Macpherson and Davidson, with the supporters, crest, and motto; and on the other a shield, bearing the following inscription (in Gaelic and English):—

PRESENTED,
ALONG WITH AN ILLUMINATED ADDRESS,
TO
CLUNY MACPHERSON, C.B., AND LADY CLUNY,
ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR
GOLDEN WEDDING,
BY
THEIR FRIENDS AND CLANSMEN.
20TH DECEMBER 1882.

No other Chief in the Highlands better deserved this honour; and we heartily wish our good friend and his lady many years of health and happiness to enjoy it, with the good wishes and, indeed, affection of the Highland people.

The following Circular is in course of being issued by A. & W. MACKENZIE, *Publishers, "Celtic Magazine" Office, 25 Academy Street, Inverness:—*

PROPOSED HIGHLAND NEWSPAPER,

TO BE CALLED

"THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDER."

WE have for some time been strongly urged, from influential quarters at home and abroad, to take the necessary steps for starting an Independent Weekly Newspaper in Inverness, for the special purpose of advocating the claims and promoting the interests of the Highland people.

It has been suggested that the present time is specially opportune for a movement in this direction; and that our Mr Alexander Mackenzie's special knowledge of his countrymen, their history, and wants in the present crisis, points to him as the most suitable to conduct such a paper; the marked success of the *Celtic Magazine*, under his guidance, when all similar attempts by others failed, being an earnest of his ability to prove equally successful in conducting a Highland newspaper.

To embark in the direction proposed is a serious undertaking, both as regards its financial responsibilities and the labour and energy necessary to make the paper influential and prosperous. Very liberal support has been already offered, and nothing is wanting to induce us and Mr Mackenzie to move in the matter, but a certainty that the paper shall be widely and energetically supported by Highlanders, and by their numerous friends at home and abroad.

To test the feeling existing among those specially interested, and to put the matter beyond question, the present Circular is issued, as the most practical means, to enable all who are willing to support a Highland Newspaper to do so in a substantialfo rm, by subscribing, and agreeing to pay a year's subscription *in advance;* the money not to be paid until it is finally decided to issue the paper.

Should the result prove satisfactory, steps will at once be taken to start a paper of eight pages, at one penny. If, on the other hand, such interest is not shown, in the manner indicated, as will secure a *certain* subscribed circulation to begin with, of at least five thousand copies, it will not be deemed prudent to proceed any further in the matter at present. Whether or not the Highlanders shall have a representative paper is thus left in their own hands; and they should, in a matter of this kind, remember that "*Heaven helps those who help themselves.*"

All who feel interested regarding the position and prospects of the Highland people; and who care for the Language, Literature, Traditions, and the Material interests of a noble but ill-used race, will, it is hoped, aid us in securing the necessary support for carrying out the object aimed at.

It is believed that the manner in which the *Celtic Magazine* has been conducted to such a successful issue, will be accepted as a sufficient guarantee that the same prudence, firmness, and energy which secured that success will be applied with even greater results, to the conduct of such a Newspaper as is now proposed.

The leading friends of the Highland people are fully satisfied—however favourable the Report of the Royal Commission may be that the real work of those who demand and will insist upon a change in the present Land Laws will only begin in earnest when the nature of the Report becomes known. This points strongly to the necessity of Highlanders having a special organ of their own to advance their claims.

A Gaelic department will form a feature of the paper; and special attention will always be given to Local News from every Strath, Glen, and Hamlet, where Highlanders are to be found.

A. & W. MACKENZIE.

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. CI. MARCH 1884. VOL. IX.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XIV.

SIR EWEN CAMERON—*Continued.*

LOCHIEL'S settlement with Mackintosh was for him, in the existing circumstances, a most favourable one; for not only did the yearly rents of the lands far exceed the interest of the money paid to Mackintosh, but there were oak and fir woods on both sides of Loch-Arkaig, and on other parts of the lands in question, worth more than four times the sum paid for the whole. Lochiel, however, overlooked to make provision in the agreement for the arrears of rent due since the mortgage on the estate was redeemed in 1639, and this cost him afterwards, in 1688, no end of trouble and annoyance. He is said to have entertained the leading men of the two clans—his own and the Mackintoshes—in his house for several days after the agreement was completed, when, to all appearance, they parted fully satisfied with the arrangement come to.

The Marquis of Athole offered Lochiel the money to pay the sum awarded to Mackintosh. Argyll offered it on somewhat easier conditions, but still conditions which, in future, would secure to him and to the House of Campbell the superi-

ority of the lands. There was to be no interest payable for the money itself, but Lochiel consented to hold the lands from Argyll as superior, to pay him a feu-duty of one hundred pounds Scots per annum, and to grant him the service of one hundred men-in-arms whenever he should require them. These conditions later on landed Lochiel in a very difficult position, in connection with a dispute which arose between Argyll and the Macleans of Duart, to whom Sir Ewen was closely connected by marriage and consanguinity. Lochiel took the part of the Macleans in this quarrel, having, after visiting Argyll at Inveraray, and leaving him without notice, hastened back to Lochaber, where, being joined by the Macdonalds of Glengarry, Keppoch, Glencoe, and others, he marched into Mull, and prevented the intended invasion by Argyll for that year.

To have men in arms without authority was an offence of a very serious character, and to punish Sir Ewen, Argyll applied to the Privy Council, who, on the 29th of July 1669, issued a proclamation, wherein, among others, Lochiel, Maclean, and several chiefs, including Argyll himself, are ordered to find annual caution to keep the peace. He had, however, previously secured the necessary legal authority for punishing the Macleans, and, consequently, the proclamation only affected his opponents, impartial though it at first appeared by the inclusion of his own name. At the same time Argyll had a warrant against Lochiel for money due by him. Sir Ewen, however, started for Edinburgh in the most secret manner, and, notwithstanding Argyll's opposition, who was there before him, and was himself a member, the Privy Council, on the 28th October, granted Lochiel a personal protection. He remained in Edinburgh most of the succeeding winter; and he is said to have been so exasperated at Argyll's conduct towards him and his friends the Macleans, that he would have shot his Lordship on a certain day, as he was stepping into his carriage to attend a meeting of the Privy Council, had not Lochiel's servant, who stood at his master's back, wrested the pistol out of his raised hand, as he was about to shoot him.

Lochiel resided in Mull during summer, for the succeeding few years, and Argyll remained at home. In the Spring of 1674, he was taken dangerously ill with a "bloody-flux"—the only ill-

ness he had during his whole career—occasioned by cold and fatigue endured while supporting the Macleans. His complaint, which was so severe that his physicians despaired of his life, lasted for a whole year, but even while ill, he was still able to render great service to his friends by his wise counsel. Ultimately, however, Argyll succeeded in bringing about an arrangement, in terms of which Lochiel agreed to visit him at Dunstaffnage Castle, whither he set out in June 1675. Mutual explanations were made, and Argyll satisfied Lochiel that he was prepared to arrange the matter in dispute with the Macleans on favourable terms, provided that he accompained him to Mull with fifty men, that the whole question might be submitted to certain friends for their award. This Lochiel agreed to, and it was ratified by a contract, dated the 5th of June 1675.

The long-vexed question between them having thus been settled, Argyll invited Lochiel to spend a few days with him at Inveraray. Shortly after their arrival, Argyll suggested that his guest should have himself shaved by his Lordship's valet, a Frenchman, who, he said, was an adept at his art. Lochiel agreed. While the operation was going on, two stalwart Camerons of the Chief's retinue, who were in the room, were noticed standing close together, their backs pressed firmly against the inside of the door, one having his eyes fixed on Argyll, the other on the valet. After some chaffing remarks between the Chiefs as to the suspicious-looking action of the two men, Lochiel requested the Earl to ask themselves to explain their conduct. In reply, one of them at once answered, "That knowing well there had been a difference between his Lordship and their Chief, on account of the assistance he had given to the Macleans, they suspected, when the valet was called for, that there might be a design of murdering their Chief under cover of that service, seeing that he had a servant of his own who used to perform it, and that, therefore, they were determined, if their suspicion proved true, first to dispatch his Lordship, and then the valet." Being asked, "What they thought would have come of themselves in such a case as that?" they replied, "We did not think about that, but we were resolved to revenge the murder of our Chief." Argyll praised them highly, and gave them money, at the same time telling Sir Ewen that he believed no Prince in the world had more faithful and loving subjects.

Soon after this Lochiel had occasion to visit Edinburgh, when he had the good fortune to meet his Royal Highness the Duke of York, afterwards James II. The Prince not only received him with every mark of attention; but, in a full Court, honoured him specially with his conversation, questioning him in the most agreeable manner about the adventures of his youth. He openly congratulated him upon having arranged a settlement of the ancient dispute between him and Mackintosh, and upon its happy issue, stating, at the same time, that even if his brother the King had gone the length of purchasing these lands for him, since they were so long in his family and so conveniently situated for his clan, it would be but a small reward for the great services which he had rendered to the Royal House. The Prince, at the close of this address, asked for Lochiel's sword, which the Chief at once handed to him, but the Duke was unable to draw it from the scabbard; for the weapon, it seems, "was somewhat rusty, and but little used, as being a walking sword, which the Highlanders never make use of in their own country. The Duke, after the second attempt, gave it back to Lochiel, with the compliment that his sword never used to be so uneasy to draw when the Crown wanted his service. Lochiel, who was modest even to excess, was so confounded that he could make no return to so high a compliment; and knowing nothing of the Duke's intention, he drew the sword, and returned it to His Royal Highness, who, addressing those about him, said smiling—'You see, my Lords, Lochiel's sword gives obedience to no hand but his own,' and thereupon he was pleased to knight him."*

*The version in the text is that given by the author of the "Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron," who knew Lochiel personally. Sir Walter Scott "improves" it by making the Duke the King, and by other embellishments, as follows:—After the accession of James II., Lochiel came to Court to obtain pardon for one of his clan, who, being in command of a party of Camerons, had fired by mistake on a body of Athole men, and killed several. He was received with the most honourable distinction, and his request granted. The King, desiring to make him a knight, asked the Chieftain for his own sword, in order to render the ceremony still more peculiar. Lochiel had ridden up from Scotland, being then the only mode of travelling, and a constant rain had so rusted his trusty broadsword that, at the moment, no man could have unsheathed it. Lochiel, affronted at the idea which the courtiers might conceive from his not being able to draw his own sword, burst into tears. "Do not regard it, my faithful friend," said King James, with ready courtesy, "your sword would have left the scabbard of itself, had the Royal cause required it." With that, he bestowed the intended honour with his own sword, which he presented to the new knight as soon as the ceremony was performed.—*Tales of a Grandfather.*

These expressions of favour from the Prince were soon imitated by his courtiers, and Lochiel was highly complimented by them all on his past exploits and his loyalty to the Crown. His visit to Edinburgh on this occasion was in connection with the case of two soldiers who had been killed in Lochaber by some of his men. There was no word about their trial while the Royal Duke remained; but as soon as he left, proceedings were commenced. Lochiel, however, was again successful. He told off some of his friends to get at the prosecution witnesses, with orders to fill them with drink; the result being that they were all sound asleep in an obscure out-of-the-way house, when they should have been ready to be sworn and examined as witnesses in the case, and Lochiel's friends were dismissed, in the absence of any evidence against them, to the great regret and disappointment of his enemies.

The following extracts from *Fountainhall's Decisions* evidently refers to, and further explains, this incident:—"November 14th, 1682.—Complaints being exhibited against Cameron of Lochiell and some of his clan for sorning, robbing, deforcing, and doing violence and affronts to a party of the King's forces, who came there to uplift the cess and taxation: The Lords ordained them to be presently disarmed of their swords, pistols, and skiendurks, and to be securely imprisoned." "November 30th, 1682.—At Privy Council, Cameron of Lochiell, mentioned 14th November 1682, is fined, as the head of that clan, in £100 sterling, for the deforcement and violence offered by his men to the King's forces, when they came there to exact the taxations, and three of them are referred to the Criminal Court to be pursued for their lives, as guilty of treason, for opposing the King's authority; the Clerk-Register became cautioner for Lochiel. This was done, as was thought, to cause him give way to Huntley's getting a footing in Lochaber."

In August of this year a Commission under the Great Seal was issued, renewed by Proclamation from the Council in 1685, to the Sheriff of Inverness-shire, to hold Circuit Courts throughout the Highlands for the trial of various offences. Among other places the Sheriff visited Lochaber, where his presence was anything but agreeable to Lochiel, who had arranged, and carried out pretty successfully, a plan of his own

for punishing offences among his people. The Sheriff having arrived in the district, with a following of seven hundred men to protect him on his journey, not only proceeded to try and punish offences covered by his Commission, but also crimes and delinquencies committed during the late civil wars. Even Lochiel was summoned to the Court, when he presented himself before the Sheriff with a following of four hundred men, on the pretence of guarding his Lordship, but really with the object of saving his own people from what he considered the exercise of a severe oppression and injustice. "He foresaw that the Sheriff's haughty and tyrannic procedure would be attended with trouble; and to prevent it he could fall upon no method so effectual as that of dismissing the Court by some political contrivance or other. He singled out three or four of the most cunning or sagacious, but withal the most mischievous and turbulent, among his followers. Under pretence of enquiring into their conduct with these he walked a short way from the place where the Court was sitting, and, pretending to be very thoughtful and serious, he dropped these words in their hearing, as if he had been meditating and speaking to himself; 'Well, this Judge will ruin us all! He must be sent home! I wish I could do it! Is there none of my lads so clever as to raise a rabble and tumult among them, and set them together by the ears? It would send him a-packing. I have seen them raise mischief when there was not so much need of it!' The fellows I have mentioned caught at those expressions with great greediness. They quickly mixed among the Sheriff's train, and in three moments thereafter, Lochiel had the pleasure of seeing that vast crowd of people in an uproar. The cries of murder and slaughter resounded from all quarters. Several thousands of swords and dirks were drawn, and yet none knew the quarrel, and such a dreadful noise and confusion of tongues ensued, with the rattle of swords and other weapons striking against one another, that the meeting resembled a company of Bedlamites broke lose from their cells, with their chains rattling about them." The Sheriff and the members of his Court got into a state of great terror, and seeing Lochiel coming in their direction, at the head of his men, with drawn swords, they ran to meet him, craving his protection. This Lochiel at once granted, and afterwards convoyed the Sheriff and his whole

retinue, at their own request, safely out of his country, a service for which his Lordship subsequently procured for him the thanks of the Privy Council. After all the noise and uproar, only two men were killed, and a few wounded. The Sheriff was never able to discover how the row began, or who was responsible for it, for the fellows who started it stole quietly away, and rejoined Lochiel and a body of his followers at a distance, whenever they saw the sparks taking effect, and that the desired blaze was sure to follow. The Sheriff never after held a Court in Lochaber, and Lochiel, as usual, suceeeded most effectually in gaining his object by clever strategy.

To add to the general confusion, the Earl of Argyll landed with an expedition from Holland in May 1685. The King immediately sent for Lochiel, and had a long conference with him on the subject in his private Cabinet. The Committee in Edinburgh advised that his Majesty should send Lochiel home to assist in suppressing the Rebellion. The brave Chief at one expressed his willingness to do anything in his power, and offered alone, with the assistance of his friends, the Macleans, to be responsible for Argyll and his rebellion. The King replied that the chief command had been already entrusted to the Marquis of Athole, by the Privy Council. Lochiel returned to Scotland, receiving his Commission from the Council on the 20th of May. He was soon with Athole, at the head of 300 of his followers, while as many more were commanded to follow him to Inveraray as soon as they could get ready. There were, however, more men than were required, for Argyll had only about 1500 followers altogether, and Lochiel sent some of his men back to their homes. The offer by Lochiel to attack the enemy with the Macleans alone offended the Marquis of Athole, and produced so much friction and noise in the camp, that, it is alleged, he sent word to the Council of suspicions of Lochiel's loyalty, who he feared was in concert with Argyll. An unfortunate incident followed which gave strength for a time to this unfounded suspicion. Lochiel was ordered out to reconnoitre, without having been informed as to other parties that had been sent earlier. He mistook one of these for the enemy, one of whom rushed forward and fired his pistol, wounding one of the Camerons. Lochiel's followers thereupon fell upon the whole

party, and would have cut them all to pieces, had not Mr Cameron of Callart recognised a Mr Linton of Pendrich lying on his back, defending himself by his blunderbus from the broad-sword of one of the Camerons. This discovery saved the remainder, but four or five of the party were killed, and several wounded, before Callart came up. Lochiel was extremely sorry for the accident; and he soon had reason to regret it very seriously. The Marquis of Athole called a Council of war to consider Lochiel's conduct, and to decide upon the proper action respecting it. "This accident," says our authority, "joined with the malicious report already stated, so far confirmed many in their suspicions of treachery, that some had the rashness to propose the ordering out a strong detachment of the troops, and to make Lochiel and his men all prisoners; and the Lord Murray, the Marquis's eldest son, offered to perform that service, but Mr Murray of Struan being present in the Council, opposed the motion, as not only dangerous, but destructive of the King's interest; 'For,' said he, 'such a man as Lochiel, at the head of such a body of men, will not be easily made a prisoner by force. The Macleans and Macdonalds will probably join him; whereby the King will not only be deprived of the services of his best troops, but a division made in the army, of which the common enemy will, no doubt, take the advantage. Besides, it would not only be unjust, but even barbarous, to condemn so many people, who came there to serve their Prince, without being heard; and it is more than probable, that when the matter comes to be discovered, it will come out to be wholly an accident occasioned by some mistake or other.' This opinion prevailed, and the Council broke up without coming to any violent resolution. Lochiel, all this while, kept his men aside, and was joined by the Macleans. After the first emotions of his passion were over, he began to deliberate on what he should do, and soon determined that he would not be made prisoner. If he was to suffer, he resolved that it should be by the sentence of his master and Sovereign, who had hitherto honoured him with his Royal favour. The Macleans encouraged him in this resolution, and generously offered to stand by him in all fortunes. He advanced near to the camp, that he might the more easily inform himself of what passed, and drew up his men in two lines, with orders to the left

to wheel about in case of being attacked, in order that, being thus joined back to back, they might make two fronts. In this posture they stood all that night and for most of the following day; and towards the evening they had orders to join the army, with a full assurance of safety; for by this time the Marquis had informed himself fully of the matter, which he owned to Lochiel to be a mere accident, for which he was not to be blamed, and signified as much in a letter he wrote on that subject to my Lord Tarbat, who intimated it to the Council." Lochiel after this brought in a few prisoners. Argyll was captured near Glasgow, sent on to Edinburgh, where he was beheaded, without trial, on his old sentence, for High Treason. The army was disbanded on the 21st of June, and Lochiel, with the other leaders, received a communication conveying to them the thanks of the Privy Council for their hearty concurrence in the King's service, and authorising them to disband their men.

The execution of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, on the 30th of June 1685, proved most troublesome and unfortunate for Lochiel, in its ultimate results, as one of his vassals. The Duke of Gordon, obtained a gift of the superiority of that portion of Lochiel's lands which he held from Argyll, and he had himself duly infefted in it. The Duke of York, having previously expressed himself in favour of Lochiel, the latter proceeded to Court, with the view of securing the superiority for himself, which not only was promised to him, but also the lands of Suinart and Ardnamurchan, so soon as the necessary documents could be completed. But, through an error of his own agents in drawing out the deeds, and in consequence of the King's death before new ones could be completed, Lochiel was again disappointed.

Returning south, great honours were conferred on the Marquis of Athole. He was admitted a Member of the Privy Council, made Keeper of the Great Seal, and appointed to several other important offices. Though he had at the time professed himself quite satisfied as to Lochiel's innocence of the charges of disloyalty made against him at Inveraray, no sooner did he get into power than he proceeded to bring him to trial for his alleged misconduct; and by transmitting most unfavourable misrepresentations to the King, he secured a warrant for his

apprehension. For this purpose, he dispatched Captain Mackenzie of Suddie to Lochaber, on the pretence of putting down some local squabbles in the district, but with private orders to seize Lochiel, and bring him to Edinburgh. This, as usual, was easier said than done. His eldest daughter, Margaret, was at the time in Edinburgh; and she, obtaining secret information of Athole's designs upon her father, at once dispatched a soldier of the name of Cameron, in the City Guards, to apprise him of his danger. Lochiel removed meanwhile out of the way, and, on the arrival of Captain Mackenzie in Lochaber, he set out for Edinburgh, consulted his friends there, posted to London, and arrived there before his enemies were actually aware that he had left home. On his arrival, he found that the grossest misrepresentations had been sent in advance of him, and his old friends became so convinced of their truth, that not one of them could be induced to introduce him to the King, who, they anticipated, would leave him to be dealt with, for his alleged crimes, according to the law; and this notwithstanding that Robert Barclay of Ury, the famous Quaker, and great favourite of the King, wrote several letters to the English nobility in his favour. Ultimately, however, Viscount Strathallan undertook to inform the King that Lochiel was in the city. He kept his promise, adding that he had been in town for several days, and that all his old friends refused to introduce him. The King sent word to Lochiel, commanding him to see him next morning in the Royal dressing-room, at the same time requesting Lord Strathallan to tell him that "he needed no one to introduce him to us, and that we expected the first visit." Sir Ewen was naturally highly pleased on receiving the Royal message. He punctually obeyed the King's commands, and on his arrival threw himself at his Majesty's feet, saying, "that he came there as a criminal with a rope about his neck, to put himself and all he possessed in his Royal mercy." The King extended him his hand to kiss, and, commanding him to rise, told him that he had heard of his misfortune, at the same time adding, "that accidents of that nature had often fallen out among the best disciplined troops," and that nothing but actual rebellion would ever convince him that he could be disloyal. Sir Ewen expressed his great gratitude for the Royal favour, in the most modest manner, carefully

avoiding to make any disparaging reflection on his bitterest enemies.

The most curious incident in connection with this interview was yet to come. The King, having completed his toilet, commanded Lochiel to follow him closely behind, and then, followed by Sir Ewen, walked right into the middle of the Chamber of Presence, crowded by a very splendid and numerous Court, whom his Majesty gaily addressed:—"My Lords and gentlemen,—I advise you to have a care of your purses, for the King of the Thieves is at my back;" then, turning to Lochiel, he told him, in the hearing of all present, that he would be glad to see him often during his stay in town, at the same time thanking him, before the whole Court, in audible terms, for his services during the late rebellion. "Never," says his biographer, "was there a brighter example of the servile complaisance of courtiers than Lochiel had on this occasion; for he now had them all about him, congratulating him upon his Majesty's favour, and offering him their services, though, the very day before, he could find but one among them that would serve him so far as barely to mention his name to his Majesty. The King, on his part, let slip no opportunity of testifying his esteem. Sir Ewen never appeared in Court during this visit to London but his Majesty spoke two or three words to him; and if he chanced to meet with him elsewhere, he had always the goodness to enquire about his health, and now and then to put some jocose question to him, such as, if he was contriving how to steal any of the fine horses he had seen in his Majesty's stables, or in those of his courtiers?" Such compliments were no doubt considered a little curious in such august company!

The Duke of Gordon, during Lochiel's absence, raised an action against him in the Court of Session, to annul his rights and titles to the whole of the Cameron estates, in virtue of the Duke's titles to the superiority of the Mam-Mor portion, and his having obtained, as he alleged, the superiority of the other portion on Argyll's forfeiture. To both these the Duke had secured grants at different periods from Kings Charles and James; that from the latter dated, 29th of January, 1686. James knew nothing of Lochiel's interest in the superiorities, and expressed himself highly indignant at having been imposed upon by the Duke of Gordon,

when he came to know the facts. Lochiel complained bitterly of the manner in which he had been treated, and forcibly argued that, if the Duke could prevail against him in such an action, he would be worse punished for his loyalty than the other leaders had been for their rebellion. The King promised him full reparation, sent for the Duke of Gordon, and severely reprimanded him for making his King the author of such a barbarous injustice, by the surreptitious grants he had obtained from him of Lochiel's estates, and he insisted upon the whole question being left to his own disposal as arbitrator. To this peremptory demand the Duke felt bound to consent, and he signed articles accordingly. Gordon had also taken proceedings against Lochiel, in conjunction with a Mr Seaton, for a debt due to the forfeited Earl of Argyll. The King opposed this claim also, and the result in both cases was communicated to the Commissioners of the Treasury in a letter dated 21st of May 1688, in which the King intimates—"Our Royal will and pleasure, that Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel should have new rights and charters of the property of his lands, formerly held by him of the late Earl of Argyll, and fallen into our hands by reason of his forfeiture, renewed and given by George Duke of Gordon, our donatory in the superiority thereof, for a small and easy feu-duty, not exceeding four merks for every 1000 merks of free rent." Respecting the debt, the letter concludes, that Lochiel "be fully exonered and discharged for the same at all hands, and in all time coming, notwithstanding of any procedure that may have already, or hereafter may be made against him at the instance of any person whatever." In addition to this the King subsequently declared "that he would not have Lochiel nor any of his people liable to the Duke's courts, for he would have Lochiel master of his own clan, and only accountable to him or his Council, and to have no further to do with his Grace than to pay him his feu-duty." A formal deed embodying these conditions was drawn up, but the Duke still attempted to avoid signing the necessary charter, and in fact refused to do so until compelled by the King himself, which happened two days after, when he was obliged to sign in his Majesty's presence; and Lochiel was then, for the first time, legally the absolute and independent master of his own clan.

Shortly after this, however, he is again in difficulties. Mackintosh determined to invade Keppoch, in Lochaber, to eject the Macdonalds for non-payment of rents which Mackintosh claimed as legal superior of their lands. Lochiel tried to arrange matters between them, but failed in doing so, and immediately afterwards he proceeded to Edinburgh. In his absence, the Macmartin Camerons, who were closely related to the Macdonalds of Keppoch by frequent intermarriages as well as being otherwise on friendly terms with them, finding that Lochiel had left home without expressing any views on the question, or leaving any instructions as to what his followers were to do, offered their services to Keppoch. Mackintosh marched to Lochaber with about a thousand of his own men, and a company of the King's troops, under Captain Mackenzie of Suddie, by order of the Privy Council. Keppoch, with about half the number of the invaders, defeated Mackintosh and took him prisoner, while many of his followers were slain, including Captain Mackenzie, who was mortally wounded*. Before releasing his prisoner, Keppoch compelled him to renounce his claims and titles to the lands in dispute. Lochiel was held responsible by the Privy Council for the conduct of his vassals on this occasion. He, however, managed to escape in a very clever manner. Viscount Tarbat, a member of the Council, was a friend and relative of Lochiel, and he agreed, if the Council should decide against Sir Ewen, to make a certain sign to him from the window of the Council Chamber. Lochiel was accused not only as accessory to Keppoch's conduct, but as principal author of the bloodshed, "in so far that it was notorious that Keppoch durst not have attacked Mackintosh with his own followers without the assistance of the Camerons, for whose crimes Lochiel was obliged to answer." It was carried

* Scott gives the following account of Captain Mackenzie's death :—"He was brave, and well armed with carabine, pistols, and a halbert or half-pike. This officer came in front of a cadet of Keppoch, called Macdonald of Tullich, and by a shot aimed at him, killed one of his brothers, and then rushed on with his pike. Notwithstanding this deep provocation, Tullich, sensible of the pretext which the death of a Captain under Government would give against his clan, called out more than once, 'Avoid me, avoid me.' 'The Macdonald was never born that I would shun,' replied Mackenzie, pressing on with his pike; on which Tullich hurled at his head a pistol, which he had before discharged. The blow took effect, the skull was fractured, and Mackenzie died shortly after, as his soldiers were carrying him to Inverness."—*Tales of a Grandfather.*

in the Council, by a majority, that he should be at once arrested and committed to prison for further trial, and a warrant was issued for his apprehension forthwith.

Lochiel was prepared. Lord Tarbat made the preconcerted signal; and after some difficulty as to where he would conceal himself, the happy thought occurred to him of retiring into the City jail, under pretence of visiting one of the prisoners. No one, he correctly conceived, would ever dream of his having gone to such a place to hide himself, and he knew that a clansman of his own, on whom he could rely, held a position of trust in the prison. This man, James Cameron, who was jail clerk, favoured his designs; and, remaining in the prison until after dark, Sir Ewen stole out of the City as privately as he could, and, with his usual dexterity and good fortune, soon arrived safely among his friends in Lochaber. Shortly after, in the month of October, he received intimation from the Chancellor that the Prince of Orange was preparing to invade the kingdom with a great fleet, and requesting him to march into Argyllshire, with as many men as he could get together on such short notice. This message was confirmed by the Privy Council in a second order, dated the 4th of the same month, and it was at once obeyed. Lochiel and Sir John Drummond, with a force of about 1200 men, kept that county from rising, until they received intimation from the Chancellor that the King had been betrayed and deserted on all hands, and that he had fled to France. While on this service Lochiel was put in possession of Suinart and Ardnamurchan by the Lord Lieutenant, in terms of a warrant from the Earl of Balcarres, dated the 3rd of October 1688. He received a new grant of these lands from the King himself on his arrival in Ireland soon after; and no more is heard of the action raised against him by the Privy Council in connection with the Keppoch affair.

(To be continued.)

THE FEATHER BONNET AND THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.—The Inverness Town Council, on the motion of Provost Macandrew, seconded by the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, on the 4th of February, petitioned the House of Commons and the War Office in favour of the retention of the Feather Bonnets in the Highland Regiments, it having been one of the leading features of the dress of the Highland soldier for more than a hundred years. The modern "tailoring" propensities of the War Office were severely condemned.

FAIRIES IN SUTHERLAND.

TOWARDS the north end of the hamlet of Swordly, in Sutherlandshire, there is a conical hill called *Cathair Rhi Mhrail*, upon the summit of which the fairies were wont to hold their nightly revels in days gone by. Upon the north face of the hill is a small cleft, which, it is said, served the purpose of an entrance and exit to and from the interior of the hill for its uncanny inhabitants. Near to this hill, and on the edge of a burn, there stood a mill, which was owned by a stalwart fellow known as "*Adhamh Mòr*," to whom the fairies were often a source of great annoyance. One Saturday, having occasion to be in the mill till a late hour, he took his shaving utensils along with him; for in those parts no one, among the peasantry at least, was ever known to shave on Sunday. When well on in the night, and when all the rest had left the mill, Adhamh placed a skillet with water on the fire to heat it for shaving, and just then a little, ill-favoured female entered the mill and took a seat at the fireside opposite to him. She sat for some time in silence, but every time Adhamh looked at her, she made wry faces at him, which annoyed him very much. At length she broke silence by asking "*C' ainm a th'oirt?*" He testily replied, "*Mi-fhein.*" At last he could stand the annoyance no longer; the water in the skillet was boiling, and lifting the vessel off the fire, he threw its scalding contents in her face. She ran out, howling dismally, and immediately there came a voice from across the burn, "*Co rinn, co rinn?*" to which she could only answer "*Mi-fhein, Mi-fhein,*" The voice replied—

"Na'm b'e neach eile dheanadh,
'S mise gu'n dioladh."

Adhamh lost no time in turning off the water and closing the mill. He made his way home and went to bed, and when he rose next morning, the mill was razed to the ground. It was not rebuilt, but its site and the course of the lade are still discernible.

After the middle of last and during the early part of the present century, the distillation of illicit whisky was carried on in the Highlands to an extent which would now be scarcely credited, and nowhere was the trade carried on so long or to the same extent as on the heights of the parish of Reay. The following verse is the only one that I now remember of a song composed during the time that the trade was in full swing :—

"Leann gu leòir an Ach-a-Reasgair,
Leann a' nasgaidh 'sa Chnoc-Fhiunn ;
Leann gu leòir 'san Airidh-shleibhe,
'S ann is eigin dhol a' dhanns'."

One afternoon near the Christmas time two men left Strathy for this "Airidh-shleibhe" to procure illicit spirit, but when they got there they had to remain for some hours until the people around retired for the night. It may be surmised that, as the Gaelic phrase has it, "nach robh an cridhe air an oidhche," while waiting. They left the bothy about midnight with an anker of whisky, and as they were ascending Druim-Hollistan, they heard the sound of distant pipe music, saw lights, and people dancing, some distance in front of them. They approached the spot, and so enticing was the music that the man who carried the anker could not resist joining in the dance, and he soon disappeared in the throng. His companion, after waiting for him some time, impatiently exclaimed, "Dhia beannaich mise, gu de so?" (God bless me, what's this?) Immediately the name of the Deity was pronounced, all was silent, and the man was alone. He went home and told how he had lost his companion, and was told, "Fuirich lath' is bliadhna," (Stay for a year and a day), and this advice he followed, going to the spot when the time had expired, but without effect. Seven years waiting was the next advice, and sure enough the scene was then re-acted. He waited until the course of the dance brought his long lost friend in front of him, with the anker of whisky still upon his shoulder. He then caught him by the coat, and dragged him out of the circle, when the dancer exclaimed, "Dhia beannaich mi 'dhuine, leig dhomh crioch a chur air an ruidhil!" (God bless me, man, let me finish the reel!) The sacred name had the same effect as on the previous occasion, the dancers disappeared, and the rescued and the rescuer went home together; but, when examined, the cask was found to be empty.

One of the survivors of the band of men raised by the first Lord Reay to assist Count Mansfeldt in Austria, returned to Strathy, married, and had a family. After some years of matrimony, however, he greatly annoyed his wife by leaving the house at night, and going away, no one knew whither, despite persuasion, entreaty, or threats. If they attempted to restrain him, he always managed to escape, and did not return till early morning. The neighbours came to the conclusion that he was keeping

company with the fairies, and one night his wife got two stalwart friends to attempt to keep him in. Accordingly, his wife and family retired to rest as usual, but he stayed chatting with his friends at the fireside. As it approached midnight, his companions took hold of him on each side in a manner which made escape almost impossible, but all at once he fell down between them apparently dead. Thinking it only a feint, to put them off their guard, they redoubled their vigilance. Immediately the cock crew, he revived, and was soon on his legs, when his friends commenced to jest with him, saying he had missed his company for that night. He, however, assured them that this was not the case, that he had been all the way to Durness, a distance of forty miles, with his unknown companions. His neighbours laughed at him, saying that he had been lying between them all the time, But to prove the truth of his statements he said, "Mar dhearbhachd air na tha mi 'g radh a bhi fior, mharbh sinn fiadh a'm Beallach-na-féith an Duirinis, ach, thanaig a 'chuis cho teann oirn, 's gun d'fhag sinn a chorc leis an do bhruan sinn e an sàs ann." That is, that they had killed a deer in a certain place in Durness, and had left the gully with which they had stabbed it, in the carcase; and on enquiry this was found to be the fact, for a deer's carcase was found at the place specified, with a gully sticking in it.

The last person on record in Sutherlandshire that was *liftea* by the fairies was a Macdonald, who resided at a wild, lonely spot called Polcriskaig, and was known as "Bodach a Phuill." One night about Hallow-tide (Samhuinn) he went out to look after his horse, and, not returning, his wife and son went in search of him, but he was not to be found, for it is said that about the time his wife began to wonder at his long absence, he was carried away and dropped by the fairies on a hillside in Strath Halladale, a place wholly unknown to him, and about sixteen miles from his own home. He found his way to a house near at hand, and, surprising its inmates by asking if he were in Scotland, immediately fainted. Next day he was able to go home. He lived to an extreme old age, but ever after this incident he was somewhat facile, a common thing, it was said, with people that had been borne off in that manner.

Edinburgh. ALEXANDER MACKAY.

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

XI.—Gods of the Gaels—*(Continued)*.

Cormac informs us in his Glossary that Neith was the god of battle among the pagan Gael, and that Nemon was his wife, information which is repeated in other and later manuscripts with some variations and additions. We are vouchsafed no further information as to Neith's character or actions; only he appears in some of the inevitable pedigrees, and we are told that Neit, son of Indu, and his two wives, Badb and Nemain, were slain at Ailech by "Neptur (!) of the Fomorians." With Nemain may be compared the British war goddess Nemetona, whose name appears on an inscription along with that of Mars Lucetius. There would appear to have been more than one war goddess; the names Badb, Nemain, Macha, and Morrigan, constantly recur as those of war deities and demons. Badb signifies a scald-crow, and may be the generic name of the war goddess rather than a proper name. The crow and the raven are constantly connected in the Northern Mythologies with battle-deities. "How is it with you, Ravens?" says the Norse "Raven-Song," "whence are you come with gory beak at the dawning of the day. There is flesh cleaving to your talons, and a scent of carrion comes from your mouth. You lodged last night I ween near where ye knew the corses were lying." The greedy hawks of Odin scent the slain from afar. The ravens also protect and assist heroes, both in Irish and Norse myth. It was a lucky sign if a raven followed a warrior. Of Macha, the third goddess mentioned, little need be said; she appears afterwards as a queen of Ireland, under the title of Macha Mongruad, or Macha Red-Mane. The goddess Morrigan was also a war deity to all appearance. The name signifies "great queen," and may be, like Badb, a generic name. She is represented as first resisting and afterwards assisting the hero Cuchulainn, appearing to him in various forms. O'Curry makes her the wife of the Dagda, and she is often equated with the goddess Ana. The name is doubtless the same as that of Morgan le Fay, the fairy queen and Arthur's sister. It may be

remarked that Morgan le Fay is also wife of Urian Rheged, who and his son Owen, with the army of ravens, are clearly war deities.

The goddess Ana or Aine (gen. Anann) has been called the queen of heaven, and connected with the worship of the moon. Cormac describes her as "mater deorum Hibernensium"—mother of the Irish gods. "Well she used to nourish the gods," he adds, and in another place he says, "As Ana was mother of the gods, so Buanann was mother of the Fiann (heroes)." Camden found in his time survival of moon-worship. "When they see the moon first after the change," he says, "commonly they bow the knee and say the Lord's Prayer, and then, with a loud voice, they speak to the moon, thus—'Leave us whole and sound as thou hast found us.'" Keating gives the name of this goddess as Danann, and explains the Tuatha-De-Danann as the worshippers of the gods of Danann, the gods of Danann being, according to him, Brian, Iucharba, and Iuchar. These three gods are known in other myths as the "children of Turenn," slain, as Keating himself says, by Luga Lamfada. The goddess Buanann, mentioned in connection with Ana or Anann, appears in the story of the great Druid Mogh Ruith as his patron, to whose *Sid* he fares to consult her in his difficulties.

Minerva is the fifth and last deity mentioned by Cæsar as worshipped by the Gauls—their goddess of arts and industry. A passage in Solinus, and another in Giraldus Cambrensis, enable us to decide, with absolute certainty, what goddess answered among the Gaels to the position of Minerva. Solinus (first century A.D.) says that in Britain, Minerva presides over the hot springs, and that in her temple there flamed a perpetual fire, which never whitened into ashes, but hardened into a strong mass. Giraldus (12th century A.D.) informs us that at the shrine of St Brigit at Kildare, the fire is allowed never to go out, and though such heaps of wood have been consumed since the time of the Virgin, yet there has been no accumulation of ashes. "Each of her nineteen nuns has the care of the fire for a single night in turn, and on the evening before the twentieth night, the last nun, having heaped wood upon the fire, says, 'Brigit, take charge of your own fire, for this night belongs to you.' She then leaves the fire, and in the morning it is found that the fire has not gone out, and that the usual quantity of fuel has been used." This

sacred fire was kept burning continually for centuries, and was finally extinguished, only with the extinction of the monasteries by Henry VIII. Brigit, therefore, is the Gaelic Minerva. She is goddess of the household fire; her position is that of the hearth goddess Vesta, as much as that of Minerva, for evidently she is primarily a fire-goddess. Her name is probably from the same root as the English *bright*, Gaelic *breo*. The British goddess, Brigantia, is doubtless the same as the Irish Brigit. Mr Whitley Stokes picks out the following instances in proof of her character as a fire-goddess; she was born at sunrise; her breath revives the dead; a house in which she stays flames up to heaven; she is fed with the milk of a white red-eared cow; a fiery pillar rises from her head, and she remains a virgin like the Roman goddess, Vesta, and her virgins—Vesta, whom Ovid tells us to consider "nothing else than the living flame, which can produce no bodies." Cormac calls her the daughter of the Dagda. "This Brigit," he says, "is a poetess, a goddess whom poets worshipped. Her sisters were Brigit, woman of healing; Brigit, woman of smith work; that is, goddesses; these are the three daughters of the Dagda." Doubtless these three daughters, thus distinguished by Cormac, are one and the same person. Brigit, therefore, was goddess of fire, the hearth and the home.

The rest of the Gaelic pantheon may be dismissed in a few sentences. Angus Mac-ind-oc, "the only choice one, son of Youth or Perfection," has been well called the Eros—the Cupid—of the Gael. "He was represented with a harp, and attended by bright birds, his own transformed kisses, at whose singing love arose in the hearts of youths and maidens." He is the son of the Dagda, and he lives at the Brugh of the Boyne; in one weird tale he is represented as the son of the Boyne. He is the patron god of Diarmat, whom he helps in escaping from the wrath of Finn, when Diarmat eloped with Grainne. The River Boyne is also connected with the ocean-god Nuada; it was called the wrist of Nuada's wife. The literary deity was Ogma, brother of the Dagda, surnamed "Sun-face"; he invented the alphabet known as the Ogam alphabet, and, as was pointed out already, he is mentioned by Lucian as the Gaulish god of eloquence. Three artisan gods are mentioned: Goibniu, the smith, invoked in the St Gall Incantations of the 8th century; Creidne Cerd, the goldsmith; and Luch-

tine, the carpenter. These three made the Tuatha arms; when the smith finished a spear-head, he threw it from his tongs towards the door-post, in which it stuck by the point; the carpenter had the handle ready, and threw it accurately into the socket; and Creidne Cerd pitched the nails from his tongs into the holes in the socket of the spear. Thus was the spear finished in less time than we can describe the process. Diancecht was the physician of the gods; at Moytura battle he prepared a medical bath, into which he plunged the wounded, and they instantly came out whole again, and returned to the fight. The three De-Danann queens, Eire, Fodhla, and Banbha, gave their names to Ireland, but the first is the one which is usually recognised. It may be observed that these names, and those of some others of the gods are scattered widely over the topography both of Ireland and Scotland. In the latter country we meet with Eire, and its genitive Erenn in river and district names; Fodla forms part of Athole, Ath-Fodhla, probably; Banba appears in Banff; Angus the Beautiful gave his name to Angus; Manannan's name appears in the Isle of Man, and as the old name of the district at the mouth of the Forth, still seen in Clack-Mannan.

The Celtic Elysium.

All the Aryan nations originally believed in the existence, after death, of the human soul. This belief had its root in the "animism" of a more barbaric period of their existence, and held its place in the remnants of ancestral worship we meet with in Rome and Greece, and in the many myths bearing on the land of shades. Evidently, too, the pre-Aryan tribes of Europe were strong believers in the future existence of man's second self, his soul. Their barrows, dolmens, and stone-circles point distinctly to their reverence for the dead, and their belief in their continued existence in another sphere of nature, from which they visited, helped and admonished their living representatives. Ancestor worship clearly was their main creed. Hence the vividness of the belief of the early Northern Aryans—Celts and Teutons—in future existence, and their clinging to ancestor worship so long, may arise from their mingling with a people who was in that stage of belief; whereas, at the dawn of our era, in Greece and Rome, the whole doctrine of a future state belonged to the region of languid

half-belief. The aristocracy and the philosophers entirely disbelieved it. Cæsar, as supreme pontiff of Rome, declared, in his place in the senate, his utter disbelief in another life, and the stern Cato but mildly replied that their ancestors, men, perhaps, as wise as Cæsar, believed that the guilty, after death, were sent to noisome abodes, full of all horrors and terrors. But the classical belief, even at its best—in the poems of Homer—gives but a poor, shadowy, comfortless existence to the spirits of the dead. They lived in Hades, a country which comprised various districts of woe, and of bliss such as it was. The ghost of Achilles says to Ulysses :—"Rather would I live on earth as a poor man's hireling, than reign among all the dead." The gods lived on the heights of Olympus, aloft in heaven, and far apart from the hated abode of the dead, which lay under the earth and ocean. Mortals were all consigned to the grisly realm of Pluto; even the demigod Hercules, though living in Olympus, had his ghostly mortal counterpart in Hades. Among the Romans, ancestor worship had a stronger force than in Greece; their feast of the dead was duly celebrated in the latter half of February, when chaplets were laid on their tombs, and fruit, salt, corn soaked in wine, and violets, were the least costly offerings presented to them. The deification of the Emperors was merely a further development of this ancestor worship. The remembrance of the festival of the dead is still kept up in the Roman calendar as the feast of All Souls. The Celts of Brittany preserve still the remembrance of the ancestor worship on this day; they put cakes and sweet meats on the graves, and at night make up the fire and leave the fragments of the supper on the table, for the souls of the dead of the family who will come to visit their home.

The Celts would appear to have had a much more vivid belief in future existence than either the Greeks or the Romans. We may pass over the Druidic doctrine of transmigration; it was doubtless not the popular view of future life. We know as much from some side references in one or two classical writers. So realistic was the Celtic belief in existence after death that money loans were granted on the understanding that they were to be repaid beyond the grave! Valerius Maximus laughs at the Gauls for "lending money which should be paid the creditor in the other world, for they believed that the soul was immortal."

Mela tells us one of the Druidic doctrines that was publicly preached and nationally believed in, namely, that the soul was eternal and that there was another life in the land of shades. "Accordingly," he adds, "they burn and bury along with the dead whatever was once useful to them when alive. Business accounts and debt claims used to be transferred to the next world, and some even willingly cast themselves on the funeral piles of their relatives under the impression that they would live with them hereafter." Diodorus Siculus informs us that at the funeral of their dead some threw letters addressed to their defunct relatives on the funeral pyre, under the belief that the dead would read them. This intense belief in the reality of future existence must have removed the Celtic other-world from the unreal and shadowy Hades of Greece and Rome. What the exact character of this other world was among the Gauls we cannot well say ; but the later legends in France, Wales, and Ireland go to prove that it partook of the nature of an Earthly Paradise, situated in some happy isle of the West. The pseudo-Plutarch introduces a grammarian Demetrius as returned from Britain, and saying "that there are many desert islands scattered round Britain, some of which have the names of being the islands of genii and heroes. The island which lay nearest the desert isles had but few inhabitants, and these were esteemed by the Britons sacred and inviolable. Very soon after his arrival there was great turbulence in the air and portentous storms. The islanders said when these ceased that some one of the superior genii had departed, whose extinction excited the winds and storms. And there was one island where Saturn was kept by Briareus in a deep sleep, attended by many genii as his companions." The poet Claudian evidently records a Gaulish belief in the Island of Souls in the lines :—

> "Est locus extremum pandit quâ Gallia litus,
> Oceani praetentus aquis, ubi fertur Ulixes
> Sanguine libato populum movisse silentem.
> Illic umbrarum tenui stridore volantum
> Felebilis auditur questus. Simulacra coloni
> Pallida defunctasque vident migrare figuras."

Beyond the westernmost point of the Gallic shore, he says, is the place where Ulysses summoned the shades (as Homer has it.) There are heard the tearful cries of fleeting ghosts ; the natives see their pallid forms and ghostly figures moving on to their last

abode. The traditions of Brittany, with true Celtic tenacity, still bear traces of this belief; at the furthest extremity of that district, where Cape Raz juts into the Western Sea, lies the Bay of Souls, where departed spirits sail off across the sea in ghostly ships to the happy isles. Procopius, in the 6th century, enables us to understand what the peasants of Northern Gaul believed in regard to the Happy Isles, and to Britain in particular. He confuses Britain with a fabulous island called Brittia, one half of which is habitable; but the other half, divided off by a wall, is set apart to be the home of ghosts. The fishermen on the continent opposite to Brittia performed the functions of ferrymen for the dead. "At night they perceive the door to be shaken, and they hear a certain indistinct voice summoning them to their work. They proceed to the shore under compulsion of a necessity they cannot understand. Here they perceive vessels—not their own—apparently without passengers. Embarking, they take the oars, and feel as if they had a burden on board in the shape of unseen passengers, which sometimes sinks the boat to within a finger-breadth of the water. They see no one. After rowing for an hour, they reach Brittia, really a mortal journey of over twenty-four hours. Arrived at Brittia, they hear the names of their passengers and their dignities called over and answered; and on the ghosts all landing, they are wafted back to the habitable world."

So far we have discovered among the early Celts an intense conviction in a personal existence in another world, where they "married and gave in marriage," and into which business transactions of this world might be transferred. Its locality was to the west—an island in the land of the setting sun, or possibly a country under the western waves, for the traditions of Brittany, Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland continually insist on the existence of such a land. Buried cities are recorded as existing to the westward of every prominent Celtic cape; that sunken district of Lyonesse which appears in all Brythonic traditions. The very earthly character of the Celtic world of the departed is seen in the surviving remembrances of it still existent, despite all the Church's efforts, in the mythic tales; an Earthly Paradise it truly was. We do not find much in Welsh myth bearing on the matter; it is in Irish and Gaelic tales that we have the material for judging of the character of the Celtic Elysium.

(To be continued.)

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

After spending a few days in Winnipeg, I went westward to Portage-la-Prairie, seventy miles by rail from Winnipeg, and during the journey I was much struck with the difference in the character of the soil within a comparatively short area in this continent of rich land. The surface in the neighbourhood of Winnipeg consists of fine black loam, averaging, where I examined it, from eighteen inches to two feet in thickness. Under this there is a very deep deposit of clay, which, it is said, will yield as good crops, if turned over, as the black soil on the surface. In places this clay is ninety feet in depth. The people of Manitoba do not, therefore, use an extravagant figure of speech when they say that the Red River Valley is capable of producing rich crops for a century without manure. The drawback of the valley, however, to the agriculturist, is its very slight elevation above the river, rendering it subject to floods, and its flatness, which, with such a non-porous soil, renders drainage extremely difficult. On account of these drawbacks, portions of the valley which were settled over thirty years ago, were abandoned, and are now gone out of cultivation. When the river rises above its banks, it necessarily covers a great extent of land, where for miles there is not twelve inches of difference in the level of the surface. But fortunately floods have not been of frequent occurrence, and they are likely to be of even less frequent occurrence in the future than in the past, as the river is gradually deepening its bed, and thereby increasing its capacity to contain within its banks the water of the large territory forming its drainage area.

Westward from Winnipeg, however, the character of the soil changes. At High Bluffs there is what in that country passes for a considerable elevation, and from there westward the soil is rich, porous, and well drained. At Portage-la-Prairie the black soil forming the surface extends commonly to two feet in depth. For all practicable purposes it is as rich as the soil at Winnipeg, and it is much more easily worked. It has enough of sand in it to make it sharp, and not so much as to make it poor. At Win-

nipeg a shower of rain converts the whole surface into a slippery, tenacious, paste, which, when it dries, is baked into a hard crust. At Portage-la-Prairie no such effect follows. A few hours after a shower the land is dry and open as ever, and yet not parched, the clay subsoil forming a reservoir of moisture which continues to feed the crop above.

A few weeks before my visit, Portage-la-Prairie had been visited by a large number of gentlemen connected with the Press, who were shown over the whole country as far as the south end of Lake Manitoba, and while I was in the town one of the leading citizens informed me that these gentlemen had expressed the opinion that the wheat crops they saw between Portage and Lake Manitoba would yield an average of forty-five bushels to the acre.

While I was in Winnipeg I had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Mr J. R. Martin, a member of a firm of barristers in Hamilton, Ontario. From him I received a note introducing me to Mr Nicholas Garland, of Portage-la-Prairie. The history of Mr Garland, which I got from himself, and verified otherwise, is a striking example of the rapidity with which fortunes are occasionally made in the West. In the month of September 1881, Mr Garland, who had for twenty-six years carried on business as a dry goods merchant in Caledonia, near Hamilton, Ontario, visited Manitoba, and formed the opinion that Portage-la-Prairie was a "good thing." He returned to Caledonia, sold his business there, and went again to Portage-la-Prairie in March 1882, where, in course of one day, he invested 69,400 dollars in real estate in and near the town. Between that time and the date of my visit in September of the same year, he had sold portions of his land, realising by the sales upwards of 100,000 dollars, and he still held a number of lots for which he expected to get a long price. I was very fortunate in meeting Mr Garland, for he not only enabled me to obtain a mass of information in the short time at my disposal, but he contributed to the pleasure of my visit by driving me round the town and neighbourhood in his buggy—a vehicle which is much more common in Canada than the gig or dog-cart is at home.

Writing to the *Inverness Courier*, a few days after I visited Portage-la-Prairie, I said—

The people of Portage-la-Prairie are taking a somewhat different method of building up their town and making it prosperous from that pursued by some of their neighbours. What Winnipeg is doing you already know. The methods pursued by others are sometimes of the same kind and sometimes not. Dominion City, for instance, between Emerson and Winnipeg, has obtained a charter as a city, while as yet its whole promise of future greatness consists of a few wooden shanties, a wooden railway depot, and a drinking place, which is dignified with the name of saloon. Dominion City, however, trusts to a fine name and extensive advertising, and I regret to say that too many places in the West with fine sounding names have little else to recommend them. Portage-la-Prairie, however, is endeavouring to lay a substantial foundation for future prosperity. Two years ago it consisted of only two or three houses, now it has a population of between 5000 and 6000. The assessed value of property, as ascertained in February and March 1881, was 800,000 dols., in 1882 it amounted to 7,400,000 dols., and since the present year's assessment was made the place has increased very much. Now, this progress is in its way as striking as that of Winnipeg, and it is certainly at least as healthy. In the first place, no discount has to be made for a floating population, such as accounts for a great part of the increase in size of Winnipeg; and in the second place, no part of the assessed value of the town is based upon the *apparent* value of vacant buildings. The increase of the town is to be accounted for by its natural advantages and the enterprise of its inhabitants. A lumber mill of considerable size is already in full operation, and a paper mill is so near completion that operations will be commenced within a few weeks. Both these establishments belong to a gentleman who came to the West a few years ago to teach a school at a very small salary, and who, as my informant put it, had not then ten dollars to the fore. He is now worth from 50,000 to 100,000 dollars. A large grain elevator is approaching completion, and has already a considerable quantity of wheat stored in it. A grist mill which will turn out 150 barrels of flour a day is nearly ready to begin work—the machinery being all on the ground and most of it in the building, and a biscuit factory has just begun to work. A company has been formed to build and carry on a knitting factory; most of the building material is on the ground, and the building will be proceeded with early next spring. The town forms the starting point of the Portage, Westbourne, and North Western Railway, which already runs as far as the town of Gladstone, and is being rapidly pushed forward. This railway will, when completed, open up one of the richest districts in the North-West, and Portage-la-Prairie is preparing to make itself the centre of the trade of that district. Next year is bound to see a large increase in the population of the town (the paper-mill alone will employ seventy hands to commence with), and yet not only is there no speculative building of dwelling-houses, but no sufficient accommodation has yet been provided for the workmen who must necessarily be employed in the various establishments approaching completion.

One of the largest American Railway Corporations has recognised the growing importance of the town by offering, if a charter can be obtained, to construct and work a railway connecting it directly with Emerson, near the International boundary, and so with the railway system of the United States, in this way avoiding the long detour round by Winnipeg. But such a line would tap the traffic of the Canadian Pacific Line, and the granting of such a charter would be an infringement of the monopoly of the Syndicate building that line. The people of Portage, however, talk of an act of the local Legislature, authorising the construction of the line, the time for vetoing which has expired. This subject is one, however, upon which no one seemed

to be able or willing to give any definite information, even the Speaker of the Manitoba Legislatnre, to whom I spoke on the subject, not knowing how the matter stood. Should such a line be constructed, and it would be an inexpensive one to construct, an immense impetus would be given to the prosperity of Portage-la-Prairie, and it would probably for a time—that is until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Line from Mattawa to Thunder Bay—have the effect of making Portage the resting-place of a large portion of the floating population which now finds its way to Winnipeg.

My stay in Portage was short but enjoyable. When I left my friend Mr Martin, in Winnipeg, I understood him to say that Mr Garland would take me to the top of the *Hill* and show me the country. When I stepped off the railway carriage on to the platform at Portage, I looked about for the Hill, but I saw no land so high as the platform itself, which was about four feet above the level of the rails. After driving all through and round about the town, down to a brick field, walking through the lumber mill, biscuit factory, and the unfinished grist and paper mills, Mr Garland proposed we should go to the top of the Elevator—from 70 to 90 feet high, I would think—to have a look at the country. From this point of vantage on a clear day the south end of Lake Manitoba, forty miles away, can be seen. After a stiff climb up the narrow stairs and many raps (to me) against low-set rafters, we reached the top. To say the prospect was beautiful might be misleading, and yet it had a beauty all its own. There, for forty miles on every side as far as the eye could reach, lay the prairie, its general appearance being that of flatness, and yet with rolling hillocks like a sea suddenly arrested and turned into dry land before its waves had time to subside.

I had now reached the furthest point westwards to which the time I had allowed myself would permit me to go, and after spending a very pleasant and instructive day, I returned to Winnipeg, and from thence to Toronto, doing the whole distance by rail—the time occupied on the journey being from the afternoon of Tuesday to the afternoon of the following Friday, travelling continuously day and night. After a few days spent in Toronto I went to Ottawa, the capital of the Dominion, a comparatively small, and, apart from its political position, unimportant town. While there I made the acquaintance of Mr A. M. Burgess, a young Highlander, who had then, at the age of little more than thirty, and after only a few years service of the Canadian Govern-

ment, and these years principally under the political opponents of the party who had appointed him, attained to the important office of Permanent Secretary of the Interior Department, and who has since then, and while still under 35 years of age, been promoted by his political opponents, if a civil servant of his rank can be said to belong to any political party, to the position of Deputy-Minister of the Interior of the Dominion of Canada, a position of responsibility and power to which so young a public servant was never before appointed in the Dominion.

With Mr Burgess I went through and around the Canadian Houses of Parliament and the public offices connected therewith. The surroundings of the Canadian member of Parliament, while attending to his legislative duties, are comfortable, not to say luxurious; and the situation of the Parliament Buildings is, so far as the natural beauty of the site is concerned, one of the finest in the Dominion. The Legislative Chambers are, however, already too small, and the architect does not seem to have contemplated the growth of the two representative bodies which must necessarily follow upon the settlement and organisation of the enormous territory which Canada has acquired in the North-West.

The Parliament Buildings stand on the top of a hill of moderate size, which is ascended by a gentle slope from the city, but which presents to the River Ottawa, flowing at its foot on the other side, a precipitous front. Here art has been called in to soften Nature's rugged face. The steep rocky face fronting the Ottawa river has been planted with trees and shrubs at every point where a hold could be obtained for their roots, so that while the native grandeur of the site has not been detracted from, its immediate surroundings have been softened and beautified.

While going through the Government Buildings I was introduced to Mr Lowe, of the Department of Agriculture, who had just returned from visiting his farm. It may interest farmers in this snug little Island to know that Mr Lowe's farm—known as "The Lowe Farm"—is situated near the town of Morris, Manitoba, so that when Mr Lowe wished to visit his farm, he had, and will have, until the Canadian Pacific Railway runs from Ottawa to Thunder Bay, to travel a distance of close on two thousand miles, a journey occupying as nearly as may be four days and three nights' continuous travelling. That is if he wishes to travel by

rail. If he chooses to go by the Lakes he may decrease the distance, while he will increase the time. But then Mr Lowe's farm is a somewhat large one, and worth going a pretty long way to see. Its extent is 18,000 acres, or rather more than 28 square miles. In course of my conversation with Mr Lowe, he spoke with justifiable pride of the achievements of his steam travelling plough—a new one. The original inventor had failed in working out his idea, but another had taken it up, and worked it out successfully, and Mr Lowe was one of the first to make use of the perfected invention. The plough travels at the rate of two miles an hour, turns over ten (I think) furrows at a time, and, while passing over the ground, not only turns over and cuts the turf, but sows the seed and harrows and rolls the ground. All this is done in one journey, and thirty acres are treated in this way daily by the one plough. For a farm of the size of the Lowe Farm, one plough, even with this capacity for work, would not go far. If ever Mr Lowe were to plough up his whole farm, even this "Polyglot" plough would take something like two years to do the work, working all the year round, from Monday to Saturday, at the rate of thirty acres a day. Mr Lowe had hitherto, however, cropped only a portion of his land, but the result was so eminently satisfactory that he meant to increase the quantity the following year. In examining the crop of oats which had just been reaped, he found the stalk between 5 ft. 6 in. and 6 ft. high, while the leaf of each stalk, measured by rule, was one and one-sixteenth inch across. There were in many cases fourteen stalks to one seed, and an average of eighty grains on one stalk. This is the sort of crop that the virgin soil of the Red River Valley produces in a good season. The pity is that all seasons are not good.

Before leaving Ottawa, I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr Alexander, then Speaker of the Manitoba Legislature, who was in the Capital on the business of the Province. Mr Alexander was very much interested in the Manitoban Land Question, for Manitoba has a land question already. When the Dominion Government took over the North-West territory, large tracts of land were set apart as Indian Reserves, as Hudson Bay Company's Lands, and as School Lands. Then came the Syndicate who undertook to build the Canadian Pacific

Railway, and they obtained as part of their price a large grant of land on either side of the Railway. Up to this point nobody complained. But then in the wake of the Railway Company came land speculators, singly and in companies, from all parts of the world, who, finding the Dominion Government willing to sell land on easy terms as to money, provided certain conditions as to residence or colonisation were fulfilled, obtained conditional grants of whole sections of the best land in the territory. In this way hundreds of thousands of acres of land were tied up in the hands of strangers whose only interest was to make profit by a re-sale, while the settler who, accepting the invitation of the Government, came to settle on a free homestead, had to move further on, and make his selection where he would find land which had not been given away to speculators in London or Edinburgh. The hardship to the settler was not the only thing, however. Settlers in the neighbourhood of the lands so granted away found the progress of the district retarded, and its ultimate success endangered by the compulsory prevention of settlement, while the Dominion and the Province lost many settlers, who, finding that in Dakota, over the International boundary, land could be had without all this trouble, crossed over, became citizens of the United States, and obtained a homestead without difficulty.

It so happened that one of the instalments of the price payable by the Land and Colonisation Companies for their lands in the North-West, fell due on the day before my arrival in Ottawa, and a large number had failed to pay. The universal desire in Manitoba seemed to be that these Companies should not get a second chance, but that having failed to pay, the forfeiture clause in their contracts should be enforced, and pressure was evidently being brought to bear on the Government with this object. What the result was I cannot say. It would be well, however, for persons on this side, who think of investing in shares of a Canadian Land or Colonisation Company, to ascertain the exact terms of the Company's contract with the Government. Failure to pay an instalment may infer a forfeiture, not only of the land grant, but of all sums already paid. Another frequent stipulation in Government contracts with these companies is that on failure to colonise within five years, the land shall revert to

the Government, and I have little doubt, from the temper in which the people of the North-West have taken up this question, that they will compel the Government to enforce this stipulation rigidly when the times comes, so that the *bona-fide* settler may not be excluded by the mere land speculator. Companies or individuals who have entered into contracts for the purchase of lands from the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, run no such risk of forfeiture, but then they pay a much higher price for their lands—usually at least double the price of Government land.

A day or two spent pleasantly in Montreal, where I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr D. Macmaster, Q.C., M.P. for the County of Glengarry, a rising young member of the Canadian Bar, who, I believe, will ere long take a high position in Canadian politics; of Mr Thomas White, M.P., Editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, a gentleman of considerable ability, of genial manners, and withal a keen politician, who was thrice beaten by majorities of seven, five, and three respectively before he succeeded in winning his present seat; and, last, though by no means least, of Mr Richard White, of the *Montreal Gazette*, brother of the M.P., who did much to make things pleasant for me, and wound up by taking me to see my first Lacrosse match. One person I missed, much to my regret, both on this occasion and when I returned from New York a week later—Mr John Macdonald, Accountant, a native of our Scottish Highlands. After my return I learned that Mr Macdonald had called for me, only to find that I had left for home the previous evening.

From Montreal to New York was a night's journey. In New York I met Mr Duncan Macgregor Crerar, of whom I had heard long before from the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*. With Mr Crerar I soon felt at home, and before I had been with him many hours I looked upon and talked to him as an old friend. A Scotchman, and better still, a Highlander, Mr Crerar, through all the ups and downs of life, has never lost his native simplicity of character and warmth of heart. He made my stay in New York exceedingly pleasant. Of him I say no more than that our friendship did not cease when I left New York, but has been continued until now, and I trust will long continue. Through Mr Crerar I made the acquaintance of Mr John S. Kennedy, banker, New York, one of the Syndicate who undertook the

construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and like several other members of that body, a Scotchman, and a successful one. In Mr Kennedy, Scotchmen in New York find a generous friend, and to those who are willing to help themselves he is always ready to give a helping hand. I had a very interesting conversation with Mr Kennedy, on the subject of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the threatened "tapping" lines in the North-West, in course of which he said that if the Company were relieved of their obligation to construct a Railway along the north shore of Lake Superior, they would at once give up their monopoly in the North-West. Another Scotchman, whom I met in New York, was Mr John H. Strahan, a Scotch lawyer, who, a good many years ago, went to the Empire City, studied American Law, and is now in the front rank of his profession. Before I left New York, Mr Strahan drove me through the Central Park, and round a large part of the outskirts of the city, but New York has become so familiar to readers on this side of the Atlantic, that it is unnecessary to attempt a description of it, or of its magnificent Park.

Another day in Montreal, and a pleasant evening to wind up with in the house of my friend Mr Burns. A journey on the night express to Quebec, and in the morning, five minutes after the tender put us on board, the Allan Mail Liner "Circassian" steamed down the Saint Lawrence. An uneventful voyage of ten days across the Atlantic; a rapid run from Liverpool to Inverness, and I found, when I had leisure to make the calculation, that in my two months' holiday I had travelled over eleven thousand six hundred miles.

Impressions of America! If by impressions you mean opinions, I had no time to form any. I had only time to see, and what I saw I have told.

KENNETH MACDONALD.

FOUR PAGES *extra* are given this month to enable us to present our constituents with a full report of the speeches delivered at the Annual Dinner of the Gaelic Society of Inverness last month without encroaching too far on our usual space.

THE PROPOSED "SCOTTISH HIGHLANDER."

THE following are two of many gratifying letters received from influential gentlemen who take an interest in the present condition of the Highland people :—

5 CLARGES STREET,
LONDON, W., 11th February 1884.

MY DEAR SIR,—In the present highly critical times as concerns Highland views, aims, and aspirations, I am glad to see that one so intimately acquainted with them, and who is held in such favour and confidence by the people, proposes establishing a newspaper specially devoted to their interests. I know no one so well adapted to step to the front, or more deserving of every support in the important matters to be dealt with.

This I say, while with pleasure recognising to the fullest the support—and that a growing one—now given to these matters by several existing newspapers.—Yours faithfully, C. FRASER-MACKINTOSH.

ALEX. MACKENZIE, Esq.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

HEREFORD, 5th February 1884.

DEAR SIR,—I am delighted to hear that a people's paper is likely to appear in Inverness, under the banner of the "Scottish Highlander." I trust that Highlanders generally, throughout Great Britain and the Colonies, shall rally round it, and make it a success. The want of such a paper is felt at home and abroad. Within the last three months numerous representations have been made to me by Highlanders, in Scotland and England, of the necessity of establishing a publication devoted to the wants, requirements, and interests of the Highland people, the columns of which would always be open to them for exposing their grievances, advocating their rights, and demanding redress for oppressive wrongs. A general complaint pervaded these communications, of the partiality of the Northern Press, with one or two honourable exceptions, in discussing questions bearing upon the interests of the people, and in the way Editors treated communications sent them, making it an urgent necessity to establish a people's paper for the people, as the best means by which they could give free expression to their own ideas upon the circumstances by which they are surrounded.

There is no doubt of the truth of these statements. There can be as little doubt of the urgent necessity of a weekly paper being established as early as possible.

My reply to my correspondents was, that I was ready to assist whenever a sufficient number of Highlanders combined to make the matter feasible, and certain of success, and I take this opportunity of appealing to all Highlanders to combine, and subscribe to have a publication of their own, devoted to their interests and their aspirations. The want of it being so much felt, and so widely acknowledged, leads me to think that all real Highlanders have, at least, come to the conclusion that combination amongst themselves is the only way to success, and that shoulder to shoulder is the only mode of attaining the desired end, and of securing the object we all have in view—the amelioration of the condition of the people.—Yours very faithfully,

JOHN MACKAY.

The *Perthshire Constitutional*, the county Conservative paper, in a review of the *Celtic Magazine* for February, says:—"Messrs Mackenzie, we notice, are to start a newspaper, to be called the 'Scottish Highlander.' Few men, if any, are better qualified than the editor to conduct a paper treating of the 'Language, Literature, and Traditions' of his race; and we hope that, whilst vigorously urging the real rights of the crofter, he will, with the common-sense and the patriotism which he possesses, avoid theories which, under specious names, lead to Socialism. If so, we predict a great success to his paper."

The *Christian Leader*, referring to the same subject, says:—"A proposal is being urged upon Mr Alexander Mackenzie, F.S.A. Scot., of Inverness, to undertake the editing and publication of a weekly journal to be called the 'Scottish Highlander;' and we are glad to hear that the scheme is taking practical shape. No man is better qualified than the editor of the *Celtic Magazine* to produce a newspaper thoroughly representative of the Highlands, or more likely to further the interests of the Highland population."

AN AWKWARD MARCH.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JAMES FERGUSON was one of the most distinguished officers under the great Duke of Marlborough, and was remarkable for the readiness with which he could find an expedient, even in the most difficult and adverse circumstances. There is a good example of this faculty of his given in a footnote in the *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*. While the British army were in Flanders, they had a large number of prisoners on their hands, whom it was desirable to get rid of as soon as possible. Accordingly, orders were given to conduct them to a place several miles away from the encampment, but as their number was so great, and as only a very few men could be spared to guard them, considerable hesitancy was experienced before an officer volunteered to command the small party to be sent in charge for fear the prisoners might overpower them. Ferguson, however, then a major, accepted the responsibility; the whole camp turned out to witness the departure of the party, and to see how he would deal with his troublesome charge. Ferguson proved equal to the occasion. He drew up his prisoners in line, and sent a serjeant along behind them, with orders to cut the suspenders of each man's trousers. These garments began to drop, a misfortune which could only be obviated by each prisoner using one hand at least to hold them up. The ingenious Major then put his company in order, gave the command to march, and in this guise set off, amidst the mingled admiration and amusement of the spectators. The expedient proved quite successful. With one or both hands holding up his breeches, no prisoner could do any mischief, and, on the other hand, if he let them go they would get entangled about his ankles, and render him unable to move. Thus the Major got to his destination without the loss of a single prisoner.

H. R. M.

THE LAST SABBATH IN STRATHNAVER BEFORE THE BURNINGS.

By Annie Mackay.

'Twas not the beacon light of war,
Nor yet the "slogan" cry,
That chilled each heart, and blanched each cheek,
In the country of Mackay,
And made them march with weary feet,
As men condemned to die.

Ah! had it been their country's foe
That they were called to brave,
How loudly would the piobrachd sound,
How proud their "bratach" wave;
How joyfully each man would march,
Tho' marching to his grave.

No! 'Twas a cruel, sad behest,
An alien chief's command,
Depriving them of house and home,
Their country and their land;
Dealing a death-blow at their hearts,
Binding the "strong right hand."

Slowly and sadly, down the glen
They took their weary way,
The sun was shining overhead
Upon that sweet spring day,
And earth was throbbing with the life
Of the great glad month of May.

The deer were browsing on the hills,
And looked with wondering eye;
The birds were singing their songs of praise,
The smoke curled to the sky,
And the river added its gentle voice
To nature's melody.

No human voice disturbed the calm,
No answering smile was there,
For men and women walked along,
Mute pictures of despair;
This was the last sad Sabbath they
Would join in praise and prayer.

And men were there whose brows still bore
The trace of many scars,
Who oft their vigils kept with death
Beneath the midnight stars,
Where'er their country needed men,
Brave men to fight her wars.

And grey-haired women tall and strong,
Erect and full of grace,
Meet mothers of a noble clan,
A brave and stalwart race,
And many a maiden young and fair,
With pallid, tear-stained face.

They met upon the river's brink,
By the church so old and grey,
They could not sit within its walls
Upon this sunny day;
The Heavens above would be their dome,
And hear what they would say.

The preacher stood upon a bank,
His face was pale and thin,
And, as he looked upon his flock,
His eyes with tears were dim,
And they awhile forgot their grief,
And fondly looked at him.

His text: "Be faithful unto death,
And I will give to thee
A crown of life that will endure
To all eternity."
And he pleaded God's dear promises,
So rich, so full, so free;

Then said "Ah friends, an evil day
Has come upon our Glen,
Now sheep and deer are held of more
Account than living men;
It is a lawless law that yet
All nations will condemn.

"I would not be a belted knight,
Nor yet a wealthy lord,
Nor would I, for a coronet,
Have said the fatal word
That made a devastation worse
Than famine, fire, or sword.

"The path before each one of us
Is long, and dark, and steep;
I go away a shepherd lone,
Without a flock to keep,
And ye without a shepherd go,
My well beloved sheep.

"But God our Father will not part
With one of us, I know,
Though in the cold wide world our feet
May wander to and fro;
If we like children cling to Him,
With us He'll ever go.

"Farewell my people, fare ye well,
We part to meet no more,
Until we meet before the throne,
On God's eternal shore,
Where parting will not break the heart.
Farewell for ever more."

He sat upon the low green turf,
His head with sorrow bowed;
Men sobbed upon their father's graves,
And women wept aloud,
And there was not a tearless eye
In that heart-stricken crowd.

The tune of "Martyrdom" was sung
By lips with anguish pale,
And as it rose upon the breeze
It swelled into a wail,
And, like a weird death coronach,
It sounded in the vale:

"Beannaicht' gu robh gu siòrruidh buan
Ainm glormhor uasal fein
Lionadh a ghloir gach uile thir
Amen agus Amen,"
And echo lingering on the hills
Gave back the sad refrain.

Methinks there never yet was heard
Such a pathetic cry
As rose from that dear, hallowed spot
Unto the deep blue sky,
'Twas the death wail of a broken clan—
The noble clan Mackay.

And ere another Sabbath came,
The people were no more
Within their Glens, but they were strewn
Like wreck upon the shore,
And the smoke of each burning home ascends
To heaven for ever more.

[The text given and Psalm sung are all as it happened, and in a short time after a crow built her nest in the deserted church.]

THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS—TWELFTH ANNUAL DINNER.

On the evening of the 29th of January, the usual annual dinner of the Gaelic Society was held in the Caledonian Hotel, when about fifty members and their friends sat down to an excellently served dinner, under the presidency of Henry Cockburn Macandrew, Esq., Provost of Inverness. The Chairman was supported right and left by Captain O'Sullivan, Adjutant of the I.A.V.; Councillor Alexander Ross, William Mackay, solicitor; Hugh Rose, solicitor; Robert Grant, of Macdougall and Co's.; Dr F. M. Mackenzie, Dr Ogilvie Grant, Bailie Mackay, and William Morrison, Rector, Dingwall Academy. The Croupiers were Alexander Mackenzie, Editor of the *Celtic Magazine:* and Alexander Macbain, M.A., Rector, Raining's School, Inverness. Among the general company were—Colin Chisholm, Namur Cottage; James Barron, Ness Bank; Duncan Campbell, Ballifeary; Dr D. Sinclair Macdonald, James Cumming, Allanfearn; Councillor W. G. Stuart, Councillor James Macbean, John Davidson, merchant; A. K. Findlater, of Macdonald & Mackintosh; Alexander Mactavish, of Mactavish & Mackintosh; John Macdonald, merchant, Exchange; Fraser Campbell, draper; John Whyte, librarian; William Gunn, draper; James Mackintosh, ironmonger; Alex. Macgregor, solicitor; Duncan Chisholm, coal-merchant; Alex. Ranaldson Macraild, writer; D. Maclennan, commission agent; D. K. Clark, of the *Courier;* Hector R. Mackenzie, Town-Clerk's Office; William Mackenzie, Secretary of the Society; Alex. Ross, of the *Chronicle;* William Cameron, The Castle; Mr Macdonald, do.; F. Mackenzie, Mr Menzies, Blarich, Sutherlandshire; D. Nairne, &c.

Apologies for inability to attend were read by the Secretary from the following:—Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart.; Cluny Macpherson of Cluny, C.B.; John Mackay of Hereford; Mackintosh of Mackintosh, A. R. Mackenzie, yr. of Kintail; John Mackay of Hernesdale; W. M'K. Bannatyne, Bridge of Allan; D. Forbes of Culloden; Thomas O'Hara, Portarlington; Field-Marshal Sir Patrick Grant, F. Macdonald, Druidaig; &c.

The Earl of Dunmore, Chief of the Society, writing from Algiers, said—

Dear Sir,—I beg to express, through you, my regret to the members of our Society at being unable to take the chair at this our annual meeting, but, owing unfortunately to the delicate state of my wife's health, we have been ordered here to Algiers for the winter, and as the distance is very great, it has been a matter of impossibility for me to get over in time to occupy that chair to which I had the honour last year to be appointed. But believe me when I tell you that my heart is with you on this occasion, and, although many hundred miles of ocean roll between us, there is no distance, however great, that cannot be bridged over by that bond of sympathy that unites the hearts of all true Highlanders. And it is thus I would have you think this day; that, although absent in the body, I am with you in the spirit, wishing you every success in your great undertaking; that your efforts may continue to meet with that success they so justly deserve, and that the end will be the bringing about the one thing so dear to all of us—namely, the preservation, in all its purity, of our most beautiful and ancient language, its literature, poetry, music, legends, and traditions—(cheers)—and, more than all, the preservation of that feeling of clanship and brotherhood which should always exist among Highlanders of all classes—high and low, rich and poor—that feeling which has for ages and centuries existed; that feeling which has gone far towards making our beloved country take the high place she does among the nations of the world by reason of her sons being the bravest, staunchest, and most

loyal adherents to their Sovereign and the land that gave them birth. (Cheers.) With regard to the present state of affairs in the Highlands, it would ill become me to make many remarks until after we have the report of the Royal Commission—(hear, hear)—but this I will venture to think—that, had the Gaelic tongue been taught in the high-class schools as a requisite language for those who reside in Gaelic-speaking districts, we should have heard little of discontent, and still less of a Crofters' Commission. Surely it must be more desirable to teach a boy his native tongue than to cram his brain with Greek mythology and a lot of rubbish that can be of little or no use to him in after life. (Applause.) And yet I have often been asked by some people what use is there in knowing Gaelic, or, as they facetiously term it in their painful ignorance, "That defunct barbarian lingo." (Laughter.) But if we are to deplore the non-existence of the Gaelic language amongst some of the landed gentry in the Highlands, what condemnation can be too severe for those men of the educated classes familiar with the language who have taken advantage of it to feed the flame of discontent amongst the ignorant and uneducated by applying the mischievous bellows of agitation? (Laughter.) I say the Gaelic language has never been put to more unworthy and unpatriotic or wicked use than when it was employed, not as a means of tranquilising the poor people by reasoning with them in a spirit of pacification and conciliation in their own tongue, but, on the contrary, in urging them to rebellion and crime. (Cries of "Rubbish.") Who are the most guilty, the preachers or the disciples? Let us hope that the year 1884 may be a happier one for all of us in the Highlands, and that the seeds of discontent may not have taken deep root in the hearts of our people, but that peace, quietness, and plenty may in future take the place of restless discontent and poverty; and that Providence in His goodness may see fit to bestow these blessings on our beloved country is, I am sure, the earnest wish of all of us. (Cheers.) Wishing the Society, in conclusion, every success.—I remain yours truly, DUNMORE, Chief of the Society.

The Chairman, who was warmly received, then proposed "The Queen" in the following interesting terms:—

He said, among the many claims to our loyalty which Queen Victoria possesses, there are two which I have not seen noticed before, and which, it appears to me, may be very appropriately noticed in proposing this toast at a meeting of a Gaelic Society in the Town of Inverness. About thirteen hundred years ago a very remarkable and interesting event happened in this city, which was then the capital of the Pictish kingdom of Albyn. I allude to the visit of St Columba to Brude, the King of the Picts, when the Saint persuaded that monarch to embrace Christianity, and formed with him that friendship which appears to have lasted while they lived. Now I think we have good reason for believing that her Gracious Majesty is of the blood of both the principal actors in that memorable scene. We do not know accurately the pedigree of the Pictish Royal Family, because succession, according to the Pictish law, was through females; the Kings never have the names of their fathers, and they seem to have been succeeded, not by their own sons, but by the sons of sisters, who appear always to have had foreign husbands. We know, however, that, according to their law, there was a regular succession for a very long time. For some time before the establishment of the Scottish Monarchy by Kenneth Macalpine there was a period of great confusion, but we know that Alpine, Kenneth's father, was the son of a Pictish mother, through whom he claimed the throne. From Kenneth the Queen's pedigree is clear. I think, then, we have fair historical probability in the statement that the Queen is of the blood of the ancient Pictish Royalty, and that she is the descendant, as she is the political representative, of the royal race who had their seat at Inverness. (Cheers.) As to the other proposition that she is of the blood of Saint Columba, we know that about 850 Kenneth Macalpine re-established the Columban Church in Scotland, that when so doing he gave the primacy to the Abbey of Dunkeld which he there founded, and that he then removed to Dunkeld the relics of Saint Columba. I

cannot give you the pedigree of the Abbot to whom the government of the Abbacy of Dunkeld and the Primacy of the Scottish Church at this time was given, but we know that the law of succession in the early Celtic Abbacies was that the Abbot was always appointed from the family of the Saint if there was any person of the family qualified. At this time, and for 100 years after, there were Abbots of Saint Columba's family in the Monastery at Iona and in other Monasteries of his foundation, and we may fairly presume that on the primacy of his church Kenneth would have chosen an Abbot of the Saint's family. In the course of time what happened in other Celtic Monasteries happened at Dunkeld. The Abbots abandoned the practice of celibacy, the office became hereditary in their family, and ultimately the Abbots ceased to be priests and lay lords. In the time of Malcolm, the Second Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, was a very powerful man. He married the daughter of Malcolm, and the fruit of the marriage was "the gracious" Duncan, father of Malcolm Canmore, and ancestor of the Queen. (Cheers.) Here again I say that there is fair historical probability that the Queen is of the blood of Saint Columba, and that she is thus a descendant of Niall of the nine hostages who was supreme King of Ireland in the end of the fourth century. This is truly a good and Royal Celtic ancestry, and I now give you the health of Queen Victoria, the descendant of the Royal race who ruled at Inverness, and the representative of the Royal Saint and bard who converted our ancestors. (Loud and continued cheers.)

After similar honours were paid to the Prince and Princess of Wales and the other members of the Royal Family,

Mr William Mackay, solicitor, proposed the "Navy, Army, and Auxiliary Forces." He said—This toast is usually given from the chair, but as our Chairman this evening is a distinguished officer in the citizen army, I have been done the honour of being asked to propose it. (Cheers.) It is with great pleasure I do so, although I feel I am able to do but scant justice to my glorious theme. Fortunately for me, however, the subject is one not requiring words of eloquence to commend it to you, for, no matter where Highlanders meet, they loyally remember the guardians of their native land. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, although in the far off olden time western waves were ploughed by the fleets of the Lords of the Isles and other Island chiefs, we Highlanders cannot as a race boast of any great exploits on the ocean, and we have not to any appreciable extent contributed to the glorious history of the British navy. That history, we must confess, is the special property of the Saxon, who, of all nations, makes the best and bravest sea-soldier. But in this matter we have learned to rejoice in the Saxon's triumphs, and to look back with feelings of pride and pleasure on a long roll of naval victories in which we took little or no part. (Cheers.) In regard to the army we are on a different footing, for our forefathers were naturally men of war, and Highland soldiers have added lustre to British arms in all quarters of the globe. (Applause.) The author of a recent pamphlet has questioned the military ardour of the old Highlander, and he more than insinuates that the "hardy and intrepid race," whom the great Pitt and his successors called forth from our Northern glens, were forced, in press-gang fashion, into the ranks of the British army. It is true that, about the commencement of the present century, Celts as well as Saxons were, under the Army Reserve Act, subject to a kind of conscription for home service, and it may also be true that it occasionally happened in the past, as it sometimes happens now, that a man found himself in possession of the King's shilling who did not want to fight, but it is as absurd as it is contrary to fact to say that the thousands of clansmen who fought Britain's battles from Fontenoy to

Waterloo were impelled by any force stronger than the freedom of their own will. (Applause.) No, gentlemen. It was long ago said of Highlanders that they could be led, but not driven; and we may safely assume that driven Highlanders could no more have swept the slopes of Killiecrankie, or climbed the heights of Abraham, or, as Sir Colin Campbell's thin red line, turned the Russian horse at Balaclava, than could the unwilling wretches who are at this moment goaded on by Egyptian officers to meet the False Prophet of the Soudan. (Hear, hear.) The fact is that, although Highlanders now find it pays better to follow the more peaceful pursuits of life, down to the beginning of this century they were essentially a fighting people. I need not tell you of their own internecine feuds in the olden times, or how, when they could not fight at home, they joined the ranks of Gustavus Adolphus, or of the Kings of France; but I may mention that, on recently going over certain Church records of the seventeenth century, I was simply astonished at the frequent mention therein made of Highland soldiers, who are described as being absent in France and in Germany, and some of them even in Russia. We cannot conceive that these men left their native land perforce, or under any other influence than that of love for war. (Hear.) Permit me, before I sit down, to refer in one word to the proposal now made to do away with the graceful feather bonnet of our Highland soldiers. It is not what may be called an original Highland head-dress. It was worn first by the old Fraser Regiment, and it has since continued the distinguishing head-dress of the Highland regiments, outside the tartan. (Hear, hear.) I would suggest that the Gaelic Society take up this question as they did the question of the tartans. (Cheers.) I trust you will join in resisting the proposal to the utmost—(applause)—and although it does seem hopeless that we shall ever be able to teach the War Authorities the difference between one tartan and another, or between our martial feathers and a policeman's helmet, if we are firm in our present opposition, I am satisfied that our reward will be the same success that three years ago crowned our efforts on behalf of the tartan. (Applause.) But I must conclude, and ask you to drink, with all enthusiasm, to the Navy, Army, and Reserve Forces. (Loud cheers.)

Captain O'Sullivan replied for the Army. He said—I don't think the Gaels have been cured of their warlike propensities yet. (Cheers.) I am sorry to see another of those tailoring changes being attempted by the Government—I refer to the Highland feathered bonnet—and with all due respect to my superior officers, I am of opinion that the War Office have many other more important matters to take up their time with than the turning of a military button or the changing of a regimental head-dress. (Hear.) It was a most serviceable, and, in the end, an inexpensive one. It was sometimes said that Germans and other foreigners laughed at the dress of the British soldier; but on the occasion of a review at Aldershot I remember a German lady exclaiming, on seeing the Scottish regiments approach—"Why not dress the whole of your infantry like that?" And there was no doubt that for a soldier's dress nothing was more perfect on parade than the Highland garb. (Applause.)

Dr Ogilvie Grant, Surgeon to the Naval Reserve, replied for the Navy; and Major Ross I.A.V., replied for the Auxiliary Forces.

At this stage, Mr William Mackenzie, the Secretary, read the annual report, which reviewed the work performed by the Society during last year—work which was of an exceedingly useful character, and eminently calculated to advance the objects for the promotion of which the Society was formed. During the year the Society had initiated a movement to get a Civil List pension conferred on Mrs Mary Mackellar, the Bard of the Society—(cheers)—and had gone thoroughly into the proposal to

acknowledge Professor Blackie's great services to Celtic language and literature—(applause)—two movements which the Society hope to see crowned with success. (Cheers.) It is proposed that the acknowledgment of Professor Blackie's services should take the form of a bust or portrait, with Blackie bursaries, in connection with the Celtic Chair in the University of Edinburgh. (Hear, hear.) There is at present no one receiving a pension from the Civil List for Gaelic literature, and the Society considered that Mrs Mackellar had very high claims. (Applause.) This view had been concurred in by many other societies, who have signed a memorial, promoted by the Inverness Society, to the First Lord of the Treasury. Many influential gentlemen had also, as individuals, signed it, including all the members of the Royal Commission, except Lord Napier. Money for the Blackie testimonial was now in course of being received by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., hon. treasurer to the fund, and by the Secretary of the Society. During the year the membership of the Society had been considerably thinned by death, but the acquisition of fresh members had more than counterbalanced the loss in this way, the number of new members enrolled during the year being 25. Financially the position of the Society was highly satisfactory. The income during the year, including the balance from last year, was £88 18s. 8d., while the money paid out amounted to £59. 11s. 8d., leaving a balance of £29. 7s. to be carried to next account. (Applause.)

The Chairman next proposed "Success to the Gaelic Society" of Inverness, and said—I am sure you have all been gratified to learn, from the report which the Secretary has just read, that this Society is still flourishing. (Cheers.) I regret exceedingly that the chair is not occupied on this occasion by Lord Dunmore, whose presence would have been so acceptable to us all. He is a nobleman whose heart is in the Highlands, and who lives, as much as his wife's health will allow, among and with his people. In wishing success to this Society, there are various aspects of its usefulness which may be referred to and commended. As Lord Dunmore has said, such a Society is of great advantage in preserving the language, the literature, and the traditions of the Gael. I have remarked more than once on previous occasions that unless we can also preserve the Gaelic people we are not doing much. (Loud cheers.) But if we try to preserve the Gaelic people we must try to preserve them with the language, the traditions, and the habits which made them what they are. (Cheers.) I take it broadly that the objects of this Society are to preserve among us all those elements in the life of the past which were good and beautiful. We are inclined to look for a golden age in the past. I may be wrong in so thinking, but I cannot help thinking that there was a great deal that was more beautiful and joyous in the life of the past than in the life of the present—(hear, hear) - and there are two aspects of that life on which I will venture to dwell for a few moments. We are told that the Highland people ought not to continue to exist in any great numbers on their native soil, because they cannot maintain themselves there otherwise than in poverty. Now, I was much struck with a remark which I read lately, and which was to this effect, that inasmuch as the earth does not produce very much more than food enough for all the people on it, the great majority of the people must always be poor. In new countries this evil may be corrected in a town, and so long as the population is sparse; but population is always pressing on the limits of the supply of food, and I fear it will always be the case that the great majority will be poor. One of the great evils of the present day is, I think, that poverty is coming to be looked on as synonymous with misery. Now this is an evil from which, a few generations ago, our ancestors were in a great measure free. (Hear, hear.) And this, I think, was

due to the habits of frugality which certain circumstances have made part of their lives, and to the fact that they were led to value themselves more in other qualities than with reference to what they ate and what they drank, and wherewithal they were clothed. (Hear, hear.) A few generations ago there was in one aspect very much more poverty than there is now; that is to say, articles in the shape of food and clothing, which are now considered necessaries by the poorest, were not then attainable even by the well-to-do, but we look in vain in the contemporary records of our ancestors for any evidence that poverty was then considered as, in any sense, a degradation either by those who endured it or by those above them. (Cheers.) On the contrary, I think we have abundance of evidence that life was then more free from care than it is now, and that among those who had little choice of food—and sometimes but little enough of it—there was much less care for the morrow than there is now. As an illustration of the frugality of our ancestors, I may quote a passage from the ancient Irish laws prescribing the kind of food which foster-parents were bound to give the children entrusted to them to be fostered. "What are their victuals? Porridge is given to them all; but the flavouring which goes into it is different, *i.e.*, salt butter for the sons of the inferior grades, fresh butter for the sons of chieftains, honey for the sons of kings. The food of them all is alike until the end of a year, or of three years, viz., salt butter, and afterwards fresh butter, *i.e.*, to the sons of chieftains, and honey to the sons of kings. Porridge made of oatmeal and buttermilk or water is given to the sons of feini grades, and a bare sufficiency of it merely, and salt butter for flavouring; porridge made in new milk is given to the sons of the chieftain grades, and fresh butter for flavouring, and a full sufficiency is given to them, and barley meal upon it; porridge made in new milk is given to the sons of kings, and wheaten meal upon it, and honey for flavouring." Surely what was good enough for the sons of kings in the grandest period of our race, might be good enough for the sons of peasants now. (Hear, hear.) And if this Society can aid in leading us back to the simple life of our ancestors, it will do much to make life happier, and to do away with the brooding feeling of discontent with their lot among the poor, which is one of the great evils of our time. Another aspect of the life of the past which we have very much lost is its joyousness. (Hear, hear.) We are often told, particularly by the *Scotsman*, that our ancestors were in great misery. No doubt the people who say this believe it, but I think the belief springs from the grossness of their own minds—(hear, hear)—which teaches them to think that because people had only the simplest food, and sometimes not quite enough of it, and lived in bothies, they must have been miserable. In reading such records of the past as we have, however, the impression left on my mind is that life was then a joyous, free, happy life. Take, for instance, that most delightful of books, Mrs Grant's "Letters from the Mountains." Mrs Grant was not brought up in the Highlands, and when she settled at Laggan, she wrote many accounts of her life and of the life of those about her to her friends in the South, and the distinct impression they leave on the mind is that in those days Laggan was a sort of Arcadia. Roups lasted for a fortnight, weddings for three or four days, and if the minister and his wife did not join in the dancing, they were present and encouraged it. I was much struck recently with one expression of Mrs Grant in describing her life. She says—"Haymaking is not merely drying grass; it is preparing a scene of joyous employment and innocent amusement for those whose sports recal to us our gayest and happiest days." (Cheers.) That life among the old Celts was one of much enjoyment we may judge from the following passage in the Irish laws giving the occupations of a king:—"There are now seven occupations in the corus-law of a king—

Sunday for drinking ale, for he is not a lawful chief who does not distribute ale every Sunday—(laughter)—Monday for judgments for the adjustment of the people ; Tuesday for chess ; Wednesday seeing greyhounds coursing ; Thursday, the pleasures of love ; Friday at horse-racing ; Saturday at giving judgments." But since Mrs Grant's time we have had two or three generations of excellent and well-meant clergymen, who have lived in the belief, and preached it, and enforced the practice of it, that all sports and amusements, music and dancing, and all those modes by which the exuberance of healthy animal sports finds expression, are sinful. The result is that they have killed joy out of the lives of the people—(hear, hear)—and I believe this is one great cause of the discontent with their lot which is now so noticeable a feature among the peasantry. (Cheers.) It has even become a burning question, as we see by the papers, whether it is lawful to play shinty. (Laughter.) It appears to me that if the worthy gentlemen who preach against the game would only join their parishioners in playing it, and would encourage this and other similar healthy and innocent amusements, as the more robust clergy of the good old times did, the people would be happier and the grosser vices less common than they are. (Cheers.) Let us hope then that in all its efforts, and especially in its effort to restore the contentment, the simplicity, and the joyousness of the life of the past, this Society may continue to prosper, and let us drink the toast with full bumpers. (Loud cheers.)

Mr John Macdonald, Exchange, proposed the "Members of Parliament for the Highland Counties and Burghs." He said—The toast I have been asked to propose is always well received by the Gaelic Society. If it can be true anywhere, it is true of us, that Whig and Tory all agree in our meetings. And, I think if this is true of Scotland generally, it is most true of the Highlands. There are many things that we might expect Parliament to help us in—education, for instance. Then there is the fishing industry. They might urge the Government to give a grant to aid in the prosecution of this important industry. I think that we might fairly ask them to do some thing for us in this way. I am afraid that it is, perhaps, the case that the services of Members of Parliament are not appreciated and recompensed by the people as they should be. I have lately had the privilege of visiting the House of Commons, and it requires that we should see the order of business there before we can form a full estimate of the work of the Members. (Hear, hear.)

Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., Raining's School, proposed the "Language and Literature of the Gael." He said—Patriots of a generation or two ago used to claim for the Gaelic language an antiquity coeval and even superior to the Hebrew ; but in the present day—these days of science and accurate thinking—we can claim for the Gaelic, on true scientific grounds, antiquity in Europe greater than any of its sister languages, and rank equal to the best of them. (Applause.) It is well ascertained now that of the so-called Aryan race, the Celts were the first to enter Europe, and of these Celts themselves, the Gaelic branch was the first—the pioneer of all the civilisation of the East. (Hear, hear.) Nor must we think that these early Gaels were savages—far from it. They were even a civilised people, having homes and families, houses and domestic animals, knowledge of metals and agriculture. They had, too, a highly organised language—a language that then was superior to Latin in inflectional power, and superior to Greek in flexibility of structure. For the last two thousand years it has not fared so well with our mother tongue. It has been sadly shorn of its inflections in the struggle which the European languages entered on in the middle ages to get rid of all grammar. Nor have we kept up to the old literary forms of our ancestors. The old Gaels must have possessed a vast and important literature. We

see that from the Irish. They preserved much of it from the wreck of time through their monasteries and men of learning and leisure, and valuable MSS. still exist of poems, which, through the ravages of time, have just escaped the epic power and the reputation of Homer. Our language here is, however, more popularised and less learned. We have but scraps of the old literature and the old inflections; we are in consequence more homely and more near the heart both in language and literature, for both are a people's tongue, as opposed to a mere literary instrument. We may console ourselves in this matter by the reflection that the English would have been the same had it not stolen 29,000 Latin words—two-thirds of its vocabulary! Our literature and language are therefore of the people and for the people, and for every individual of it. (Hear, hear.) The extent of our literature in such circumstances is not great, but its depth is great—it is steeped in the feelings of the people; it is composed mostly of songs and elegies and lyrics that gush from a nation's heart, warm and instinct with life. (Applause.) It is, therefore, concrete and personal; laudations of persons living, or some dear one recently dead, are found in the language; these laudations and praises are extended also to natural objects—a hill, a river, or a vale, and their description is entered into with a minuteness and gusto that is quite distinctive of the Gael. No language can express better strong emotion; the passionate outburst of the lover or the pathetic wail of the widowed and distressed. We must not expect in such a literature Matthew Arnold's "Criticism of Life" to enter very much; we do not claim any philosophical or learned height for Gaelic literature. It expresses the feelings, aspirations, and wishes of the people much as Burns' poems do those of the Lowland Scotch, rising at times to heights such as Burns attained in his "Cottar's Saturday Night" or his "Mary in Heaven," equal to him in the love songs, and, I venture to say, superior to him in satiric power. Satire is a special feature of Gaelic literature. The prose literature naturally runs into the groove of conversations, as popular prose compositions must do; but the literature in popular tales is something to boast of. Campbell's collection of Highland tales is the envy of every nation in Europe. They cannot beat us on that point, not even in Germany. (Applause.) I cannot but refer to the recent opening of the Celtic Class in Edinburgh. (Cheers.) We may congratulate ourselves in the choice made, for, judging from the start Professor Mackinnon made in his excellent address, we may have every confidence in his success. That speech, which in pamphlet form makes thirty-six pages, and which travelled over the whole Celtic ground, ethnologically and philologically, is an admirable specimen of accuracy and learning. I do not believe that one error can be pointed out in it—a new thing almost in Scotland for a man to speak an hour on general Celtic subjects, and make no rash assertions. For, if anything, we are too inclined not to study our language, our literature, and our history with that care which modern science insists on, and without which we are laughed at beyond our own borders. We have done all that can be done in a popular way. We must now submit to scientific treatment, and we shall find our language and literature will stand that too. But we are not here in Inverness quite idle in this matter. (Applause.) No man has been busier or more successful than the gentleman with whose name I have the honour to couple this toast, Mr Alexander Mackenzie of the *Celtic Magazine*. (Cheers) Not to speak of the success and excellence of his histories of several of the Highland clans, and of his collections of traditions, the *Celtic Magazine* is itself a monument of his industry and genius. (Applause.) Now in its 100th number, having thus lived longer than any other previous Gaelic or Celtic periodical, or truly Highland paper, it happily augurs the success of his forthcoming paper—"The Scottish Highlander." (Loud cheers.)

Mr Alexander Mackenzie, Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, in reply, said—I need not tell you that I feel very highly honoured in being asked to respond to this important toast; and especially so, proposed as it has been, by a gentleman like Mr Macbain, whose information in the Celtic literary field is very extensive, and who treads very closely, in the matter Celtic scholarship, on the heels of the foremost men of the day. (Hear, hear.) It is gratifying that we should have, in the Highland capital, a man of that stamp. (Applause.) He has the advantage of many men who dabble in this question, in his having an intimate knowledge of the classical languages—Latin, Greek, Sanscrit, and Old Irish, which, I need hardly say, is of immense value in pursuing Celtic studies. I am not going to inflict a speech upon you, but referring shortly to other matters, I may be allowed to say how pleased I am to see you, sir, occupying that chair; and let me say that I never heard you speaking at a gathering of this kind, but I admired the fine Celtic spirit which always pervaded your speeches. (Applause.) At the same time, I may be permitted to say that the Society ought to feel pleased that perhaps the only peer of the realm who can speak the Gaelic language correctly and fluently, holds the position of present chief of the Society.

A Member—Sir Kenneth speaks Gaelic.

Mr Mackenzie—He is not yet a peer, however. (Laughter.)

A Member—Lord Lovat, the Duke of Athole, the Duke of Argyll——

Mr Mackenzie—We will take "him" some other time. (Laughter and applause.) Well, I think it is a good thing to have such a man as the Earl of Dunmore as our chief, and I am quite satisfied that he will not make the same use of his Gaelic as he infers others have been making of their knowledge of it recently in the Highlands—(laughter)—and especially in the Western Isles; but this is a matter to which I need not here further refer. I will not say that I am, in one sense, *very* sorry that we have not his lordship here to-night, because I think we have quite as good a man in the chair as we could possibly wish to have—(hear, hear)—and one who has done more in the Celtic field than most people are aware of. (Applause.) I may tell you in that connection that considerable additions have been made to our store of Celtic literature, even within the last twelve months. A volume of Gaelic poetry has been issued, since our last meeting, by Mr Neil Macleod, a native of Glendale—(cheers)—where we had some good men. Neil's uncle left that famous glen some years ago as a common soldier, and has recently retired, with honours, as Major Macleod of the Royal Artillery. (Applause.) I have no hesitation in saying that Neil Macleod's volume is about the most correct specimen of Gaelic printed in modern times—(hear, hear)—and not only so, but that the volume, notwithstanding the great discussion which is reported to have taken place at a recent meeting of the Celtic Society of Edinburgh—(laughter)—contains sentiments, beautifully and poetically expressed, equal to some of the best poets of a bye-gone age. (Applause.) I had also a very handsome volume of 500 pages sent me only last week from the City of Toronto, the compositions of a bard famous in this country so long ago as 1838 – Evan Maccoll, the "Bard of Loch-Fyne," who was described by Hugh Miller, in the *Inverness Courier* at the time, as "The Moore of Highland Song." (Cheers.) Another poet, who started under very disadvantageous circumstances, from Argyle-shire, some years ago for South Australia has also issued a volume of poems, printed in Australia. It will thus be seen that the field of Celtic literature is expanding; that the labourers in it are increasing at a very rapid rate. (Hear, hear.) I have not included the excellent volume by Mary Mackellar, our own Society Bard, as it was published in the previous year. We shall soon, if I may be permitted to let let you into a dead secret—(laughter)—

have a new addition to Celtic literature in the town of Inverness, my friend who has asked you to drink this toast having a work in the press, which we shall have the honour of presenting to the public at no distant date. (Loud applause.) Another most important addition to our store of Highland literature, which we are expecting soon, and which members of this Society had a hand in preparing, is the forthcoming volumes of the evidence taken before the Crofter Royal Commission—(laughter)—and the report of the Commissioners on the present state of the Highlands. (Laughter and cheers.) I well believe, sir, that this will prove to be the most important addition made to the literature of the Highlands for the last century at least. (Hear, hear.) There is a fallacy existing about Celtic literature even in Inverness, which will by-and-bye be removed. There are more people taking an interest in that subject in the town than the public are aware of. Large numbers now not only read but study it carefully; and they are willing even to pay a good price for the pleasure of perusing contributions on the subject, many of which emanate, though in general anonymously, from members of the Society that I am now addressing. Kindly reference has been made to my own little venture in the Celtic field, the *Celtic Magazine*. (Cheers.) I lay little claim myself to the good which it has admittedly done. Through it I have been able, however, to give many writers, among whom are the leading authorities of the day, an opportunity of expressing their views on Celtic questions. I have been able to present them, as it were, with a focus, and thus we are together able to show the world that there is a Celtic literature and some little ability in our midst. (Applause.) The little craft, you will be glad to hear, is at present in excellent order, and there is not the slightest fear of its usefulness being in any way impaired—(hear, hear)—for it was never so able to weather the storm as at the present moment. (Laughter and applause.) The *Celtic Magazine* is now longer in existence than any Celtic publication ever published in this country, and I can assure you that there is not the slightest fear of any mishap or rocks ahead at present. (Laughter and applause.) I am very much obliged to you for the kind way in which you have responded to the toast of Celtic Literature, as well as for your reception of the name of the *Celtic Magazine* and the looming "Scottish Highlander," which I hope to succeed in making a worthy labourer in a congenial field not very far removed from that of his elder brother. (Loud cheers.)

Councillor Alex. Ross proposed the Agricultural and Commercial Interests of the Highlands, and the toast was acknowledged by Mr Robert Grant of the Royal Tartan Warehouse.

Mr John Whyte, Librarian, proposed Kindred Societies, and mentioned the great advantages to be derived from being associated with Societies such as the Field Club, the Literary Institute, and the Mutual Improvement Society. Many old Inverness boys, who had distinguished themselves in afterlife in their several spheres, had got their early training at similar Societies. The toast was coupled with the name of Mr Findlater, President of the Mutual Improvement Society, who made a very appropriate reply.

Mr Duncan Campbell, of the *Chronicle*, proposed Highland Education; to which Mr Wm. Morrison, Dingwall Academy, who was well received, replied as follows:—

Having adverted to that clause of the constitution of the Society which set forth as one of its aims the vindication of the rights and character of the Scottish Highlander, he proceeded—I think the latter might safely be left to the testimony of individuals who come in contact with the Gael, and to the verdict of history. They were character-

ised by that apostle of culture, Mr Matthew Arnold, in his attempt to account for the presence of so much colour and feeling in English literature not to be found in its purely Saxon origin, as invested by a spirit of idealism—a spirit for ever struggling with the matter-of-fact realities of life, and which he termed a spirit of *Titanism*. That might do well for a theory of the natural history of poetry in Britain, but it will scarcely square with the known facts of history that Highlanders who have had the advantage and aid of the intellectual implements and tools, which it is the birthright of every free-born subject of this realm to have placed in his hands, have shown that they have played no mean part in the extension and consolidation of the mighty fabric of the British empire over all the habitable globe. (Applause.) As for the vindication of their rights, it is the duty, as well as the interest of such a Society as this to defend such rights when assailed. (Hear, hear.) The greater part of our kinsmen, ignorant of the English language, cannot formulate their grievances so as to reach the understandings and touch the hearts of the rest of their fellow-subjects conversant with that language—(hear, hear)—and when they are encouraged by sympathisers, they are reproached as "being put up to it;" so the callous and unfeeling phrase it. Our duty, then, is to see that at least the means of expressing themselves in the English language be put within their reach, and we may be sure they will not require adventitious aid to plead their own cause in clear and forcible terms. (Cheers.) They will plead, then, to use Shakespeare's language—

"Trumpet tongued
Against the deep damnation of their taking-off."

Hence, the sooner this power is given them, the better will it be for all who profess to admire a noble but ill-used race. (Cheers.) The cause of school education in the Highlands at present requires all the enlightened aid and sympathy which this and kindred societies can render it. I refer particularly to the cause of education in purely Gaelic-speaking districts. (Hear, hear.) The point ever contended for by this Society—that of employing Gaelic as the medium of instruction in schools in districts where English is not the tongue known to the people—has recently been held prominently before the public. Mr Mundella—(cheers)—with the frankness of an Englishman, admitted the force of the arguments used by the deputation of gentlemen interested in this question who waited upon him lately in Edinburgh, and what is of more importance, he promised to consider the means to be used to further the object of that deputation. (Applause.) The problem is, doubtless, hedged round with difficulties—not the least of these being the apathy of Gaelic-speaking parents, and what is worse, the opposition of men in power who ought to know better what their duty in this matter should be. After Mr Mundella's admission that he was convinced that knowledge in a foreign tongue can only be acquired through the medium of the one known, we shall hear less of this opposition. So long as Mr Mundella represents the Education Department, so long will effect be given to that conviction. The Minister of Education, backed up by the omnipotent power of the money grant, need fear no opposition to his views. So true is it that force *is* a remedy, *pace* Mr Bright. Pascal, who is believed to have had as keen an insight into human nature as our great financial reformer, uttered no idle words when he said—*La force fait l'opinion.* I never could understand the mental attitude of those who oppose the use of the vernacular in purely Gaelic-speaking districts as an instrument of education. (Hear, hear.) They allege such an instrument to be unnecessary, seeing that English is making its way among the people. I admit the fact, but question whether the process might not be more rapid and more lasting were the language of the people made use of as a medium of

instruction. I refuse to term the process "Education." It is not so etymologically or psychologically. (Hear, hear.) You may charge the memory with meaningless symbols, but that is scarcely "Education." You can educate a man only by taking out whatever is good in him, but how that can be done without getting at the man through the medium of his understanding is a process known only to the opponents of Gaelic in the schools, and of those Rosicrucians whom Hudibras averred—

"Understood the speech of birds
As well as they themselves did words." (Cheers.)

They possibly have an exaggerated idea of the mental equipment of the young Highlander. They surely do not imagine that Highlanders have access to a royal road to knowledge denied to the rest of mankind. If not, why use an argument which, if applied to the acquisition of French and German by an English speaking youth, would be scouted as unworthy of any one outside the bounds of Bedlam. To add anything further would be to throw words away on "a self-convicted absurdity." I shall waste no words in defending an opinion fortified as this one now is by common sense and the "sinews of war." (Applause.) I ever held that the problem of how best to extend education in the remote parts of the Highlands was one that money mainly could solve. I say mainly, for there is an alternative method to which I shall presently refer. To take a concrete case, I shall refer to the Lews as fairly typical of what obtains in other parts of the Gaelic area. Here we have a school-rate which for amount is not equalled by that of any part of the British Dominions, so far as I know. What would be said of a tax of 10s. in the £1, as in the parish of Barvas two years ago, and this year of 6s. 8d.? or even of 5s. 6d., as is the case in the parish of Lochs? The answer would perhaps be much like that of the Lancashire gentleman who exclaimed, when I told him of this monstrous tax, levied on a poor peasantry—"Why don't the people kick?" I reply—"They don't know whom to kick, and they are afraid of making a mistake." (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately, they *are* kicking against the pricks, and, of course, to their own hurt. I am informed that the whole School Board system is viewed by them with hostility as a new form of intolerable oppression. The tax is levied for most with the rent by the estate, and this perhaps accounts for the silent patience with which the burden is borne. I should rather say the sullen patience under which they bear up the load. Or their silence may be owing, however, to that "nice backwardness of shame" to speak against a cause intrinsically worthy of all support. That dreadful load of taxation should, in the name of honour and justice, be lightened. (Hear, hear, and applause.) The other difficulty is that of securing teachers for remote districts with a knowledge of Gaelic. A knowledge of Gaelic is not made an indispensable condition in the appointment of teachers. Permissive legislation has done that. The best class of Gaelic-speaking teachers naturally go where the best salaries are to be got; the worst are dear at any price. (Hear.) I must say that the class of teachers secured by such Boards as that of the Lews, to the best of my knowledge, is one which any district in Britain might be proud of. They have obstacles to surmount before which many men, who plume themselves as their superiors, would quail, and that they successfully meet these obstacles, so far as is possible in the peculiar circumstances of their case, one need only look at the high results tabulated by H.M. Inspectors in their annual reports. How many or how few of these excellent teachers make use of Gaelic in their work I cannot say. Some Boards insist upon the teacher giving Scripture first in Gaelic and the next day in English, with the double view, as it is expressed, of "helping the children to learn and understand both their Bibles and English better." Some teachers, I am informed, allege that this plan does not work well, as the children

needed to begin with Gaelic primers, and required Bibles with Gaelic and English on alternate pages or in alternate columns. I may quote the words of a Lews gentleman, an enlightened and patriotic School Board member, who wrote me the other day on this question. Referring to the difficulty of procuring Bibles such as I have mentioned, he says—"It occurs to me that the difficulty would vanish were Government to concede a grant for Gaelic teaching, and supply means to print suitable bi-lingual extracts of Scripture, polyglot-fashion, with Gaelic and English on opposite and alternate pages." This gentleman goes on to suggest that the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge might be induced to provide this want, seeing they are ready to endow the teaching of Gaelic, when essential, to the amount of £15 or £20 per annum to each such school. "This bonus," he continues, "small though it be, we hope to hold out in future where vacancies demand candidates professing Gaelic among their classical attainments." (Applause.) I suggested that even on present terms, Gaelic-speaking teachers of a more aspiring class than can now be induced to take service under Highland School Boards might be secured if arrangements were made to permit them to attend University classes with a view to graduation, or to pass even to other professions, providing always that trained substitutes were secured for the schools in their absence. My correspondent agrees with me in this view. I am persuaded that were School Boards in purely Gaelic districts to see their way to adopt such a plan, they would have command of the very best class of Gaelic-speaking teachers, even with the moderate salaries given. Such an arrangement would also put heart into many Gaelic-speaking teachers now engaged under these Boards. The hope of rising in their profession with more rapidity than is now possible would make their existence brighter than it can otherwise be, chained as they are to the oar to the end of the voyage of their life. What the existence of "an open career to talent" has done in other professions can do in this profession with the most beneficial results to the public, as well as to the individual immediately concerned who is pushing his way upwards in life. There are prizes in the teaching profession, but the way to them is not so open as it should be. The loss will ultimately fall upon the public that this path should not be cleared of unnecessary obstacles. We speak of the importance of educating our Highland people, and we declaim upon their hard lot, while few voices are raised to suggest practicable means to alleviate their miseries, much less to use effective measures to put into their hands those instruments which an English education alone can give to enable them, not only to hold their own in competition with their more fortunate fellow-subjects, but to give scope to those talents and capacities which, when developed, prove that the Scottish Highlander is often more than a match for any man of his height and weight from any nation under the sun. (Cheers.) Now that Latin is no longer the avenue to the storehouses of wealth in European literature, the advocates for the retention of this noble language in schools, are constrained to find some plausible grounds for such retention. The knowledge of Latin, in and by itself, is not necessary towards the acquisition of English as is commonly held. In fact the spirit of the age is rather against a style of English formed upon a training in Latin. The study of Anglo-Saxon and our English classics is recommended by our best scholars as more conducive to that end than the study of the ancient tongues. The advocates for the continued use in the schools of Latin and Greek are forced therefore to maintain that the logical training acquired in analysing the grammatical structure of those learned languages is worth all the pains bestowed upon them. I am not disposed to cavil at this argument. I admit its force, but I do not see why, if that be the chief reason for so using these time-honoured instruments of culture, the claims of Gaelic, as a language of logical texture and philogical wealth,

should be ignored—(cheers)—especially in districts where it is endeared to the pupils as the language associated with that which is after all the well-spring of all that is highest and noblest in man—the emotions of his soul. (Applause.) As for the destiny of Gaelic as a spoken language, I may venture to express the hope of the Moidart bard, Alexander Macdonald (*"Mac Mhaighistir Alastair"*), in his poem in praise of Gaelic—

"Mhair i fòs,
'S cha téid a glòir air chall,
'Dh 'aindeoin gò
A's mì-rùn mòr nan Gall." (Loud cheers.)

Dr F. M. Mackenzie proposed the "Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Inverness;" replied to by Provost Macandrew.

Mr Colin Chisholm proposed the "Non-Resident Members," numbering, he said, about four hundred, and representing all ranks and conditions of Scotsmen in the Pulpit, in the Army, and in the Navy—in all parts of the world. (Cheers.) The Non-Resident Members were in fact the largest and most important portion of the Society. (Hear, hear.)

Mr Morrison, Dingwall, replied in a humorous and laughable speech.

Councillor Stuart proposed the "Clergy of all Denominations," but there being no clergyman present to reply, that duty was well performed by

Mr Hugh Rose, solicitor, who also proposed the "Press," coupled with Mr D. K. Clark, of the *Inverness Courier*.

Mr Alexander Mactavish proposed the "Chairman," saying that the Society had just spent one of its happiest and best evenings under his presidency. The toast was drunk with full Highland honours and great applause.

Provost Macandrew, in reply, said—I am more than obliged to you for the way in which you have drunk my health. I was born a Highlander. I could speak the Gaelic language once, but I have lost it now. If Providence gives me the life of some of my forbears, I may, however, yet learn to speak it as I did before. (Cheers.)

Bailie Mackay, in proposing the "Croupiers" said—I may be allowed to say that I think the Committee of the Society have made a very good selection in their choice of Croupiers. One of them, Mr Mackenzie, I may call the father of the Society, and the other, Mr Macbain, is a very promising son. (Cheers.)

Mr Alexander Mackenzie replied, and referring to his having occupied the same position for the last two years, stated that at the meeting for the nomination of Office-bearers for next year, held the week before, he refused to be nominated again for the office, it being best, in his opinion, that no one should occupy the highest positions in the Society too long. Mr Macbain also replied.

The evening was enlivened by songs and recitations by Councillor Stuart, Capt. O'Sullivan, Bailie Mackay, William Mackay, Colin Chisholm, Fraser Campbell, and John Whyte.

The Secretary carried out the arrangements for the dinner in a most satisfactory manner, and the meeting was, in every respect, a decided success.

NEW WORK BY PROFESSOR BLACKIE.—Professor Blackie has at present in preparation, and expects to publish in May, a work entitled, "The Scottish Highlanders and the British Land Laws." The present time is peculiarly opportune for the publication of such a work as Professor Blackie may be expected to produce on this subject.

"Celtic and Literary Notes" and other Contributions, including a Notice of "The History of Civilisation in Scotland," by Alexander Mackintosh, are crushed out by the report of the Gaelic Society.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XV.

SIR EWEN CAMERON—*Continued.*

LOCHIEL, after hearing from the King, as described in our last, spent the following winter projecting measures for a Confederation of the Clans, in the interest of James, from whom he received another letter, dated the 29th of March 1689, after his Majesty had arrived in Ireland, requesting him, his friends, and followers, to be ready to take the field, at a place to be appointed, whenever called upon to do so. The King also gave strong assurances of his devotion to the Protestant Religion; stating that he would respect the liberty and property of the subject; that he would re-imburse any outlays to which Lochiel might be put; and send him at the proper time commissions, signed, with power to him to fill them in, and name his own officers. On receipt of the document, he visited all the Chiefs near him, and wrote to those at a distance, seeking their co-operation; and he found them all heartily willing to join in any efforts to restore the King. They subsequently convened, in general meeting, and agreed so well among themselves as to the details of what they were to do, that they arranged to rendezvous on the 13th of May

following at Dalmucomer, near Lochiel's residence, and communicated their resolution to the King, requesting him to send a suitable person to lead them, and promising to hazard, if necessary, life and fortune in his cause. Matters, however, soon took another and unexpected turn.

The Privy Council, unanimous in favour of James, made preparations for war, and expressed their gratitude for the services offered by his friends; but when William of Orange arrived in London the Council hesitated for a time, and ultimately the Convention resolved to offer him the Scottish Crown, though Viscount Dundee, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, and a few others, opposed it with great power and eloquence. What followed is so well known to the student of Scottish history that it shall here be passed over, except where Lochiel comes prominently on the scene. After Viscount Dundee had left the Convention he sent an express to Sir Ewen Cameron for information as to the state of feeling in the North. This communication was at once intimated to the other Chiefs in Lochiel's neighbourhood, and they agreed without delay to dispatch eight hundred men under Macdonald of Keppoch to convey Dundee to Lochaber; but his Lordship meantime made a detour into the Highlands, on the way getting many to agree to join him, immediately they were called upon to serve their King. He received a most favourable communication from Lochiel, for himself and the other Chiefs, informing him of their having sent Keppoch to meet him to the borders of the Highlands. Anxious to meet his friends in the North as soon as possible, Dundee changed his course, and marched for Inverness, where he found Keppoch, who, instead of executing his commission, laid siege to the town, arrested the magistrates and the most wealthy of the citizens, compelling them to pay a heavy ransom before agreeing to set them at liberty. Dundee rebuked him so severely for his bad conduct, that Keppoch retired to his own country, instead of conducting Dundee, in terms of his commission, from the other Chiefs. This proved a bad beginning, for his Lordship had to return to the South, where he found letters awaiting him from the King, and a Commission appointing him Commander of his Majesty's troops in Scotland. He also received letters and commissions for the Highland Chiefs, which he at once dispatched to them. He was

strongly urged, in letters from Lochiel, to visit Lochaber, and he finally decided upon doing so, marching straight through Rannoch. When he arrived he was received by Sir Ewen and his people with every possible honour and consideration, and was furnished with a place of residence about a mile distant from Lochiel's own house. Having received full assurance from the other Chiefs of their readiness to join him at the appointed place of rendezvous, he wrote, intimating all this to the King, who was then in Ireland, praying him to come to Scotland and command them in person, promising that he would have the support of the people generally in regaining the throne of his ancestors.

General Mackay, who commanded for King William, made every effort to induce Lochiel to join him, offering him a large sum of money, the government of Inverlochy, and the command of a regiment, with whatever titles of honour and dignities he might chose, assuring him that these offers were made with William's full authority. Lochiel, in characteristic fashion, handed Mackay's letter unopened to Dundee, requesting that his lordship would be good enough to dictate the proper answer.

Dundee soon found himself at the head of a small following of 1800 horse and foot, "whereof one-half belonged to Lochiel," and with these he marched to meet Colonel Ramsay, one of Mackay's lieutenants, on his way from Athole to join his Chief at Inverness. Hearing of Dundee's advance, he blew up his ammunition, and marched at his best speed, night and day, until he was clear out of the country. In May 1689, Dundee marched back to Lochaber, when Lochiel invited him to his old quarters at Strone, his lordship having dismissed his men for a time in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, but on condition that they would at any time return on a day's notice to join his standard.

While here, Macdonald of the Isles joined him with about seven hundred men, and, being thus strengthened, Dundee proposed, to a Council of War, that they should employ their time until the arrival of the other clans, in disciplining their troops. The younger Chiefs and the Lowland officers highly approved of this proposal, but Lochiel, now an experienced officer, in the sixtieth year of his age, held an opposite opinion, and expressed himself to the Council in the following eloquent and telling

terms :—" That, as from his youth he had been bred among the Highlanders, so he had made many observations upon the natural temper of the people and their method of fighting; and to pretend to alter anything in their old customs, of which they were most tenacious, would entirely ruin them, and make them not better than newly-raised troops ; whereas, he was firmly of opinion that, with their own Chiefs and natural Captains at their head, under the command of such a General as Viscount Dundee, they were equal to a similar number of the best disciplined veteran troops in the kingdom; that they had given repeated proofs of this during the wars and victories of Montrose ; and that in the skirmishes wherein he himself had been engaged, he had invariably the good fortune to rout the enemy, though always superior to him in numbers. Besides, in all his conflicts with Cromwell's troops, he had to do with old soldiers whose courage had been fatal to the King and Kingdom." Having described an instance of the bravery and success of the Macleans against the enemy in a recent skirmish, he proceeded :—" That since his lordship, and, perhaps, few of the low-country gentlemen and officers in the Council never had an opportunity of being present at a Highland engagement, it would not be amiss to give them a general hint of their manner of fighting. It was the same as that of the ancient Gauls, their predecessors, who had made such a great figure in Roman history ; he believed all the ancients had used the broadsword and targe in the same manner as the Highlanders did then, though the Romans and Grecians taught their troops a certain kind of discipline to inure them to obedience. The Scots, in general, had never made such a figure in the field since they gave up these weapons. The Highlanders were the only body of men that retained the old method, excepting in so far as they had of late taken to the gun instead of the bow to introduce them into action ; that so soon as they were led against the enemy, they came up within a few paces of them, and having discharged their pieces in their very breasts, they threw them down and drew their swords ; the attack was so furious that they commonly pierced the enemy's ranks, put them into disorder, and determined the fate of the day in a few moments ; they loved always to be in action ; and they had such confidence in their leaders that even the most daring and desper-

ate attempt would not intimidate them if they had courage enough to lead them on, so that all the miscarriages of the Highlanders were to be charged to some defect of conduct in their officers, and not for want either of resolution or discipline on the part of the men. He further added, that as a body of Highlanders conducted by their own Chiefs were commonly equal to any foot whatever, so when they came to be disciplined in the modern manner, and mixed with regular troops under strange officers, they were not one straw better than their neighbours; and the reason he assigned for this change, was that being turned out of their ordinary method, and not having the honour of their Chief and clan to fight for, they lost their natural courage, when the causes that inspire it were removed. Besides, when by the harsh rules of discipline, and the savage severity of their officers in the execution of them, they came to be reduced to a state of servitude, their spirits sank, and they became mere formal machines, acting by the impulse of fear. However military discipline might do in standing armies, yet, since it was not proposed that theirs was to continue any longer than the then position of affairs rendered it necessary, they had not time to habituate the men to it, so as to make it easy and useful to them; and, therefore, it was his opinion that, in all events, it was better to allow them to follow the old habit in which they were bred, than to begin to teach them a new method which they had not time to acquire." This was the address of a wise and far-seeing General, founded on actual experience; and we are not surprised to learn that "Lochiel's opinion determined the Council; and my Lord Dundee, recollecting all that he had said, declared that as he was certain of victory from men of so much natural courage and ferocity, he would not have made the proposal had he been as well acquainted with them as Lochiel had now made him; and that, as everything he had advanced carried conviction along with it, so, though it had not, yet as there is no argument like matter of fact, he thought himself obliged to take them on the word of one who had so long and so happy an experience;" and so the Highlanders were allowed to continue their ancient tactics.

While waiting for the return of those of his followers who had been permitted to go home for want of provisions, as already stated, and for others who were to be with him by the

date of the appointed rendezvous, a characteristic incident occurred, which, but for Lochiel's prudence, might have terminated the war before it had scarcely began. A party of Camerons resolved to be avenged on the Grants of Glen-Urquhart, who had recently hanged two or three of their men on what was considered a slight provocation given in a trifling quarrel. They were of opinion that neither Lochiel nor Dundee would be very much opposed to their expedition, especially if they succeeded in bringing in supplies for their half-starved followers. They would not, however, run the risk of the Commander's refusal by asking permission to attack the enemy, but marched privately to the Glen, where they found the Grants fully armed ready to oppose them. One of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, who lived in the Glen, thought that his name and the clan to which he belonged was not only sufficient to secure him from personal attack, but that his relationship to his chief was enough to protect the Grants, among whom he resided, from the revenge of the Camerons. Confident of this, he boldly marched up to meet them, and, intimating his name and genealogy, desired that, on his account, they would peaceably depart, without injuring the inhabitants, his neighbours, and friends. It was replied that, "if he was a true Macdonald, he ought to be with his Chief in Dundee's army, in the service of his King and country; that they were at a loss to understand why they should, on his account, extend their friendship to a people who had, but a few days before, seized on several of their men, and hanged them without any other provocation than that they served King James, which was contrary to the laws of war as well as of common humanity; that as they esteemed him, both for the name he bore and the gentleman to whom he belonged, so they desired that he would instantly separate himself and his cattle from the rest of his company, whom they were determined to chastise for their insolence; but Macdonald replied that he would run the same fate with his neighbours; and, daring them to do their worst, he departed in a huff." The Camerons, without further preliminaries, attacked the Grants, killed many of them, and dispersed the remainder. They then seized their cattle, and drove them to Lochaber in triumph. Dundee and Lochiel connived at their conduct, as they expected; but Glengarry became furious about the death of his clansman, who had been slain

among the Grants, and he demanded satisfaction from Lochiel and his clan. Macaulay refers to this episode in the following terms:—"Though this Macdonald had been guilty of a high offence against the Gaelic code of honour and morality, his kinsmen remembered the sacred tie which he had forgotten. Good or bad, he was bone of their bone; he was flesh of their flesh; and he should have been reserved for their justice. The name which he bore, the blood of the Lords of the Isles, should have been his protection. Glengarry in a rage went to Dundee and demanded vengeance on Lochiel and the whole race of Cameron. Dundee replied that the unfortunate gentleman who had fallen was a traitor to the clan as well as the King. Was it ever heard of in war that the person of an enemy, a combatant in arms, was to be held inviolable on account of his name and descent? And, even if wrong had been done, how was it to be redressed. Half the army must slaughter the other half before a finger could be laid on Lochiel. Glengarry went away raving like a madman. Since his complaints were disregarded by those who ought to right them, he would right himself: he would draw out his men, and fall sword in hand on the murderers of his cousin. During some time he would listen to no expostulation. When he was reminded that Lochiel's followers were in number nearly double that of the Glengarry men, 'No matter,' he cried, 'one Macdonald is worth two Camerons.' Had Lochiel been equally irritable and boastful, it is probable that the Highland insurrection would have given little more trouble to the Government, and that all the rebels would have perished obscurely in the wilderness by one another's claymores. But nature had bestowed on him in large measure the qualities of a statesman, though fortune had placed those qualities in an obscure corner of the world. He saw that this was not a time for brawling: his own character for courage had been long established; and his temper was under strict government. The fury of Glengarry, not being inflamed by any fresh provocations, rapidly abated. Indeed, there were some who suspected that he had never been quite so pugnacious as he had affected to be, and that his bluster was meant only to keep up his own dignity in the eyes of his retainers. However this might be, the quarrel was composed; and the two chiefs met with the outward show of civility at the General's table,"* and

* *History of England*, pp. 340-342, Vol. iii., 1855.

the parties were soon as good friends as ever. Macaulay, who adapts the story from "Lochiel's Memoirs," does not tell us that, when Glengarry declared that the courage of his men would make up for the disparagement of numbers between them and the Camerons, "Lochiel laughed at the remark, and said merrily that he hoped a few days would give Glengarry an opportunity of exerting that superiority of valour he boasted of so loudly against the common enemy, and that he would be exceedingly well-pleased to be out-done in the generous emulation" on such an occasion.

Nothing could better illustrate the peculiar character of the material of which Dundee's army was composed than this squabble between two of his bravest and most distinguished leaders. This is how matters stood with the Highlanders about the middle of July 1689. Mackay soon after marched north to Athole, and Dundee, at the head of about 1800 Highlanders, proceeded south to meet him, leaving orders for the others to follow him as quickly as possible, as soon as they could be got together—though the day arranged for the general gathering had not yet arrived. Lochiel, at this time, had only his Lochaber men with him, numbering about 240, but he dispatched his eldest son, John, and several others to Morvern, Suinart, Ardnamurchan, and the surrounding districts to bring up his followers from these places with all speed. Dundee, however, was so anxious to have Lochiel with him that he requested him to join him with the small body of men he had, leaving orders for his son to follow with the others as soon as he could get them together. Lochiel, with his small band overtook Dundee just before he entered Athole, where they were soon joined by 300 Irish, under Major-General Cannon. They then proceeded on their way, and arrived at Blair Castle on the 27th of July, where they obtained intelligence that Mackay had entered the Pass of Killiecrankie. Dundee at once called a Council of War to consider whether they should stop where they were, or proceed to engage the enemy before he could extricate himself from the Pass. It was a serious question, for his main body had not yet come up, the appointed day of rendezvous being still in the future. The old officers, who had been bred to the command of regular troops, were all in favour of waiting, as their force was only about half the number

of the enemy, and the result of the campaign, they urged, might depend upon whether they should win or lose the first battle. The Highlanders, though hardy and brave, these young gentlemen alleged, were only raw and undisciplined troops, who had not seen blood; that they were much fatigued by the want of food, and by their long and rapid march; not having had even the common necessaries of life. Various other reasons were urged for continuing on the defensive where they were for the present, and their arguments were stated with so much plausibility and apparent conclusiveness that they were silently and generally accepted, until Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry spoke out, and declared that though it was quite true that the Highlanders had suffered on the march, as had been so eloquently described, yet these hardships did not affect them as they would soldiers who were bred in an easier and more plentiful mode of life; they would be able and willing to engage the enemy at once, for nothing delighted them more than hardy and adventurous exploits. If they were kept back until attacked by the enemy they would lose that spirit and resolution which invariably characterised them when they were the aggressors. The Highland chiefs generally concurred in Glengarry's remarks, but Dundee, observing that Lochiel had still continued silent, withheld his own opinion until he heard what the experienced Chief of the Camerons had to say on the all-important subject under discussion. "For he has not only done great things himself, but had such great experience, that he cannot miss to make a right judgment of the matter, and, therefore, his views shall determine mine." Lochiel, in reply, depreciated what he himself had done in the past, and modestly urged that no example could be taken from his experience. The reason why he had not spoken during the discussion, was that he had already determined to submit to his lordship in all things, as his conduct was so well adapted to the genius of the Highlanders, but as he commanded him to express his opinion it was in one sentence. "To fight immediately, for our men are in heart; they are so far from being afraid of their enemies, that they are eager and keen to engage them, lest they escape from their hands, as they have so often done. Though we have few men, they are good, and I can assure your Lordship that not one of them will fail you." He strongly urged the propriety of fighting at once, even though he might

only have one man to the enemy's three, and, addressing Dundee, he said—"Be assured, my Lord, that if once we are fairly engaged we will either lose our army or secure a complete victory. Our men love always to be in action. Your Lordship never heard them complain of hunger or fatigue while they were in chase of their enemy, which at all times were equal to us in numbers. Employ them in hasty and desperate enterprises, and you will oblige them; and I have always observed that when I fought under the greatest disadvantage as to numbers, I had still the completest victory. Let us take this occasion to show our zeal and courage in the cause of our King and country, and that we dare attack an army of fanatics and rebels at the odds of nearly two to one. Their great superiority in numbers will give a necessary reputation to our victory; and not only frighten them from meddling with a people conducted by such a General, and animated by such a cause, but will encourage the whole kingdom to declare in our favour." Such a spirited and warlike oration naturally pleased the brave Dundee, whose eyes brightened with a sparkle of satisfaction and delight during its delivery; and he pointed out to the other officers that the sentiments and arguments expressed by Lochiel were those of one who had formed his conclusions and judgment from the infallible test of long experience, and an intimate acquaintance with the people and the subject upon which he had so eloquently addressed them. No further objections were offered to the course urged by the brave Sir Ewen, and it was unanimously agreed that they should fight at once, a resolution received with exclamations of joy by all the Highlanders, to the great gratification of their General. Before the Council of War separated, however, Lochiel begged to be heard once more while he addressed a few words to Dundee himself, which he did in these terms:—"My Lord, I have just now declared, in presence of this honourable company, that I was resolved to give an implicit obedience to all your Lordship's commands; but I humbly beg leave, in name of these gentlemen, to give the word of command for this once. It is the voice of your Council; and their orders are that you do not engage personally. Your Lordship's business is to have an eye on all parts, and issue your commands as you think proper; it is ours to execute them with promptitude and courage. On your Lordship depends not only the fate of this brave little army, but

also of our King and country. If your Lordship deny us this reasonable demand, for my own part, I declare that neither I, nor any that I am concerned in, shall draw a sword on this important occasion, whatever construction may be put upon my conduct." In this appeal Lochiel was supported by the whole Council, but Dundee asked to be heard in reply, addressing them thus:— "Gentlemen, as I am absolutely convinced, and have had repeated proofs of your zeal for the King's service, and of your affection to me, as his General and your friend, so I am fully sensible that my engaging personally this day may be of some loss if I shall chance to be killed; but I beg leave of you, however, to allow me to give one harvest-day to the King, my master, that I may have an opportunity of convincing the brave Clans that I can hazard my life in that service as freely as the meanest of them. Ye know their temper, gentlemen, and if they do not think that I have personal courage enough, they will not esteem me hereafter, nor obey my commands with cheerfulness. Allow me this single favour, and I promise, upon my honour, never again to risk my person while I have the honour of commanding you." Finding him so determined, the Council gave way, and at once broke up to prepare for immediate action.

(To be continued.)

THE ORIGIN OF THREE GAELIC PROVERBS.

THE origin of the many proverbs, of which the Gaelic language furnishes such a store, is often a most interesting and instructive study, affording, as it does, so many glimpses into the character and customs of the ancient Highlander. We venture to present the reader with three little stories which have been the foundations of the same number of Gaelic proverbs.

There lived in Islay a certain farmer, who, at one time, decided to remove to another dwelling. On the day before he intended to flit, he invited some of his neighbours to a farewell gathering. His house was small, and while the feast was proceeding, the guests suffered some inconvenience from overcrowding. Seeing this, their host told his son, a boy about ten years old, to take his meat away to a corner, so as to give the rest more room. In rather reluctantly obeying this order, the boy, acci-

dentally or intentionally, spilt a portion of his victuals upon the floor, and, being rebuked for his carelessness, he replied—"Is iomadh ni a chailleas fear na h-imrich" (Many things are lost by him that removes.) The force of this observation, in his own circumstances, so struck the father that he resolved not to remove after all, and the boy's words have passed into a proverb, which is often applied to those about to make a flitting.

Another common saying is—"Thugadh gach fear eoin a cragaibh dha fein" (Let every man take birds from rocks for himself), and it is said to have originated as follows :—Two men went out one day to catch sea-birds. One of them passed a rope round his body, and the other dropped him down over the edge of the rocks where the birds nested. The man at the top held the rope, and the other crept along the ledges and caught the birds. When he had secured as many as he could carry, he shouted to his companion to pull him up. The other cried out, and asked what was to be his share of the birds. The reply came up in the words of the proverb. "Well, well," said he who held the rope, "let every one hold a rope for himself," and letting go his hold, his companion, with the birds, fell to the foot of the rocks, where he was instantaneously killed.

The well-known Alastair MacCholla Chiotaich, who fought under Montrose, is credited with being the first to utter the proverb—"'S truagh nach bu cheaird gu leir sibh an diúgh" (I wish you were all tinkers to-day.) At the battle of Auldearn, Macdonald was cut off from the rest of his men, and surrounded by a number of the enemy in a small sheep fold. It would have gone hard with him but for a poor tinker from Athole, named Stewart, who, seeing Macdonald's plight, rushed gallantly to his rescue, and used his broadsword to such effect that the enemy fled. Alastair thanked his preserver, asked him who he was, and where he came from. The poor man, ashamed to avow his occupation, replied that he was not worth asking about, nor, indeed, worthy of being called a man at all. Macdonald assured him that what he had done that day would make up for anything else, and after much pressing, Stewart told him his name and occupation ; upon which Macdonald made the observation, which has been handed down to posterity in the words quoted.

H. R. M.

THE DISARMING ACT AND THE PROSCRIPTION OF THE HIGHLAND DRESS.

By J. G. Mackay.

I.

We often hear the question asked, Why have the Highlanders discontinued to wear their own national dress? There are many Cockneys who even yet imagine that in Scotland the people still wear nothing but tartan, speak but a barbarous language which no one can understand, and eat only Scotch haggis, and drink whisky. When, therefore, they invest their brawny limbs in the costume of the clans, and start out to "do the Highlands," imagining themselves the prototype of Roderick Mhic Alpein Duibh, or some such Highland chief, and find themselves the only representatives of the typical Highlander, while every one around them has his limbs encased in the ordinary habiliments of the rest of the world, they think they have made a discovery that the whole thing is a delusion, the mendacious fabrication of some modern London Celt, anxious to get up the name of his country by palming his own fanciful invention on a credulous public as the garb of his race. The dress is, therefore, pronounced a fancy dress, and of modern invention. There are now even many Highlanders who know so little about it that they cannot name the various articles constituting the dress, while there are very few who know the tartan of their own clan, or the cause of the dress being discontinued.

To give an account of the Disarming Act and the proscription of the dress, it is necessary to go back to the time of the rebellion of 1715. The Highlanders played such a prominent part both in that and the previous struggle, and proved such powerful antagonists, that the Government found it necessary to devise some means of reducing them to order.

In 1718 an Act was passed "declaring it unlawful for any person or persons (except such as were therein described) to carry arms within the shires of Dumbarton, Stirling, Perth, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Inverness, Nairn, Cromarty, Argyll, Forfar, Banff, Sutherland, Caithness, Elgin, and Ross;" but that Act not being sufficient to accomplish the ends desired, it was further

enforced by an enactment made in the year 1726, "for the more effectual disarming of the Highlands, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland." This Act of 1726 was only intended to remain in force for seven years, "but the purpose being still unattained," the Government came to the conclusion that more stringent means must be adopted. This impression turned out too true, when, on the landing of Prince Charlie, in 1745, many of the Highlanders again joined the Standard, and the country that was supposed to be completely stripped of its armour, was found bristling with steel, "frae Maiden Kirk tae John o' Groat's." The Highlanders did not see the force of giving up their much-loved weapons, which they expected to be of use to them again. All the serviceable arms were carefully secreted, and the old and useless given up, so that the second rebellion found them as well prepared as the first.

Most readers will be familiar with the history of that unfortunate but brilliant attempt made to reinstate Prince Charlie on the throne of his fathers. Several of the clans took up arms on his behalf, and after a short career of the most extraordinary successes, having penetrated to the very heart of England, they may be said to have shaken the British throne to its very foundations. When by some ill-advised policy they retreated to Scotland, then began their troubles; the good fortune which formerly smiled upon them now forsook them altogether, till on the disastrous field of Culloden their last ray of hope was extinguished for ever. It was now that the poor Highlanders began to realise the penalty they were to undergo for doing what they considered their duty. They were always supporters of the Stuart family, whom they considered to be of their own race, and their chivalrous spirit could not brook the idea of their being defrauded of their just rights. When, on the field of Culloden, the followers of Cumberland found victory on their side for the first time, their Commander gave them unlimited license to murder and pillage. Their feelings having been wrought up to the greatest fury, they determined to have revenge; having suffered defeat so often at the hands of the "half-naked savages," as they termed the Highlanders, now that fortune had turned in their favour, they were determined to appease their blood-thirsty appetites to the uttermost. "This fiendish conduct of the English soldiers," remarks Sir Walter Scott, formed such a contrast to the gentle

conduct of the Highlanders, as to remind him of the Latin proverb, "That the most cruel enemy was a coward who had obtained success." The Duke of Cumberland and his subordinates showed little discrimination in the choice of their victims, bringing their ruthless vengeance to bear on Chief and people alike. Guilty or not, it mattered little, if the unfortunate wretches bore sufficient evidence of Highland origin, or could not plead their own cause in English. But terrible as were these trials, and severe as were the persecutions they had to undergo, these alone would never have broken the independent spirit of the Gael. They were accustomed to war and all its consequences, its successes and reverses, so that Cumberland, with all his bloodhounds at his back, could not have succeeded in bringing them into entire subjection.

Parliament, however, set itself to design means by which to assimilate the Highlands with the rest of the country, and deprive the Highlanders of the power to combine against the Government. It was felt that such a measure must be resorted to as would make it impossible for a repetition of these offences ever to occur again, and certainly they could not have hit upon a more successful course than the one adopted. Under the system of clanship existing in the Highlands in these days, every man was trained to the use of warlike weapons; each clan lived a separate community by itself, bound together by the ties of clanship whose rights they were bound to support, "come weal, come woe." Chief and people being clad alike in their own distinctive tartan, they were able at a glance to know friend from foe, and act with all the advantages of military discipline. "It affords," says Dr Johnson, "a generous and manly pleasure to conceive a little nation gathering its fruits and tending its flocks with fearless confidence, though it is open on every side to invasion; where, in contempt of walls or trenches, every man sleeps securely, with his sword beside him; and where all, on the first approach of hostility, come together at the call to battle, as the summons to a festival show, committing their cattle to the care of those whom age or nature has disabled to engage the enemy with that competition for hazard and glory which operate in men that fight under the eye of those whose dislike or kindness they have always considered as the greatest evil or the greatest good."

The previous Act for disarming the Highlanders not having

been found sufficient, Government was now determined to take most stringent measures, immediate action being necessary from the fact, to quote the words of the Act, "That many persons within the said bounds and shires still continued possessed of arms, and that as a great number of such persons had lately raised and carried on a most audacious rebellion against his Majesty in favour of a Popish Pretender, and in prosecution thereof did, in a most traitorous and hostile manner, march into the southern parts of this kingdom, took possession of several towns, raised contributions upon the country, and committed many other disorders, to the terror and great loss of many of his Majesty's faithful subjects." The Statute 20th, Geo. II., chap. 51, was enacted. It was entitled—"An Act for the more effectual disarming the Highlands in Scotland, and for more effectually securing the peace of said Highlands, and for restraining the use of the Highland dress," etc. This time there was no evading the law; a certain day was appointed on which they were bound to give up all the arms in their possession. It was enacted—

That, from and after the first day of August 1746, it shall be lawful for the respective Lord-Lieutenants of the several shires above recited, and for such other person or persons as his Majesty, his heirs, or successors shall, by his or their sign manual, from time to time, think fit to authorise and appoint in that behalf, to issue or cause to be issued, letters of summons in his Majesty's name . . . commanding and requiring all and every person and persons therein named, or inhabiting within the particular limits therein described, to bring in and deliver up, at a certain day . . . and a certain place . . . all and singular his and their arms and warlike weapons unto such Lord-Lieutenant or other person or persons appointed by his Majesty, his heirs or successors; . . . and if any person or persons in such summons mentioned by name, or inhabiting within the limits therein described, shall, by the oaths of one or more credible witness or witnesses, be convicted of having or bearing any arms or warlike weapons after the day prefixed in such summons . . . every such person or persons so convicted shall forfeit the sum of fifteen pounds sterling, and shall be committed to prison until payment of the said sum; and if any person or persons, convicted as aforesaid, shall refuse or neglect to make payment of the foresaid sum of fifteen pounds sterling, within the space of one calendar month from the date of such conviction, it shall and may be lawful to any one or more of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, or to the Judge Ordinary of the place where such offender or offenders is or are imprisoned, in case he or they shall judge such offender or offenders fit to serve his Majesty as a soldier or soldiers, to cause him or them to be delivered over (as they are hereby empowered or required to do) to such officer or officers belonging to the forces of his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, who shall be appointed from time to time to receive such men to serve as soldiers in any of his Majesty's forces in America; . . . and in case such offender or offenders shall not be judged fit to serve his Majesty as aforesaid, then he or they shall be imprisoned for the space of six calendar months, and also until he or they shall give

sufficient security for his or their good behaviour for the space of two years from the giving thereof.

The Highland ladies had espoused the Jacobite cause so heartily that they came in for a special clause—"If the person convicted shall be a woman, she shall, over and above the foresaid fine and imprisonment till payment, suffer imprisonment for the space of six calendar months, within the Tolbooth of the head burgh of the Shire or Stewartry within which she is convicted." Things had certainly come to a sad pass when the most stringent clause of the whole was reserved for the weaker sex; but the Legislature saw the great power wielded by the Jacobite ladies, many of whom, when their husbands were either too irresolute, or too careful to risk the chance of offending the reigning powers, raised the clansmen, and led them in person to the standard of the Prince. But the harshest clause of all is to follow! It was hard enough to deprive Highlanders of their much-loved weapons—the trusty claidheamh-mor, in which they took such a pride, which had been their constant companion since ever they were able to wield it. In many cases it was a sacred heirloom, handed down from father to son, and its well-tempered blade showed by its numerous notches the many deadly struggles in which it had been engaged. But the Highlander must throw aside his national garb—the very type of his own free, manly spirit, "a dress which had been handed down to him from a period reaching beyond either history or tradition," and confine himself in the contemptible garb of his enemy. So it was further enacted—

That from and after the first day of August 1747, no man or boy within that part of Great Britain called Scotland, other than such as shall be employed as officers and soldiers in his Majesty's forces, shall, on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland clothes—that is to say, the plaid, philabeg, or little kilt, trowse, shoulder belt, or any part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland garb; and that no tartan or party-coloured plaid or stuff shall be used for great coats or for upper coats; and if any such person shall presume, after the said first day of August, to wear or put on the aforesaid garments, or any part of them, every such person so offending, being convicted thereof by the oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses, before any Court of Justiciary, or any other or more Justices of the Peace for the Shire or Stewartry, or Judge Ordinary of the place where such offence shall be committed, shall suffer imprisonment, without bail, during the space of six months, and no longer; and, being convicted for a second offence before a Court of Justiciary or at the Circuits, shall be liable to be transported to any of his Majesty's plantations beyond the seas—there to remain for the space of seven years."

This was a bitter pill to swallow, for, as to the clause forbidding the carrying of arms, the Highlanders could not but see

that the Government was acting according to the dictates of common prudence, but to interfere with a matter so simple and personal as their dress was clearly carrying the thing too far; it seemed as if the Government wished to degrade and insult them to no purpose. They had already paid dearly for their unfortunate allegiance to the fallen cause, and could not see the purport of this silly oppression. "Had the whole race been decimated," remarks General Stewart, "more violent grief, indignation, and shame could not have been excited among them, than by being deprived of their long inherited costume." If we may judge the feelings of the people by the productions of the bards of the day, they were certainly bitter enough. In the song "Hé 'n clo dubh," by Alexander Macdonald, this feeling is very clearly shown. A few of the verses run thus:—

Shaoil leis gun do mhaolaich so
Faobhar nan Gaidheal tapaidh,
Ach's ann a chuir e geur orr'
Ni 's beurra na deud na h-ealltainn.

Dh-fhag e iad lan mi-ruin
Cho ciocrasach ri coin acrach;
Cha chaisg deoch an iotadh,
Ge b' fhion i, ach fior fhuil Shasuinn.

* * * *

Ge d' chuir sibh oirnne buarach,
Thiugh, luaighte, gu'r falbh a bhacadh,
Ruithidh sinn cho luath,
'S na's buaine na feidh a ghlasraidh.

In that excellent book by Professor Blackie, "The Language and Literature of the Scottish Highlands," there is an English translation of some verses of this song. The following afford a good example of its spirit:—

A coward was he not a king who did it,
Banning with statutes the garb of the brave;
But the breast that wears the plaidie,
Ne'er was a home to the heart of a slave.

Let them tear our bleeding bosoms,
Let them drain our latest veins,
In our hearts is Charlie, Charlie!
While a spark of life remains.

Donachadh Bàn sings with equal bitterness when he says—

O tha na briogais liath-ghlas
Am bliadhna cuir mulaid oirnn,
'Se 'n rud nach fhacas riamh oirnn,
'S nach miann leinn a chumail oirnn;

'S na 'm bitheamaid uile dileas
Do 'n righ bha toirt cuireadh dhuinn,
Cha 'n fhaicte sinn gu dilinn
A striochda do 'n chulaidh so.

If this punishment had been confined to the clans that took part in the rebellion, it would not have been so cruel, but friend and foe were treated alike—with equal severity. It was very hard for those clans who remained faithful to the Government, that they should have to suffer this degradation and shame as the reward of their fidelity—not only to lay aside the swords they had used on behalf of the Government, but compelled to carry the brand on their very backs; it looked as if it were more the intention to outrage their feelings as a race than the act of a wise and just administration. "It is impossible to read this Act," says Dr Johnson, "without considering it rather as an ignorant wantonness of power, than the proceeding of a wise and beneficent Legislature." Rob Donn expresses the sentiments of his countrymen when he says in

ORAN NAN CASAGAN DUBHA.

Lamh Dhe leinn a dhaoine
C' uime chaochail sibh fasan,
'S nach 'eil agaibh de shaorsa
Fiu an aodaich a chleachd sibh,
'S i mo bharail mu'n éighe,
Tha 'n aghaidh feileadh a's osan,
Gu'm bheil caraid aig Tearlach,
Ann am Parlamaid Shasuinn.

Faire Faire; 'Righ Deorsa,
'N ann a spors' air do dhilsean,
Deanamh achdachan ura,
Gu bhi dublachadh 'n daorsa,
Ach on 's balaich gun uails' iad,
'S fearr am bualadh no'n caomhnadh,
'S bidh ni's lugh g' ad fheitheamh,
'N uair thig a leithid a ri'sd oirnn.

Ma gheibh do namhaid 's do charaid,
An aon pheanas an Albainn,
'S iad a dh-eirich 'na t-aghaidh
Rinn an roghainn a b' fhearra dhiubh.

Rob Donn's countrymen took up arms on behalf of the Government, both in 1715 and in 1745, and it was certainly galling to be subjected to such treatment as this for their pains.

(To be continued.)

TO THE GAEL.

I'll sing a song to Highlanders, wherever they may be,
A song of love and friendship to my kinsmen o'er the sea,
A thousand joys I wish to all who claim the mountain land,
A thousand times I'd love to shake each honest Highland hand;
Our Caledonia silent sits upon her mountains lone,
Dark mists and tempests wild rage still around her rocky throne,
Her fountains pour their music hoarse, her rivers sweetly sing,
Her heather-bells in beauty still their fragrant blossoms fling.
Come sing a song for Caledon! the home we love so well,
In every distant cot or hall her strains of beauty swell,
Howe'er oppressors crush our race, our hearts are ever true
To Caledonia's lonely glens and rocky mountains blue.

Her wintry blasts sweep loudly o'er her children's lowly graves,
'Mid ruined cots their melody in sorrow's cadence raves,
Her summer winds the thistles kiss, and sigh in sad despair
For stalwart men and bonnie maids who once were dwelling there;
Her glens are green; but, oh, it is the verdure of the tomb!
Cold desolation spreads around its dark and deathly gloom,
The laverock's lilt e'en seems a song of anguish or of pain,
And Caledonia weeps for days that ne'er will come again.
But sing a song for Caledon, &c.

Her waves still leap with joyous pride around her rocky shore,
Or break their swelling, foamy crests in anger's sullen roar
That rolls to heaven, and tells the tale of tyranny and blood,
Which clings to Caledonia's name and cheerless widowhood;
Her sons that dwell around her now no more are tartan clad,
The maidens that adorn her still are songless now and sad.
The love which once imbued their hearts is quenched by Saxon scorn,
And chiefless now they tread her hills forsaken and forlorn.
But sing a song for Caledon, &c.

Denied by landlord strangers harsh, the simple right to live,
In distant lands they seek the joys that willing toil can give,
And tho' afar from hills and glens their love they ne'er forget,
Around each hearth is heard the songs of Caledonia yet;
Then tho' our Fatherland is reft of ancient might and worth,
We aye will show that Highlanders are foremost on the earth.
Our love of home can never die, as Gaels our boast appears,—
Where'er we live we proudly stand as Freedom's pioneers.
Come sing a song for Caledon! the home we love so well,
In every distant cot or hall her dear old music swell,
Howe'er oppressors crush our race, our hearts are ever true
To Caledonia's lonely glens and rocky mountains blue.

Sunderland. WM. ALLAN.

CHARLES FRASER-MACKINTOSH, M.P., F.S.A., Scot.

Biographical Sketches of prominent Highlanders have from time to time appeared in these pages. It will be very generally conceded, whatever differences of opinion may exist on minor matters of detail in his public career hitherto, that the subject of the present sketch is a very prominent Highlander, and that he well deserves a very high, if not the leading place among those who will have left their mark on the history of the Highlands, politically and socially. A notice of his career will be specially interesting at the present juncture, when the labours and the result of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Highlands, in which he has taken such a distinguished part on the side of the people, is placed before the country, and that quite independently of whether the result of the Inquiry is considered satisfactory or the reverse.

Mr Fraser-Mackintosh was born on the 5th of June 1828 at Dochnalurg, on the estate of Dochgarroch. His father, Alexander Fraser, a cadet of the family of Fraser of Kinneries, was born so far back as 1764. His great-grandfather, also named Alexander, lived in 1708 at Achnabodach, now Charleston, on the property of Kinmylies, and is on record as having paid a sum of money to the Town Council of Inverness for the freedom of toll over the old stone bridge, carried away by the flood of 1849, for himself and for his heirs for ever. Two of his sons, having been "out" in 1715, were among the first Highlanders who emigrated to South Carolina; and from them sprung the numerous and wealthy Frazers (for so they spell their surname) who, for the last century and a-half, have held such influential positions in the city of Charleston, and were so prominent in the late Federal and Confederate war in the United States of America.

Alexander Fraser, Dochnalurg, married Marjory, daughter of Captain Alexander Mackintosh, only son of William, only son of Duncan, a Captain in the Mackintosh Regiment of 1715, and third brother of Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum, who commanded the Highlanders in the first Stuart Rising. Among the issue of this marriage was our present subject, Mr Charles Fraser-

Mackintosh, M.P., F.S.A., Scot. His grandfather, Captain Alexander Mackintosh, above named, married his cousin, Janet, eldest daughter of Charles Maclean of Dochgarroch, the head of a family for several generations prominent in the immediate vicinity of Inverness, descended from Sir Charles Maclean of Urquhart, after whom they were styled Clan Tearlaich.

Mr Fraser-Mackintosh received his early education under the private tutorship of the Rev. A. Watson. Later, from 1836 to 1840, he was under the tuition of Mr Forbes, of Dochgarroch School, an eminent classical scholar, who did such justice to his charge that in his eleventh year he gained prizes at a great Highland competiton, held in 1839 in Inverness, for Latin and Greek. After leaving Dochgarroch School Mr Fraser-Mackintosh attended for one year Messrs Gair's Seminary at Torbreck.

It had been first intended that he should seek his fortune abroad, but an elder brother having then recently died in Calcutta, while another was at sea, and his mother having the bones of one uncle and of three brothers resting in foreign lands, it was finally resolved that young Mr Charles should seek his fortune at home, in the legal profession. In 1842, in his fourteenth year, he entered the office of Mr John Mackay, solicitor, Procurator-Fiscal for the county; and in 1844 he was indentured as an apprentice with the late Patrick Grant, Sheriff-Clerk for the county of Inverness, with whom he remained for three years. From 1847 to 1849 he served with the late Mr Charles Stewart of Brin, after which he went to Edinburgh, where he served in the office of a Writer to the Signet, meantime attending the classes of Civil Law, Scots Law, Conveyancing, and Rhetoric, taking an honourable position in nearly all of them. He passed as a Notary Public in May 1853; and in the following month, in the 25th year of his age, was admitted a Procurator at Inverness. He soon made for himself a good position in his profession at the head of an extensive and lucrative practice.

In 1857 he appeared prominently for the first time in public life, acting as one of the agents of Alexander Campbell of Monzie, who in that year unsuccessfully contested the Inverness Burghs as an Advanced Liberal, against Mr (now Sir) Alexander Matheson, the sitting member.

In the same year his uncle, Eneas Mackintosh, formerly an

officer in the Royal Navy, who died in August 1857, by his settlement—proceeding on the narrative that he was the last descendant of Duncan Mackintosh, third son of William Mackintosh of Borlum, and for the keeping up of the family name—requested his nephew, the subject of these remarks, to assume the additional surname of Mackintosh, to whom the Royal license for that end was duly granted.

The same year, he was urged to become a candidate for the Town Council, and he stood for the Third Ward, when he was returned at the top of the poll, very much in consequence of his energetic and warm advocacy of the popular Parliamentary candidate, Mr Campbell of Monzie, in the recent contest; and this position he always maintained until he finally retired from the Council in 1862, where he had invariably supported the advanced popular and reform party, then, and for several years after, in a minority.

In 1859 he again supported the advanced Liberal party in the Burghs in their second attempt to return Mr Campbell of Monzie, on this occasion giving his services as agent gratuitously, and subscribing £100 towards the expenses of the contest.

In 1860 he was elected Captain of the 4th Inverness Company of Rifle Volunteers, and continued in command for the next ten years, when he had to resign in consequence of other pressing engagements.

In 1861 he was associated with Messrs G. G. Mackay, C.E., Donald Davidson, and Hugh Rose, solicitors, in bringing about the most important improvement that was ever made in the town of Inverness—the great Union Street Scheme, which has so largely benefited and beautified the town, and proved so lucrative to the projectors. In 1863 he bought the estate of Drummond in the neighbourhood, which had once belonged to his great-great uncle, Provost Phineas Mackintosh; and in 1864 that of Ballifeary, both now important and populous suburbs of Inverness.

In May 1867 he retired from the legal profession, when he was entertained to a public dinner by his brother townsmen, and from June in that year until July 1868, he travelled all over Europe. On his return home he consented to act, for a limited period, as Commissioner for the late Mackintosh of Mackintosh, but he gave up that position in 1873, when he was entertained to

a public dinner by the tenantry, at which the late Chief and several of the leading farmers and smaller tenants spoke of his estate management in the highest and warmest terms.

In 1873 many electors in Inverness thought that a change from a Whig representative to one who would more distinctly and actively represent the real opinions of the Burghs had become necessary in their political life. About fifty of these met together, and after a consultation among themselves and with Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, it was resolved to test the feeling in the constituency in favour of a change, more decidedly, by a requisition in his favour, he meantime agreeing to contest the next vacancy, should the requisition prove satisfactory. The proposal was found to be most popular, and in a few days a requisition, signed by about six hundred electors, was presented to him, when he at once finally consented to stand as an Independent candidate at the end of the existing Parliament. In the meantime he proceeded to Algiers, where he remained until Parliament was dissolved in 1874. After a keen contest in the four Burghs, he was elected, much to the surprise of the old Whigs, by the substantial majority of 255, and has continued to represent the Burghs with increased activity, usefulness, and popularity, without a contest, ever since. In the first speech which he delivered, as a candidate to represent the Burghs in Parliament, on the 28th of August 1873, he declared—"I claim your suffrages as a Highlander—speaking and familiar with the Gaelic language, and ready to advocate in the highest quarters all the legitimate requirements of the Highland people—many of which have hitherto been entirely neglected, and grievously overlooked and ignored."

Before dealing with his Parliamentary career, and the manner in which he carried out this pledge, it is right to state that he had already made for himself a place and a name in the literature of his country. In 1865 he published his "Antiquarian Notes," a most interesting and valuable addition to the literature of the Highlands, and now so rare that scarcely a copy can be procured second-hand at four or five times its original published price. In 1866 he issued "Dunachton Past and Present;" and in 1875 appeared his "Invernessiana," being "Contributions towards a History of the Town and Parish of Inverness, from 1160 to

1599," illustrated by excellent engravings and lithographs of some of the most interesting buildings and antiquarian relics in or connected with the town. The work is invaluable to all who take any interest in the early history of the Highland Capital, and it is already becoming rare. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh informs us in the preface that he was induced to perform this important service to his countrymen "from a desire to honour Inverness, for," he says—

'I take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof;'

and also from having been favoured with a perusal of many valuable old papers connected with the burgh—in their original language and caligraphy unintelligible to ordinary readers—and which are nearly all unknown to the public, having never before appeared in print." The work occupied his intervals of relaxation during a period of eight years, engaged in other arduous occupations, by which he preserved many valuable literary relics and memorials of Inverness and the North, which would otherwise, in course of time, be for ever lost.

In 1876 he had placed a notice of motion on the Books of the House of Commons in favour of teaching Gaelic in Highland schools, but as he was only able to secure for it a second place, and in consequence of the motion having precedence of it leading to a long debate, he was unable to bring it on. Mainly, however, through his efforts the Education Department in 1877 reluctantly agreed to issue circulars to Highland School Boards containing queries :—(1) As to whether or not the School Boards were disposed to take advantage of Gaelic; (2) whether or not Gaelic teachers could be got; and (3) the number of children that would probably attend these schools. These circulars having been returned in 1877, were printed, and the result was considered highly satisfactory to the advocates of Gaelic teaching in the schools; especially so, as they showed that there would be no difficulty in getting a sufficient number of teachers to teach the language. On the strength of this return, Mr Fraser-Mackintosh set again to work, with the result that in the Code for 1878, Gaelic was recognised to the extent of permitting it to be taught for at least two hours a-week, and might be used as a means of instruction in other branches. Unfortunately, however, the Highland School Boards took no advantage of the concession secured, and, notwithstanding Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's continued

efforts, little actual progress has been made beyond the advancement of public opinion, and, to all appearance, the conversion of the present Minister for Education to common-sense views, on which it is hoped action will soon follow, by having Gaelic placed at least in as good a position as foreign languages. On the 13th of March 1878 he delivered a paper to the Gaelic Society of London, urging the necessity of combination among Highlanders and Celtic Societies to advocate the common interests of the race, which gave an impetus to, if it did not practically originate, the movement which soon after brought about the Federation of Celtic Societies, an Association which, in some important respects, has in the past done good service in the people's cause.

Curiously enough, at a meeting on the same evening, the Gaelic Society of Inverness resolved to recognise in some public manner the services rendered by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh in connection with Highland education, by presenting him with an address and entertaining him to a public dinner in Inverness. This was done on the 24th of April following, when what has been correctly described as a "great Celtic demonstration" took place in the Capital of the Highlands, attended by representatives from nearly all the Celtic Societies in Britain. A meeting took place at noon in the Town Hall, when Provost Simpson, who presided, made an excellent speech, in presenting the address in name of the Celtic Societies, in which, after enumerating Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's services, he said, amidst enthusiastic cheers—"All this shows a growing sense of the importance of the subject you have done so much to promote, which has earned for you the well-deserved and honoured designation of the 'Member for the Highlands.' I trust that the marked success which has attended your efforts in the past will stimulate you to continue the good work—if your true Highland heart needs any stimulus but your inborn love for the good of your native North. I do not think it does; still one enjoys success, and others, seeing yours, will more readily also put their hands to the work."

The Provost then read and handed the following address

To Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, Esq. of Drummond, M.P.

SIR,—We beg to congratulate you on the marked success which has attended your efforts since you entered Parliament to secure for the Gaelic-speaking children of the Highlands the use of, and instruction in, their native tongue in our national schools. You have this session obtained a recognition in the Education Code for Scotland

of the *principle* that the language should be taught in the schools and paid for out of the school rates. This we value as a most important admission by Government of the educational requirements and claims so long contended for by the Gaelic-speaking people of the Highlands; and as a valuable concession that places the teaching of Gaelic in the hands of the School Boards, which is practically to give to the ratepayers the power to enforce the teaching of that language wherever they desire it. We trust that this is only the beginning of what you may yet be able to accomplish, if properly supported by the united efforts of those who take a real and earnest interest in the education of our Highland youth.

You well deserve the honourable designation so happily accorded you—"the Member for the Highlands." On the question which we, as representatives of the Celtic Societies throughout the country, have most at heart—the interests of the Gaelic people—you are undoubtedly entitled to that designation, and so long as you, the only Gaelic-speaking Member in the House of Commons, continue our representative, and act in the interests of the Highland people as you have done hitherto, you will always secure the sympathy and support of every genuine and true-spirited Highlander.

We desire on this occasion to extend to you our hearty sympathy in your valuable advocacy of the Gaelic cause, and to offer you every encouragement in our power to persevere, until Gaelic shall, at least, occupy that place in our educational system which is already accorded to other ancient and modern languages, and until Highland education, as a whole, shall be such as to fit our youth for that position, both in our own and in other lands, which they are entitled to occupy.

We tender you our hearty and sincere thanks for what you have already accomplished for your Highland countrymen, and wish you long life and happiness, and that you may for many years to come be able to discharge the important duties of your position.

These expressions of thanks and continued confidence we now most heartily accord to you, in the name and on behalf of our respective Societies; and we remain, Sir, your obedient and faithful servants,

(Signed) ALEXANDER SIMPSON, Chieftain of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, and Provost of the Burgh.
WILLIAM MACKENZIE, Secretary of the Gaelic Society.
COLIN CHISHOLM and
A. MACKENZIE, for the Gaelic Society of London.
DAVID MACDONALD, for Aberdeen Highland Association.
A. MACPHAIL, Secretary for the Aberdeen Highland Association.
A. MACKENZIE, for the Hebburn Highland Association.
DONALD MACRAILD, Chief of the Greenock Ossianic Club, and Vice-President of the Greenock Highland Association.
JOHN MACPHERSON, for the Edinburgh University Celtic Society.
HENRY WHYTE, for *Commun Gaidhealach Ghlaschu.*
WILLIAM SUTHERLAND, Vice-President of the Glasgow Sutherland Association.
G. J. CAMPBELL, for the Edinburgh Sutherland Association.
D. MACLACHAN, Secretary of the Ardnamurchan, Morven, and Suinart Association.
ALEX. MACKENZIE, for the Glasgow Gael Lodge (Masonic), and for the Glasgow Lewis Association.

Dr Macraild, who represented the Greenock Highland Society, and the Greenock Ossianic Club, gave expression on the occasion, not only to the sentiments of his own constituents, but to those of all present and those they represented, in the following terms:—"I have the honour," he said, "of conveying to you, Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, their deep sentiments of gratitude, affection, and esteem for having exerted and distinguished yourself so signally in their behalf in your political capacity, your zeal for the honour and well-being of their country, and your lofty en-

thusiasm for preserving and cherishing the ancient language which records the exploits of their heroic ancestors and must always remain the social tie of the Highland race. They also congratulate you on the fact that, in the face of difficulties and impediments where success would appear to be most unlikely, you, by your force of genius and tact, stimulated by genuine patriotism, conducted your undertaking step by step to a triumphant success."

Immediately after the presentation of the address, Mr Fraser-Mackintosh presided at a meeting of the Representatives present, at which the "Federation of Celtic Societies" was inaugurated, and in the evening he was entertained to a public dinner by the leading citizens, without distinction of political creed, under the presidency of the Provost of Inverness, who again complimented him upon his valuable services to the whole Highlands of Scotland.

On the 25th of July 1881, a special return was ordered by Parliament, on his motion, of the number of Gaelic-speaking people in Scotland. The Gaelic census of that year itself had not been secured without considerable pressure beforehand, and though the result is not nearly so accurate and full as it would have been had the Government listened to his original application in August 1880, it is very important, and deserves recognition.

While addressing his constituents at Inverness on the 17th of October 1877, he was asked by the writer of these lines if, in the following session, he would move for a Royal Commission to inquire into "The impoverished and wretched condition, and, in some places, the scarcity of men and women in the Highlands; the cause of this state of things; and the most effectual remedy for ameliorating the condition of the Highland crofters generally?" He replied that if such a demand "was strengthened by a general expression of feeling in its favour throughout the country," and "so pave the way for such a motion, he would be glad to make it." The Gaelic Society of Inverness took up the question on the 5th of December following, discussing it at length on that evening, and at their next meeting on the 12th of the same month, when a motion was carried in favour of inquiry. The minute, as printed in the "Transactions of the Society," vol. vii., page 52, has now become interesting, and is as follows:—"Mr Alexander Mackenzie moved—'That the Society petition Parliament for a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the Crofters in the

Highlands and Islands of Scotland, with a view of devising means for its amelioration.' Mr Wm. Mackay moved, as an amendment, —'That in the meantime, and until further information is gathered as to the condition of the crofters, and until the Society is prepared to indicate what steps, if any, ought to be taken, the Society do not petition Parliament.' A vote having been taken, the Chairman, Mr Mackay of Benreay, declared Mr Mackenzie's motion carried by a large majority." This, the first petition on the subject, was duly presented to Parliament by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, and from that day until the prayer of the petition was granted, he did everything in his power to obtain it.

All this time petitions were being sent in from all parts of the Highlands in support of a Royal Commission to inquire into the state of the crofters. A large public meeting was held in Inverness, in December 1880, in favour of the movement, when Mr Fraser-Mackintosh occupied the chair, and made a telling speech in support of such an inquiry. Both in 1881 and 1882 he gave notices of motion on the subject in the House of Commons, but failed to secure a suitable opportunity of formally moving them. He, however, constantly persevered, publicly and privately, to gain the object he had laid out for himself.

He tried, in the House of Commons, to obtain trial by jury for the Braes crofters charged with deforcing the Sheriff-officers sent to remove them ; and, failing in this, he, with Dr Cameron and five other Scottish members of Parliament, on the 9th of May 1882, addressed a powerful protest to the *Times* newspaper, against the conduct of the Crown authorities, in which it is declared that " many persons, who sympathise with the men, and desire that their case shall be fairly heard, openly accuse the Executive of resorting to unworthy means to obtain a conviction," and concluding by saying that the refusal of a trial by jury, " in this particular case, on grounds of public policy, seems particularly regretable, and we beg publicly to protest against it." In that act, it may be said, without the slightest fear of successful contradiction, that he had the full sympathy and approval of the whole people, outside landlord and official circles.

On the 22nd of February 1883, Mr Fraser-Mackintosh got up a memorial to the Home Secretary, in which, referring to what had recently occurred in the Isle of Skye, it is urged "that, under existing circumstances, it is most important that a Royal

Commission of Inquiry into the condition of the crofter and rural population of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland should be granted by the Government without delay." This memorial was signed by twenty-one Scottish Members, Mr Fraser-Mackintosh being the only Highland representative whose name was adhibited, though all the others had an opportunity to sign it. It was sent to the Home Office on the following day, accompanied by a long letter urging, for reasons stated, that a Commission should be granted at once. This expression of opinion had the desired effect, and intimation was given that a Royal Commission would be immediately granted. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh was, as a matter of course, a member of it; and the manner in which he justified that position by his subsequent action, in the interest of the Highland people, is so fresh in the memory of all, that anything like detailed reference here is quite unneccessary. No one knows better than the present writer the great anxiety and difficulty of Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's position, and the endless trouble and inconvenience to which he was put to enable him to get at the facts, from witnesses, most of whom were afraid to tell what they knew; but the time has not yet arrived for stating these difficulties in detail. This much, however, may and ought to be said,—(1) that to him credit is largely due for securing that the stories of the Crofters themselves were so fully brought out, and presented in their simplicity to the Commission; (2) that the effect of hostile questions was generally neutralised by re-examination; and (3) that the carefully prepared rebutting statements of factors and other estate officials, who generally managed to secure the great advantage of having the last word, were, then and there, inquired into, and had their general one-sidedness and inaccuracy exposed.

If no other immediate good should come of the Commission, and of Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's labours, than the mere placing of the evidence taken before the world, the author of it will have made for himself a name in the history of the country, and will, more than ever, deserve his well-earned titles of "The Member for the Highlands," and The Crofter's Friend.

In July 1876 he married Eveline May, only child of Richard D. Holland, of Brooklands, Surrey, and of Kilvean, Inverness, by his late wife, Helen, daughter of John Macgregor, for many years resident in Charter House Square, London. A. M.

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

XII.—Welsh and Gaelic Elysium.

The Welsh Hades was known as Annwn. It possessed kings, chiefs, and commons, somewhat like those of this world, only vastly superior—"the comeliest and best equipped people ever seen." Pwyll, Prince of Dyved (South-west Wales), while one day out hunting, lost his companions in his eager pursuit of a stag. Hearing a cry of hounds near him, he approached, and saw the stag brought down by other dogs than his own. "Then he looked at the colour of the dogs, staying not to look at the stag, and of all the hounds that he had seen in the world, he had never seen any that were like unto these. For their hair was of a brilliant shining white, and their ears were red; and as the whiteness of their bodies shone, so did the redness of their ears glisten." He drove them from the stag, and set on it his own dogs. Immediately there came upon him a man dressed all in grey and mounted on a grey horse, and he reviled Pwyll for his discourtesy in turning off his hounds. Pwyll offered to make reparation, and his offer was accepted. The stranger said that he was Arawn, King of one-half of Annwn, and he was at war with Havgan, the other King. Pwyll, if he liked, could overthrow Havgan, who was to come exactly a year thereafter against Arawn. Would Pwyll change places with him and meet Havgan? He would give him his own personal appearance, and assume Pwyll's, and they could govern each other's kingdoms for a year. This was agreed on. Pywll took the form of Arawn, and came to Annwn. He never saw anything like the beauty of Arawn's city and the appointments of his court, "which of all the courts on earth was the best supplied with food and drink, and vessels of gold and royal jewels." Suffice it to say that he ruled well during the year, and at the end of it slew Havgan, "at the ford," in single combat, and thus made Arawn undisputed master of Hades. Arawn had, meanwhile, conducted the kingdom of Dyved as it never had been before; his wisdom and justice were unsurpassable. And

these two kings made an eternal bond of friendship with each other, and Pywll was called "Chief of Annwn" henceforward.

The dogs of Annwn, mentioned in the above tale, are a common feature in mythology. Ossian, on his way to Tir-nan-og, saw a hornless fawn bounding nimbly along the wave-crests pursued by a white hound with red ears. The Wild Huntsman and his dogs of Teutonic myth belong to the same category; and these dogs of Annwn were similarly said to rush through the air, and evil was the omen. These are, undoubtedly, the wind-dogs of Hermes, the conductor of souls; the Wild Huntsman is none other than Odin, sweeping up the souls of the dead in his path. Annwn, or the Lower Regions, possess, in the myth, the same characteristics as this world; only things are on a grander scale there altogether. The other reference of importance to this Earthly Other-world is in the story of Arthur. Dying on the battle-field of Camlan, he is carried away to heal of his wounds to "the vale of Avilion," which Tennyson, catching the true idea of the Welsh mythic paradise, describes thus: Arthur, dying, speaks to Bedivere;

> "I am going a long way—
> To the island-valley of Avilion;
> Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
> Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard lawns
> And bowery hollows crowned with summer sea."

And here Arthur still lives on, destined one day to appear and set free his Cambrians from the hateful yoke of the Saxon.

The myths in Ireland bearing on the existence of a happy western land are very numerous and important. The names given to this land vary, but they have a general reference to happiness, all save the name Tir-fa-tonn, the "Under-wave Land." The names generally met with are Tir Tairngire, "Land of Promise"; Mag Mell, "Plains of Happiness"; Tir-nam-beo, "Land of the Living"; Tir-nan-og, "Land of the Young"; and O'Breasail, "Breasal's Isle." Whether there is any distinction implied in these names cannot well be said. There would seem to be something of a difference between the Under-wave Land and the Plains of Happiness; the latter may have rather been the abode of the gods, where Manannan lived with Fann his wife, as the myths have it. Tir-fa-tonn looks rather like the

Gaelic Hades, the abode of the dead. The Gaelic version of Diarmat's sojourn there gives strong colour to such a supposition, and the early Middle Age legends in regard to St Patrick's Purgatory below Lough Dearg—the precursors of Dante and Milton's descriptions—lend great countenance to such a distinction between Tir-fa-tonn and Mag Mell.

The myths may be grouped in three divisions. There are, first, the myths where a mortal is summoned, in an enchanting song, by a fairy being who has fallen in love with the mortal, to a land of beauty and happiness and ever-youthful life; second, there are myths which tell how a hero has, Ulysses-like, paid a business visit to the other world; and, thirdly, the accounts of many voyages of discovery in search of the Happy Isles, and the "Traveller's Tales" of the wonders seen. To the first class belong three very remarkable Irish myths: the Courtship of Etain, the Story of Condla Cam, and Ossian in Tir-nan-og The outline of the story is as follows:—There suddenly appears before a kingly company a fairy being who chants, for some particular person in the company loved by the fairy, a song descriptive of the glories and pleasures of the Land of the Ever-young. The person so addressed cannot choose but love the fairy, and go to the wonderful land. In Ossian's case alone have we got an account of the career of the enchanted one in Tir-nan-og. Niam of the Golden Hair suddenly presents herself before the Feni, tells her love for Ossian, and says: "I place you under obligations which no true heroes break through—to come with me on my white steed to Tir-nan-og, the most delightful and renowned country under the sun. Jewels and gold there are in abundance, and honey and wine; the trees bear fruit and blossoms and green leaves all the year round. Feasting and music and harmless pastimes are there each day. You will get a hundred swords, and robes of richest loom; a hundred steeds, and hounds of keenest scent; numberless herds, and sheep with fleeces of gold; a hundred maidens merry and young, sweeter of mouth than the music of birds; a hundred suits of armour, and a sword, gold handled, that never missed a stroke. Decline shall not come on you, nor death, nor decay. These, and much more that passeth all mention, shall be yours and myself as your wife!" Needless is it to recount how Ossian went, the wonders he

saw by the way, and the feats he did; how he found Tir-nan-og all that it was painted by the Princess Niam; how, after three hundred years, he returned to earth on the white steed, from whose back he was forbidden to dismount; how he fell from the steed when helping the poor weakly mortals that he found then on earth to raise a huge stone; and how the steed rushed off and left him, old and withered and blind, "among little men."

Visits of the nature of that undertaken by Ulysses, in Homer, to the Land of Shades, were made by at least three great champions of the Gael. These are Cuchulainn, Cormac Mac Art, and Diarmat O' Duinn. We have already referred to Cuchulainn's helping of Fand, wife of Manannan. The story says that, like a wise man, Cuchulainn, when invited to assist Fand, deserted as she was by her husband, sent his charioteer Loeg to "prospect" and report as to the safety of such a journey. Loeg and his fairy guide "proceeded until they reached the side of the island, when they saw the bronze skiff waiting for them. They then stepped on to the ship and landed on the island." There they found Fand and her father waiting them. Professor Rhys very properly compares this passage to the well-known boat and ferry of Charon in classical mythology. "There can be no mistake," he says, "as to its [the Isle of the Blest] being the Elysium of the dead, and that going into it meant nothing less than death to ordinary mortals; it was only by special favour that a mortal might enter it otherwise." Passing over Cormac Mac Art's visit to Manannan, and rescue from death of his wife and two children, we find a double account of Diarmat's visit to Tir-fa-tonn—one Irish, one Gaelic. The Irish one is in its main features the counterpart of the Welsh Mabinogion, "The Lady of the Fountain." Diarmat fights with the Knight of the Fountain, and in wrestling with him they both fall into the fountain. Diarmat, arriving at the bottom of it, finds himself in a most beautiful territory, where he does many deeds of valour, and helps a distressed prince to a throne. The Highland tale represents him as sheltering a loathly creature that turns out to be a most beautiful lady under spells. She is the danghter of the King of the Land under the Waves. After presenting Diarmat with a fairy castle, and living with him some time, she left him for her own country, a slight quarrel having occurred.

He followed her, crossed on the "Charon" boat, much as already described in Loeg's case, and arrived at an island, where down went the boat to a land under the sea! Here Diarmat found his love, but she was deadly sick, to be cured only by a drink from a magical cup in the possession of the King of Wonderland. This he procured by the help of "the messenger of the other world," who advised him to have nothing to do with the King's silver or gold, or even with the daughter, an advice which Diarmat took, for after healing her, "he took a dislike to her." Diarmat, therefore, was allowed to return from the realms of death.

The "Voyagers' Tales" of Ireland can compare for sensuous imagination very favourably with any other country's "Travellers' Tales." Naturally enough, the tales deal altogether with sea-voyages, generally to some western islands, and they must and do contain many reminiscences of the Happy Isles, where the dead live and the gods reign. Despite the monkish garb they at times assume, for two of the most important are undertaken by monks, the old heathenism peeps out at every turn. Sometimes we hear of a man living in a happy island with the souls of all his descendants as birds giving music around him. Sometimes we get a glimpse of the earthly paradise, where the travellers saw, "a great number of people, beautiful and glorious-looking, wearing rich garments adorned and radiant all over, feasting joyously and drinking from embossed vessels of red gold. The voyagers also heard their cheerful festive songs, and they marvelled greatly, and their hearts were full of gladness at all the happiness they saw and heard. But they did not venture to land." They pass occasionally into the regions of spirits, and are brought into contact with the living and the dead. The wonders they meet with often point a moral, for there are punishments for wickedness. On one island was found a man digging with a spade, the handle of which was on fire, for on earth he was accustomed to dig on Sunday. On another island was found a burly miller feeding his mill with all the perishable things of which people are "so choice and niggardly in this world." Islands of lamentation and islands of laughing are visited; gorgeous palaces and towns, both above and below the waves, are seen, and duly described. The principal voyagers were St Brendan, the sons of Ua Corra and Maelduin.

No argument as to the character or the inhabitants of the

next world can be drawn from the modern names given to it. Flaithemnas or, Gaelic, Flaitheamhnas, meant "glory" in its original sense, being derived from the word "Flaithem," a lord, with the abstract termination—*as*. "Innis," an island, forms no part of the word, so that the old derivation and its consequent theories—"Island of chiefs"—fall to the ground. In the same way do the many weird speculations upon the place of pain, fail. Uffern, in Welsh, and Ifrinn or Iutharn, in Gaelic, are both borrowed from the Latin word, *Infernum*, much to the misfortune of those Druidic theories that make the Celtic hell an "Isle of the Cold Waves." Both Flaitheamhnas and Ifrinn are Christian ideas, and have no counterpart in the Pagan Mythology of the Celts. Our Celtic myths warrant us to speak but of an earthly Paradise, a home of sensuous ease for the departed soul. The glimpses of places of woe in the "Voyagers' Tales" are too much inspired by Christian thought to render speculation upon the Celtic "prison-house" for the soul possible.

What character of body did the spirits of the dead possess, according to the opinions of the Celts? The sensuous paradise argues a material body capable of both physical enjoyments and sorrows. The gods, of course, had bodies somewhat analogous to those of men; these bodies were celestial, but yet quite as substantial as human bodies. The difference was that they were not subject to the trammels of gravitation and visibility, unless they chose. Their persons were more beautiful and majestic than those of men; a "sublimated" humanity characterised them. They appeared among mortals—sometimes all of a sudden in the midst of an assembly; ate, drank, and acted, like mortals, in every respect. Sometimes they were seen only by one person in the company, though heard by all, as in the story of Condla Cam, whom the fairy enchanted and abducted. These are, however, the Pagan gods as seen in Christian myth. Yet we find the ghosts of departed heroes appearing in much the same way as the *Side* and Tuatha-De-Danann. The ghost of Caoilte is met with in one or two myths representing different times—in St Patrick's time and King Mongan's time—and on each occasion he appears in "his habit as he lived," full of life and colour, not pale and shadowy. Besides, these ghosts can appear in the day time, as Caoilte used to do. The great poem of the Tain Bo Chuailgne had been lost by the 6th century and it could be recovered only

by raising its composer, Fergus MacRoy, from the dead. And this the Saints of Erin were able to accomplish. "Fergus himself," we are told, "appeared in a beautiful form, adorned with brown hair, clad in a green cloak, and wearing a collared gold-ribbed shirt, a gold-hilted sword, and sandals of bronze." He was evidently a very substantial apparition! St Patrick was also able, though indirectly, to raise the spirit of the great Cuchulainn himself, to meet King Loegaire. The famous champion appeared to him one morning splendidly dressed, with his chariot, horses, and charioteer, the same as when alive. All is minutely described: the charioteer, for instance, was a "lank, tall, stooped, freckle-faced man. He had curling reddish hair upon his head. He had a circlet of bronze upon his forehead which kept his hair from his face; and cups of gold upon his poll behind, into which his hair coiled; a small winged cape on him, with its buttoning at his elbows; a goad of red gold in his hand, by which he urged his horses."

The substantial ghosts of dead heroes are in the myths generally classed as *Side*, among whom also the gods were classed. This, of course, arose from a confusion. The *Side*, I take it, were the ghosts of the glorious dead dwelling in their barrows or tumuli (the *sid.*) At these barrows, doubtless, they were worshipped in accordance with the customs of ancestor worship. This cannot be proved with satisfaction from the Gaelic myths alone, but if we refer to the belief and rites of the Norse peoples, we shall see plenty evidence of the worship of the dead in their barrows. In the Land nama-bok we read that at one place "there was a harrow ('high place') made there, and sacrifices began to be performed there, for they believed that *they died unto these hills.*" The editors of the lately published work "Corpus Poeticum Boreali" bring forward quite an array of evidence in proof of the sacredness of these "houses" and barrows, and the belief that dead ancestors lived another life there, and took an interest in the living. "Of the spirit life and the behaviour of the dead," they say, "there is some evidence. In the older accounts they are feasting happily, and busying themselves with the good of their living kindred, with whom they are still united in intense sympathy. . . . . Of the ritual names of the worshipped dead, the oldest we know is 'Anse,' which survived in Iceland into the Middle Ages, in the sense of guardian spirit

or genius of a hill. 'Elf' is another name used of spirits of the dead—of divine spirits generally—as the 'Anses' and the 'Elves' of Loka-Senna. Later, in Christian times, it sinks in Scandinavia to mean 'fairy.' . . . . There were *evil spirits*—spirits of bad men—and even vampires and the like, such as the dreadful glam and unhallowed spirits and monsters." We may thus argue that the *Side* or *Aes-side* (compare Anse or Aesir above) were properly the divine ancestors, and that the gods, originally in Pagan times quite distinct from them, were afterwards confused with the "sidè," as we have them in the myths. But a still greater confusion overtook these names and ideas as time and Christianity advanced. The "sidè" got mixed up with the "elves," the earth and wood powers, just as they did among the Norse; and the modern "sith" is a mixture of tumulus-dweller and wood-nymph. The gods have almost entirely left the scene; only the Lares—the Gruagachs and Brownies are left. Of old, among the Pagan-Gael, there were, doubtless, ghosts somewhat analagous to those of present superstitions, but they were clearly those of unhallowed men, as we have seen in the case of the Norse beliefs. The modern ghosts follow the analogy of the dwellers in the Greek Hades, and not of the inhabitants of the Earthly Paradise of the Gaels, that "Land of the Leal" where the sun sinks in the west. They grew up during the Middle Ages under the shadow of the Roman Church.

(To be continued.)

HISTORICAL CHAIRS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—Will you kindly enable me to ask, through the columns of your journal, for descriptive particulars, with engravings, drawings, or photographs of celebrated chairs in family residences of the nobility and gentry; with information, also, of notable chairs in cathedrals, churches, colleges, town-halls, and public institutions at home or abroad. I am preparing an illustrated account of Historical Chairs, from available literary sources, but knowing that there are many interesting ones which have escaped my search, as well as some others in private possession but little known, and wishing to make the proposed work as copious as possible, I thus beg your esteemed assistance on that behalf, with my best thanks for such valuable favour.

Letters to be addressed to

C. B. STRUTT,
34 East Street, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.

HENRY GEORGE AT INVERNESS.

DEAN OF GUILD MACKENZIE, anticipating that his position and remarks, as chairman at Mr Henry George's recent lecture in Inverness, would be misrepresented by interested parties, took the precaution to secure a *verbatim* report of what he said from two professional reporters. In the circumstances, he thinks it best that this report should be placed at the disposal of the readers of the *Celtic Magazine*. Mr Henry George's views are already before the public; and it is to be hoped that the action of the Highland proprietors will be wisely guided in such a direction as will make the adoption by the people of such extreme remedies as he purposes, not only impossible, but quite unnecessary. Introducing the Lecturer, Mr Mackenzie said:—

Gentlemen,—I have been pressed to take the chair. (Cheers.) Highlanders were always celebrated for their hospitality—(applause)—they have always shown the greatest courtesy and civility to strangers coming amongst them. (Applause.) I am satisfied that I need not ask an Inverness audience—the men of the Capital of the Highlands—to extend these characteristics of the race to the gentleman who is about to address us. Mr George is a gentleman who has the distinguished honour of having been highly abused by almost everybody—at any rate, on one side of the house—from the Marquis of Salisbury down to the lowest rag of newspaper in the country. (Applause and hisses.) But abuse is not confined to that side; we have had abuse from very distinguished gentlemen on the other side. (Hear, hear.) I think it may fairly be assumed that when a gentleman—whoever he may be—succeeds in bringing upon himself the abuse of such great men, and such a large number of them, it is unmistakeable proof that he is distinguished, and is doing some good. (Applause.) A man, of whose book, "Progress and Poverty," a quarter of a million has been sold in about a year—a number of any book, I believe, almost unprecedented in Great Britain—(Hear, hear, and cheers)—must be a man worth listening to, whether we agree with him or not. (Cheers.) It is possible that Mr Henry George is an extreme man on one side of the house, and we have gentlemen of extreme opinions on the other side; but here (pointing to himself) is the happy medium for you. (Applause, laughter, and hisses.) I beg to introduce to you Mr Henry George. (Loud cheers, and slight hisses.)

In moving a vote of thanks, the Chairman said—

Gentlemen,—I think that you will all agree that we have just listened to a very powerful and interesting address. (Cheers and hear.) I am quite sure that whatever our opinions may be, we will all admit that the address was interesting, and calculated to lead to thoughtfulness on the question discussed. There are many here who possibly came to be instructed; others, as they thought, to be amused. (Laughter.) Perhaps the lecturer has not converted the whole of us. (Laughter.) [Mr George—I hope you will convert yourselves.] (Cheers.) Mr Mackenzie—But at any rate, ladies and gentlemen—for I am glad to see a few ladies present—(cheers)—I think

you will all admit that you have heard a discussion which is worthy of the consideration—the weighty and careful consideration—not only of every one here but also of every one who has arrived at maturity throughout the whole Highlands of Scotland. (Cheers.) Mr George appears to me to be like some of those pioneers who have preceded great events in the history of this country. (Cheers and interruption.) I have already said, in my opening remarks, that he has secured for himself the abuse of both sides of the house, and of almost every newspaper in the country and, I say again, that the man who has succeeded in doing that must be doing some good—(cheers)—and I must confess that I greatly envy him that position. (Laughter.) I consider that a man who has attained to such a position is, depend upon it, a felt power in the country—(cheers)—and a power which I would strongly urge upon my friends, the Highland lairds, to take very carefully and very seriously into their consideration—(cheers)—because I know that nothing would please men of his calibre—of the earnestness and intellectual power that you have seen displayed this evening—I say that there is nothing in the world men like Mr Henry George would like so much to see as the Highland landlords being stubborn and shutting their eyes to what is going on, until that revolution, which has become inevitable, shall come upon them when they least expect it. If the landlords would only take my advice, which, I fear, they are not at all likely to do—(laughter)—I would strongly advise them to come my length at once, or else the probability is that before many years they will have to go the length of Mr Henry George. (Hear, hear.) Look at what is going on around us. To me it appears as clear as the sun at noonday that there is no question whatever that something will have to be done. (Cheers.) But I hold that it is fair and just that compensation should be given if it be found necessary to take the land in the interest of the whole public. Many of us are of that opinion now, but if the landlords hold out and refuse to make concessions, I have no hesitation in predicting that the great mass of the people will not stop where they now are, but will go over and follow Mr Henry George. (Cheers and hisses.) I would fain hope to get a little of the ear of even the Highland proprietors on this question before the people are carried any further. The atmosphere is being cleared in a great measure. (Cheers.) I have had it dinned into my ears over and over again during the last fortnight that Mr Henry George was advocating the proposal of having the land divided into squares—(laughter) giving a square to this man and that man, but as Mr George himself told you to-night he proposes to do nothing of the kind. That would be an insane proposal—(hear, hear)—and in Mr George's case that false view of his position is only derived from those absurd one-sided newspaper articles, written by people who never read his great book, and which cannot be depended upon, and a class of one-sided reports which no one here has suffered from more than I have done myself—(cheers and laughter)—reports where you only get the bit that tells against you, or what suits the view of newspapers looking at the subject from a different standpoint. They just report what suits them or what makes the speaker appear ridiculous.* Mr Henry George tells you that he does not want to take the land from the landlords. (Oh, and laughter.) What he wants is that the increased revenues produced by your energies in town and country should be directed from the landlords and made the pro-

* When the above statement was spoken it could not be anticipated that it would be so soon and so completely illustrated and confirmed by the one-sided reports which appeared in our local party papers of the political meetings recently held at Stornoway, and the angry correspondence, from the various persons aggrieved, addressed to the respective editors. And yet the public are expected not only to pay for these partisan reports, but also to continue to believe them and those who supply them! The practice is becoming lamentably common amongst us.

perty of the people who produce the wealth of the country. Take as an illustration the neighbourhood of Inverness. The landed estates in the immediate vicinity are improving in value every day, by and through the enterprise of the citizens of Inverness extending the town in every direction. Who should reap the benefit of this increased revenue, those who create it—the people of Inverness—or the proprietors of land in the neighbourhood?—(hear, hear)—asks Mr Henry George. They should not get it he says; it should all go to the reduction of the taxes to the whole of the people of Inverness who have created it—in the form of reduced rates. (Cheers.) This may be right or it may be wrong, but as I apprehend it, this is what Mr Henry George wishes us to understand. (Applause; and indications of assent from Mr George.) And, now, permit me to say, and I think you will admit it, that it requires a great deal of moral courage on my part to stand where I stand to-night. (Hear, hear, cheers, and laughter.) I know that there are many here—prominent citizens, too—who are far more extreme on this question than I am, but who are afraid of their shadows, and dare not give public expression to their opinions. (Laughter and cheers.) This state of matters will continue, unless leaders are backed up by Associations, and by public opinion. I, myself, even had considerable hesitation in taking the chair this evening, but I am now glad that I have done it -(loud cheers)—and I say without hesitation that any man in trade taking this position would almost be certain to be ruined in his business, if landlord influence, and lawyer influence, speaking generally, could do it. (Cheers.) But thank goodness they cannot touch me in my business (Cheers.) I hope that we shall be a little more outspoken in future. As you all know, I am suffering persecution at this moment at the hands of landlord representatives and agents in the Town Council of Inverness, admittedly because of the position I have taken up—because of the stand I have made—in connection with the condition of the Highland people. (Hear, hear.) But let them persecute me till they are black in the face. (Cheers.) The more they try to put me down, the more determinedly and the more strongly I shall speak out on this question, in the interest of my fellow countrymen. (Loud cheers.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join in according a most hearty vote of thanks to Mr Henry George. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

PEER MEN AND THEIR RELATIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—I have just been reading "The Gaelic Etymology of the Languages of Western Europe, etc.," by Dr Charles Mackay, and I find under the word *Hearse* the following:—"The origin is the French *herce*, a harrow, an instrument which in France is made in a triangular form. Hence the name of *herse* or *herche* was given to a triangular frame-work of iron for holding a number of candles at funerals and church ceremonies."

Now, I must claim this *herse*—this "triangular frame-work of iron for holding a number of candles"—as a relation of my "Peer Men." I would greatly like to get more information about this instrument, and if possible to see one, if any be still in existence. I don't know where I am more likely to get the information I want about the *herse* or *herche* than from the readers of the *Celtic Magazine*, so as you have befriended the "Peer Men" before—both Mrs Mary Mackellar's and mine—I am sure, if you have space at all in the *Celtic Magazine* for March you will let this short appeal for "more light" appear.—I am, &c., JAMES LINN.

Geological Survey, Keith, 14th February 1884.

[This letter was crushed out of the March issue.]

THE ENGLISH POETICAL WORKS OF EVAN MACCOLL, Author of "Clarsach nam Beann," with a Biographical Sketch of the Author, by A. MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot. Toronto: Rose & Co. Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart. Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie.

HIGHLANDERS have so long been familiar with the name of Evan MacColl, "the Lochfyne Bard," that it will, no doubt, create surprise in the minds of many readers to be informed that this is a complete collection of his English poems, issued under the imprimatur and the careful revision of the veteran poet himself, who still, in his seventy-sixth year, we are pleased to say, enjoys the "gloaming of life" in happy content in the bosom of his family in the great Dominion of Canada. It is interesting to note that Mr MacColl is the only member now living of that galaxy of Gaelic poets whose productions found a place in John Mackenzie's great and excellent collection of Gaelic poetry, "Sar Obair nam Bard Gaidhealach." The compiler of that work very highly appreciated the poetic gifts of our author, and, speaking of his compositions, pays him the following high tribute, to which we subscribe our hearty amen :—

"MacColl ranks very high as a poet. His English pieces, which are out of our way, possess great merit. His Gaelic productions are chiefly amorous, and indicate a mind of the most tender sensibilities and refined taste. The three poems annexed to this notice are of a very superior order; one of them comes under that denomination of poetry called *pastoral* or *descriptive*, and evinces powers of delineation, a felicity of conception, and a freshness of ideality not equalled in modern times. The second is an elegiac piece, before whose silver, mellifluent tones we melt away, and are glad to enjoy the luxury of tears with the weeping Muse. The love ditty is a natural gush of youthful affection, better calculated to show us the aspirations of the heart than the most elaborate productions of art. MacColl imitates no poet, he has found enough in Nature to instruct him—he moves majestically in a hitherto untraversed path; and, if we are not continually in rapture with him, we never tire—never think long in his company. But we are reminded that praise bestowed on a living author subjects us to the imputation of flattery—long may it be ere Evan MacColl is the subject of any posthumous meed of laudation from us!"

The panegyrist in this extract dismisses the English pieces as being "out of his way," but in the work before us now it is the English productions of Mr MacColl alone that are in our way, and we could scarcely express our opinion of them in more appropriate terms than the talented and tasteful editor of the "Beauties" applied to the Gaelic poems which evoked his enthusiastic admiration. In saying this, we do not wish to imply that all the pieces found in this collection are up to the high standard which Mr MacColl has fixed for himself, and which he so frequently attains to. A number of them are mere ephemeral and impromptu rhymes called into existence by some event of comparatively little importance, and probably considered by his muse unworthy of her wonted attention. There are, however, in the book a very large number of compositions of great merit, some of which are worthy of living side by side with the shorter compositions of Shelley and the lyrical effusions of Burns. Mr MacColl's poems belong more to the subjective school than those of Highland poets in general. Their works are, for the most part, descriptive or hortatory in their character; Mr MacColl's are of a much higher order, and are, in a great degree, a reflex of the thoughts and feelings of a mind strung to a high pitch of admiration of the works of Nature and an appreciation and assimilation of the lessons of all that is beautiful and true and good in the world-life around him.

There are various pieces in the book which we might point out as exemplifications of his style, but we should prefer that the reader should procure the book for

himself. Mr MacColl has travelled much in all parts of the Highlands of Scotland, and there is scarcely a quarter of the country that has not furnished some scene to move his harp strings. The Findhorn receives neat and graceful treatment in a short and musical composition, designed for the album of Lady Gordon-Cumming of Altyre. Here are some of its stanzas :—

"Findhorn the Beautiful !
Fain would I sing thee ;
Praise is the dutiful
Homage I bring thee.

"Child of the Mist and Snow,
Nursed 'mong the mountains,
Well loves the red deer to
Drink at thy fountains.

"Glassing the skies above,
Yonder thou glidest ;
Now, in some piny grove,
Sudden thou hidest.

"Here, with a rushing might,
Rocks thou art rounding ;
There, like a flash of light,
Over them bounding !"

Glen-Urquhart justly evokes intense admiration, but it is scarcely fair to depreciate Strathcrrick to supply a dark background for setting off the author's fairy picture. Addressing the Glen, he says—

"Hail, thou Arcadia of the North !
Glen-Urquhart lovely, well I trow
Yon sun above thee ne'er looked forth
On any landscape fair as thou.

"When Nature's seeming negligence
Left rough Stratherrick what we see,
Meseems as if in recompense
She made a paradise of thee !

When admiring the beauties of his native Highlands, Mr MacColl does not forget her worthy sons. In verses addressed to Mr J. F. Campbell of Islay, our poet compliments that worthy Celt in language that is as true in fact as it is beautifully expressed :—

"What though a stranger lords it now
O'er that fair isle so dear to thee,
Still lord o'er all its hearts art thou—
The land alone hath he.

"Fortune hath wronged thee much—yet still
A heritage more rich remains
Than any subject to her will—
Thy place in Thought's domains."

The gem of Mr MacColl's book we take to be its opening piece, "A May Morning in

Glen-Shira." True to her Celtic character his muse seems to revel with special delight among the scenes of the poet's early youth. We give a few stanzas : –

"Lo, dawning o'er yon mountain grey
The rosy birth-day of the May !
Glen-Shira knoweth well 'tis Beltane's blissful day.

. . . . . .

"Hark ! from yon grove that thrilling gush
Of song from linnet, merle, and thrush !
To hear herself so praised, the morning well may blush.

. . . . . .

"O May ! thou'rt an enchantress rare—
Thy presence maketh all things fair ;
Thou wavest but thy wand, and joy is everywhere.

"Thou comest and the clouds are not—
Rude Boreas has his wrath forgot—
The gossamer again is in the air afloat.

"The foaming torrent from the hill
Thou changest to a gentle rill—
A thread of liquid pearl, that faintly murmurs still.

. . . . . .

"Around me in this dewy den
Wild flowers imparadise the scene—
Some look up to the Sun—his worshippers, I ween."

The volume is prefaced by a short biographical sketch of the author by the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*. The pleasing fact that Mr MacColl is alive and hearty, leaves the biography happily unfinished. Long may it be ere any equally enthusiastic admirer will be called upon to add the final chapter. The volume is very neatly got up, and is one that ought to be in every Highlander's library. The author deserves it ; the poetry merits it; and the book will be in every respect an ornament, and ought to be a treasure in the possession of the sons of the Gael wherever located. We trust soon to welcome a complete collection of Mr MacColl's Gaelic poems, now, we understand, passing through the press.

THE HISTORY OF CIVILISATION IN SCOTLAND. By JOHN MACKINTOSH. Vol. III. Aberdeen : A. Brown & Co.

MR MACKINTOSH, in the third volume of his "History of Civilisation in Scotland," deals practically with the seventeenth century epoch, the period between the union of the Crowns and the union of the Parliaments. He does, indeed, give the History of Scotland down to the end of the Rebellion of 1745, because he believes the separate "political" history of Scotland ends there ; and in the next, which is also the last volume, he will deal only with the social, religious, and philosophical aspects of Scottish history. At the period at which Mr Mackintosh takes up the thread of his narrative in this volume, King James the VI. was firmly established on the

English Throne. The kingdom had passed through the struggle between the King and the oligarchy, which almost all the European nations of Aryan descent had to undergo, but without the kingly power yielding finally to the power of the nobles. In fact, under James, the Royal prerogative was more firmly established than ever. This was due to the despotic power bequeathed him by the Tudors from the exhausting Wars of the Roses; a power which he extended over Scotland from his wider and more independent sway, acquired by his position as King of England. He was, therefore, enabled with comparatively little resistance to introduce more than the edge of the Episcopal wedge into Scottish ecclesiastical matters; but this he did, not by force, but by his acquired Imperial position and his cunning. Charles, his son, was a more honest but far rasher man, and he soon ran tilt against the prejudices of the people by his bold innovations. The incident in St Giles' Cathedral, when Jenny Geddes threw the stool at the prelate's head, was one of the turning points of the struggle. The great English King was set at defiance; a covenant was signed by the Scottish Presbyterians which it defied the King to overthrow. Cromwell allowed the Scots to have their own way, after punishing them for their allegiance to the youthful prince. But when that prince was restored to his throne he entered into a most cruel persecution of the Presbyterian Church—as short-sighted and disgraceful a persecution as exists in any history. It is quite astonishing how they did not succumb to such a fearful and exterminating process. The only good result we may claim from it is its effect on the Scottish character. There is little question that the sturdy individualism characteristic of the Scot, is due to the history of the seventeenth contury. His constant appeal to private judgment, his conservatism in matters relating to religion itself, and his determined liberalism in regard to central authority and most social matters, are features of his character due to his struggles for religious independence in the seventeenth century.

Combined with all this defiance of kingly authority, the Scot professed great reverence for the Crown in the abstract. But it was left for the Celt to vindicate the kingly right in the concrete and the Stuart dynasty in particular. The Highlanders did not feel the oppressions of the century; they, indeed, were called down to oppress Lowland Presbyterianism in the reign of Charles II. What the religious state of the Highlands then was, we cannot gather from Mr Mackintosh's pages; he has left the seventeenth century history of the Highlands yet to be written, both ecclesiastically and politically. The history of the two Rebellions he has traced well and graphically within the limits he could devote to the matter, but they belong to the last century and not to the period of history to which the volume is devoted, and where we should wish to have some idea of the ecclesiastical state of the Highlands. We quite acknowledge the difficulty of gathering the necessary information. The records of the period lie still unpublished in the Presbytery records of our northern parishes. Mr Mackintosh gives merely what he can get from already printed material, and we can only testify to the excellent use he has made of it.

He details the political and ecclesiastical history of the seventeenth century in the first half of his book, and describes fairly and graphically all the weary details of that long period of strife—the Acts of Parliament, the persecutions, the wars and the miseries of the time. He goes to the fountain-head; he quotes the historians of the time, and the Acts of Council, Parliament, and Assembly. It is an excellent historical account; but it is lacking in the fact that though he "adorns the tale," he "does not point the moral;" at least not with that fulness and clearness which we would like to see done by a historian of civilisation. We have indicated what we

believe the effect of that history has been on the subsequent Scottish character, but it is not found in Mr Mackintosh's pages. His chapter on the social state of the country is the most interesting in the volume Not merely is the subject interesting, *per se*, but the author has showed himself at his best in his presentment of it and in his selected examples. Every considerable town in Scotland is laid under contribution to supply him with material; nor does Inverness escape. "In the year 1659, the tailors of Inverness," we are told, "petitioned the Magistrates that they were much injured in their trade by its being encroached upon and taken away by outlandish men dwelling around the borough and evading the taxes, and yet they came and stole away the trade of the place, 'to our great and apparent ruin.' The authorities listened to their complaint, and empowered them to restrain all outlandish tailors and seize their work." But to no avail; they had to make another appeal two years later against "unfreemen" keeping apprentices and employing servants. That is a specimen of the manners of the century in regard to trade; guilds and monopolies were supreme. Church discipline was greatly exercised, but its effect was but too often counteracted by lawlessness and force. Sabbath desecration was strenuously battled with; in 1609 the town piper of Aberdeen was forbidden to play his pipes on Sunday, and sport of all kinds, especially fishing, was successfully put down. Mr Mackintosh gives interesting details about the towns, their lighting and their sewerage (non-existent), and about postal arrangements: "Till 1635 there had been no constant intercourse between England and Scotland;" "till 1669 there was no regular postal communication between Aberdeen and Edinburgh," and in the same year "a foot-post was established between Edinburgh and Inverness, and was to go and return twice a week to Aberdeen, and once to Inverness, 'if wind and weather served.'" The charge for a letter to Inverness from Edinburgh was four pence.

Mr Mackintosh gives a good and concise account of the literature of the century, which consisted mainly of ballad poetry and ecclesiastical pamphlets and histories. He further extends his sketch of the ballad literature so as to include the "Jacobite ballads," to whose pathos and Celtic characteristics of natural description, colour, and humour he does justice. The chapter on education is cleverly written and exceedingly interesting in its details of the subjects taught in the higher schools. The vernacular tongue was a nuisance, which had to be endured in the school curriculum, because without it Latin could not be learnt. The volume closes with a chapter of some eighty pages on European philosophy in the seventeenth century, intended as an introduction to the history of Scottish philosophy, and to Mr Mackintosh's next volume. We cannot help admiring the success with which he has compressed into his space the philosophic tendencies of the age, and the accuracy and grasp with which he has sketched the leading features of the doctrines of Descartes, Spinoza, Locke, and Berkeley. The volume is superior both in spirit and style to Mr Mackintosh's former two, and that means giving the highest praise to its excellence as a work of industry, great research, and unmistakable genius.

CELTIC AND LITERARY NOTES.

THE recent visit of Mr Mundella, the Minister for Education to Scotland, is likely to prove of great importance to the cause of education in the Highlands. The concession made in the Code a few years ago, of permission to teach Gaelic during school hours, though hailed at the time as an important step in the proper direction, was, how-

ever, felt by many of those who knew the circumstances, to be, after all, of little practical value in the absence of any inducement to the teachers to teach the language, and still further, from the inability of many of them to use it, even were more tangible encouragement held out to them. Various important Highland Societies consequently availed themselves of Mr Mundella's visit, and waited upon him, by deputation, to urge the matter still further upon his attention. The spirit and manner in which they were received, and the intelligent and favourable view which Mr Mundella takes of the whole situation, leaves little room to doubt that very important changes will be introduced into the Code, at no distant date, to give full effect to the view of those who have all along maintained the reasonableness and the propriety of using the native language of the people, as well as the employment of native teachers, in communicating instruction in the Highlands. Mr Mundella quite admitted the absurdity of the system at present prevailing, and promised to give the matter his careful and early attention.

The Committee in Inverness, charged with the selection of the Ettles lecturer, have this year made a singularly appropriate choice. The gentleman chosen is Dr Joseph Anderson, the learned Secretary of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, and the subject of his lectures will be one which will be looked forward to with keen interest, and one which he has made specially his own—Celtic Art.

A specific grievance, requiring the most earnest attention of our educational authorities, is the ruinously high rate of fees which the sparseness of the population renders it necessary to impose in certain Highland districts, notably the Island of Lewis, where it has actually been known to amount to 10s. in the pound. Attention was called to this fact in a most pointed and forcible manner at the recent dinner of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, by Mr Morrison, of Dingwall Academy. One consequence of such a state of matters is that, instead of the Education Act and the school and schoolmaster being regarded as advantages, they are looked upon as a grievous burden which impinges much more upon poor people than would the absence of the complete educational machinery which now covers the length and breadth of the land

Another matter, not perhaps connected directly with education, but which comes under the cognisance of Mr Mundella, and to which attention has been directed in Parliament, is the attempts made, in the case of the Lewis at least, to enlist the aid of the Board School teachers in support of candidates for election to Parliament. A circular was recently addressed by Mr Mackay, Chamberlain of the Lewis, and Chairman of all the School Boards in the Island, appealing to the teachers for their assistance in promoting the political interests of one of the candidates for Ross-shire. The unwisdom and impropriety of such interferences with public officials is so conspicuous that we wonder at the infatuation of those who practise them.

The whole subject of the present condition of Highland education is under investigation of a committee of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, with Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., as convener. The task imposed upon the committee is to collect information, and report to a meeting of the Society.

Classes for the teaching of Gaelic are being conducted in Raining's School, Inverness, by members of the Gaelic Society. There are upwards of 100 pupils in all stages of advancement, and of both sexes, and admirable progress is being made. The class-books used are Professor Mackinnon's Collection, Mr Lachlan Macbean and Mr D. C. Macpherson's Grammars, and the New Testament.

An important paper, on the subject of the "Druidical" Circles, which are so frequently met with over the face of the country, was read before the Gaelic Society of Inverness last month, by Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., Mr Macbain believes that the Circles in question are neither Druidic nor Celtic, but are the work of a pre-Celtic race, probably the Finnish or Pictish, and were erected for purposes of worship and burial; his opinion being that the people who erected them were ancestor worshippers. He illustrated his various positions by pictorial and descriptive references to stone-circles in other countries which are devoted to similar purposes, even at the present day. The interest of the paper was much increased by the aid of several illustrations supplied by Mr P. H. Smart, artist, Inverness.

A metrical English translation of the poems of Dugald Buchanan is in the press, and will appear early this month. The translator is Mr Lachlan Macbean, well known in Celtic circles as the author of a very handy and useful Gaelic grammar, and a successful translator of Gaelic poetry. Several of his productions—very favourably noticed at the time—appeared in Vol. I. of the *Celtic Magazine*, under the *nom de plume* of "Minnie Littlejohn."

THE PROPOSED "SCOTTISH HIGHLANDER."

We are daily receiving batches of subscribers for the proposed "Scottish Highlander," often from very unexpected quarters It must, however, be kept in mind that the number required is large, and cannot be got without the active aid of every friend of the Highland cause in their respective districts and among their friends. It must be distinctly understood that the paper cannot be proceeded with unless the necessary number of subscribers send in their names, and this cannot be expected without an effort on the part of leading men throughout the Highlands to secure names in their several localities. Many gentlemen have already done handsomely in this way, and we most heartily thank them. The following are a few extracts from hundreds of of letters received, in a similar strain, from gentlemen sending in their names :—

Cluny Macpherson of Cluny says :—"It affords me much pleasure to add my name to your list of subscribers to the 'Scottish Highlander,' and I wish you every success."

Mr Joseph Dunbar, of the *Huntly Express*, writes :—"I trust you may receive many thousand signatures, and every encouragement. Your object is worthy of all support and sympathy, and ought specially to commend itself to Highlanders—nay, to every true Scotchman."

Mr Evan MacColl, "The Bard of Lochfyne," writing from Kingston, Canada, says :—"I wish you joy of your brave, patriotic undertaking—one which all true Highlanders should look upon with favour, and do their best to make it a success. With such outside literary support as you are sure to command, added to your own indomitable pluck and ability, I feel quite confident that you will be able to make the 'Scottish Highlander' such a paper as all good Scotsmen should be proud to patronise."

Mr William Allan, Sunderland, writes :—"This is a step in the right direction, and merits the support of all Highlanders who have a heart and love their country. I wish you all success—my son of the soil."

Mr John Macrae, Ballintian, Kingussie, writes :—"I trust your proposal of starting an independent newspaper will meet with every success. Every individual having a drop of Highland blood in his veins should put his shoulder to the wheel to support such an arduous and patriotic undertaking, so that the Highlanders may have an organ of their own to help them in exposing the injustice done to them for the last century, and to make a repetition of these impossible in future. I am confident that there is no other man in broad Scotland who can advocate the various claims of Highlanders with the same effect that you can."

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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XVI.

SIR EWEN CAMERON—*Continued.*—THE BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE.

DUNDEE having made his arrangements, marched forward to meet the enemy, and never halted until within a musket shot of Mackay's army, numbering about 3500 foot and two troops of horse. After some preliminaries on the ground, necessary by the enemy's formation, his Lordship, in a very short time, arranged his brave little army in battle order.

Sir John Maclean, then a youth of eighteen years, with his men, occupied the extreme right; next him, on his left, were the Irish, under Colonel Cannon; on their left again were the Tutor of Clanranald and his brave Macdonalds, and next to them came Glengarry and his men. Then, in the centre, were the few horse they had, including about forty of Dundee's old troops, in very poor condition. To the left of the horse was placed Lochiel at the head of his Camerons; while next, on the extreme left, was Sir Donald Macdonald leading his Islesmen. "Though there were great intervals between the battalions, and a large

void space left in the centre, yet Dundee could not possibly stretch his line so as to equal that of the enemy; and wanting men to fill up the void in the centre, Lochiel, who was posted next the horse, was not only obliged to fight Mackay's own regiment, which stood directly opposite to him, but also had his flank exposed to the fire of Leven's battalion, which he had not men to engage, whereby he thereafter greatly suffered. But what was hardest of all, he had only 240 of his clan with him, and even of these sixty were sent as Dundee's advance guard, to take possession of a house from which he apprehended the enemy might gall them if they put men into it. But there was no helping the matter. Each clan, whether small or great, had a regiment assigned to it, and that, too, by Lochiel's advice, who attended the General while making his dispositions. His design was to keep up their spirit of emulation in point of bravery; for as the Highlanders put the highest value upon the honour of their families or clans, and the renown of glory acquired by military actions, so the emulation between clan and clan inspires them with a certain generous contempt of danger, and gives vigour to their hands and keenness to their courage."

By the time Dundee got his army in order, it was well on in the afternoon, and his men, aggravated by the fire of the enemy from the low ground, were anxious to be led into action; but as the sun was shining straight in their faces, they were held back until near sunset. During this interval Lochiel visited his men, and appealed personally to each of them, every one of whom declared to him in turn that they should conquer or die that day. He then told them to make a great noise by shouting as loudly as they could. This they did with a hearty good will; it was at once taken up by the whole Highland army to right and to left of them, and returned by the enemy. The noise of the cannon and muskets, "with the prodigious echoing of the adjacent hills and rocks in which there are several caverns and hollow places," made the Highlanders fancy that their shouts were much louder and more spirited than those of the enemy, when Lochiel, taking advantage of this, exclaimed, "Gentlemen, take courage, the day is ours, I am the oldest commander in the army, and have always observed something ominous and fatal in such a dead, hollow, and feeble noise as the enemy made in their shout-

ing. Ours was brisk, lively, and strong, and shows that we have courage, vigour, and strength. Theirs was low, lifeless, and dead, and prognosticates that they are all doomed to die by our hands this very night." These words went through the little army like lightning, and, coming from Lochiel, greatly encouraged and animated the officers and men.

At seven o'clock Dundee gave the order to advance, commanding that as soon as the Macleans moved on the right, the whole body should instantly march forward and charge straight in among the enemy. "It is incredible with what intrepidity the Highlanders endured the enemy's fire; and though it grew more terrible on their nearer approach, yet they, with a wonderful resolution, kept up their own, as they were commanded, till they came up to their very bosoms, and, then pouring it in upon them all at once, like one great clap of thunder, they threw away their guns, and fell in pell-mell among the thickest of them with broadswords. After this the noise seemed hushed; and the fire ceasing on both sides, nothing was heard for some few moments but the sullen and hollow clashes of broadswords, with the dismal groans and cries of dying and wounded men." The brave Dundee fell, mortally wounded, by a shot about two handbreadths within his armour on the lower part of his left side, from which it was concluded that he must have received his wound, "while he raised himself in his stirrups and stretched his body to hasten up his horse" at a point in the engagement, to turn him to the right, to enable himself to wave his hat for some of the men to come to the rescue of the Earl of Dunfermline, and sixteen brave horsemen, who had succeeded in routing the enemy's cavalry by a most brilliant charge. The Highlanders though they lost about a third of their men, secured a complete victory, and few of the enemy escaped; but having lost their brilliant Commander, it was dearly bought, and the war may be said to have been practically finished, before it was well commenced, by a Highland victory, perhaps the most brilliant on record.

Lochiel, after having ordered his men to advance, seems to have been much encumbered by the use of what Macaulay describes as "the only pair of shoes in his clan;" for not being able to keep up with his men, he commended them to the protec-

tion of God, sat down by the way, and deliberately pulling off the encumbrances that pinched and crippled him, had the agility to get up to his men as they were drawing their swords, in close quarters with the enemy.

Stewart states that Lochiel was attended in this battle by the son of his foster-brother, who saved him at Achadalew, by receiving the shot intended for his chief in his own mouth. "This faithful adherent," says the General, "followed him like his shadow, ready to assist him with his sword, or cover him from the shot of his enemy. Soon after the battle began, the chief missed his friend from his side, and, turning round to look what had become of him, saw him lying on his back, with his breast pierced by an arrow. He had hardly breath before he expired to tell Lochiel that seeing an enemy, a Highlander in General Mackay's army, aiming at him with a bow and arrow from the rear, he sprung behind him, and thus sheltered him from instant death."*

Macaulay's description of the brilliant charge of the Highlanders and its results is so spirited that we give it, though it is entirely based on the "Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron," from which we have already given the details at such length. Macaulay says—"It was past seven o'clock. Dundee gave the word. The Highlanders dropped their plaids. The few who were so luxurious as to wear rude socks of untanned hide spurned them away. It was long remembered in Lochaber that Lochiel took off what probably was the only pair of shoes in his clan, and charged barefoot at the head of his men. The whole line advanced firing. The enemy returned the fire, and did much execution. When only a small space was left between the armies, the Highlanders suddenly flung away their firelocks, drew their broadswords, and rushed forward with a fearful yell. The Lowlanders prepared to receive the shock; but this was then a long and awkward process, and the soldiers were still fumbling with the muzzles of their guns and the handles of their bayonets, when the whole flood of Macleans, Macdonalds, and Camerons came down. In two minutes the battle was lost and won. The ranks of Balfour's regiment broke. He was cloven down while struggling in the press. Ramsay's men turned their backs and dropped their arms. Mackay's own foot were swept away by the furious onset

* *Sketches of the Highlanders*, Vol. i., p. 70.

of the Camerons. His brother and nephew exerted themselves in vain to rally the men. The former was laid dead on the ground by the stroke of a claymore. The latter, with eight wounds in his body, made his way through the tumult and the carnage to his uncle's side. Even in that extremity Mackay retained all his self-possession. He had still one hope. A charge of horse might recover the day ; for of horse the bravest Highlanders were supposed to stand in awe. But he called on the horse in vain. Belhaven, indeed, behaved like a gallant gentleman ; but his troopers, appalled by the rout of the infantry, galloped off in disorder ; Annandale's men followed, all was over, and the mingled torrents of red coats and tartans went raving down the valley to the Gorge of Killiecrankie." * Mackay's whole army had vanished, all the men he could collect after the battle being a few hundred.

Next morning the Highlanders, who had retired during the night, returned to the field of the recent carnage, where, Drummond informs us, the dreadful effects of the fury appeared in many horrible figures. The enemy lay in heaps almost in the order in which they were posted, but so disfigured with wounds, and so hashed and mangled, that even the victors could not look upon the amazing proofs of their own agility and strength without surprise and horror. Many had their heads divided in two halves by one blow ; others had their skulls cut off above their ears, by a back stroke, like a night-cap. Their thick buff belts were not sufficient to defend their shoulders from such deep gashes as almost disclosed their entrails, several pikes, small swords, and the like weapons, were cut quite through, and some that had skull-caps had them so beat into their brains, that they died upon the spot.† It was noticed that few, if any, of the Highlanders were killed after they drew their swords, and that the majority of those of them who fell were slain within a

* *History of England*, pp. 360-361, Vol. iii.

† "An Officer of the army," present at Killiecrankie, in a rare pamphlet, entitled "Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee," describes the terrible effects of the Highland claymore, in very similar language to the above. He says that before the battle "The Highlanders threw away their plaids, haversacks, and all other utensils, and marched resolutely and deliberately in their shirts and doublets, with their fusils, targets, and pistols ready, down the hill on the enemy, and received Mackay's third fire before they pierced his lines, in which many of the Highlanders fell, including

few paces of their enemies before they fled and fired their last volley, as the Highlanders came to close quarters. Lochiel lost one-half of his entire force, mainly through a furious fire, directed on his flank as he charged, by Leven's battalion, which, as we have already seen, had no Highlanders against it to engage it in front.

In this connection, General Stewart of Garth records the following:—At the same time that Sir Ewen was distinguishing himself so brilliantly in the service of King James, his second son, Donald, was a Captain in the 21st Scots Fusiliers, serving with Mackay in the army of King William. As General Mackay observed the Highland army being drawn up on the face of the hill to the westward of the Pass, he turned round to young Lochiel, who stood next to him, and, pointing to the Camerons, said—"There's your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with them?" "It signifies little," replied Captain Cameron, "what I would like; but I recommend you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like." And so, indeed, it turned out.

Dundee had such complete confidence in the experience, judgment, and prudence of Sir Ewen, that he unfailingly consulted him on every important occasion, and he openly expressed the opinion that "he was the fittest person in the kingdom" to command the Highland army.

Cannon, being the next highest officer in rank, on the fall of Dundee assumed command. Having buried their great commander and the leading officers who fell with him, in the church of Blair-Athole, a large body of Highlanders joined the army, just three days after the Battle of Killiecrankie—the very day appointed, before Dundee left Lochaber, for the general rendezvous

Dundee, the terror of the Whigs, the supporter of King James, and the glory of his country. Then the Highlanders fired, threw down their fusils, rushed in upon the enemy, with sword, target, and pistol, who did not maintain their ground two minutes after the Highlanders were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say, there were scarce ever such strokes given in Europe as were given that day by the Highlanders. Many of General Mackay's officers and soldiers were cut down through the skull and neck to the very breasts; others had their skulls cut off above their ears like night-caps; some soldiers had both their bodies and cross-belts cut through at one blow; pikes and small swords were cut like willows."

of the clans. Of this new body 500 were Camerons, under Lochiel's eldest son, John, and his cousin, Cameron of Glendesseray. It was, however, all too late. The war was already virtually over. Cannon mismanaged everything. The chiefs had no confidence in him. He sent a party on an expedition to Perth, but they were so badly led that Mackay easily overtook and defeated them. The Lowland officers and the Highland chiefs disagreed in Council. Lochiel and the Highlanders proposed fighting Mackay at once. The Lowland officers, who had scarcely any personal following, opposed this as imprudent, though Lochiel declared that he was prepared to fight the enemy by his own clan, with the assistance only of three hundred horse which had just joined them. In spite of this and the urgent appeals of the other Highland chiefs, the Lowland officers who all had a vote in the Council of War, carried their proposal, that the army should march north into Aberdeenshire; the only reason given for this cowardly conduct being the expectation of increasing their forces by the accession of more of their northern friends. Lochiel was disgusted, and retired sullenly to Lochaber, leaving the command of his clan to his eldest son, John, but the Highlanders became so dispirited, and Cannon, the commander, got into such disrepute, that after a few skirmishes the army gradually melted away, and Cannon followed the Camerons to Lochaber, where he remained during the winter.

On the 1st of November 1689, James wrote a letter to Lochiel, from Ireland, acknowledging his services, and that of the other chiefs, in his cause, promising to send over the Earl of Seaforth, then in Ireland, "to head his friends and followers," and at the same time to send the Duke of Berwick with considerable forces. These were never sent. The Earl of Seaforth arrived in the following Spring, but brought nothing with him except letters and commissions for the chiefs. The one to Lochiel is dated "At our Court at Dublin," on the 31st of March 1690. The usual liberal but empty promises of reward were repeated by the King, but never redeemed; he never had the opportunity. A Council of War was held on the arrival of General Buchan, who had come from Ireland, Cannon and other high officers being present, to decide as to their future movements. At this meeting several of the leaders proposed to make their

submission to King William on such favourable terms as they then knew they would be sure to obtain. Cogent and many were the reasons urged for the adoption of this course, but, as usual, Lochiel was implacable. He was supported by Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, Sir John Maclean of Duart, and Clanranald, in his determination to hold out and fight for the ungrateful James, though it was admitted by all that he sent them nothing but empty promises; and some doubted his inclination to redeem them, even should he ever possess the power to do so. Lochiel addressed them, and concluded an eloquent and spirited appeal to their patriotism and loyalty in the following terms—"For my own part, gentlemen," he said, "I am resolved to be in my duty while I am able: and though I am now an old man, weakened by fatigue, and worn out by continual trouble, yet I am determined to spend the remainder of my life after my old manner, among mountains and caves, rather than give up my conscience and honour by a submission, let the terms be never so inviting, until I have my master's permission to do it; and no argument, or view of interest or safety, shall prevail with me to change this resolution, whatever may be the event." On the conclusion of these remarks all opposition vanished, and it was agreed that General Buchan should in the meantime march south to the border of the Lowlands, with twelve hundred men, but that the Highlanders, except such as should volunteer to join Buchan, should remain until they laid down their crops in the Spring. None of the Highland chiefs joined him. He started about the middle of April towards Strathspey, and was defeated by Sir Thomas Livingstone, at Cromdale, early in May, with considerable loss. After this, on the 16th of June, two of the leaders—Macdonald of Largo and MacAlastair of Loup—made their submission, and the Government sent emissaries to the Highlands to sound the other chiefs as to whether they would submit on any reasonable terms. They, however, with one voice, refused to listen to any proposal, though they were all much disposed for peace, without the full consent of King James. But they agreed to meet the Earl of Breadalbane, who had been appointed by Government to negotiate with them, and consider terms, in view of their obtaining the permission of James to give up the war; and they had several meetings with the Earl at Achallader, near his

own property, where they agreed upon the following articles, as the only terms on which they would give up the struggle and lay down their arms :—

1st. As a preliminary article, they demanded full power and liberty to send such a person as they should choose to the Court of St Germains upon the Government's charges, in order to lay the state of their affairs before King James, and to obtain his permission and warrant to enter into that treaty.

2nd. This article being granted, they next demanded the sum of £20,000 sterling to refund the great expenses and losses they had sustained by the war. In order to obtain this they represented that the people were so impoverished that it would be impossible to keep them from making depredations on their low-country neighbours, unless they were enabled to stay at home, and apply themselves to agriculture and the improvement of their country.

3rd. That King William should, at the public charge, free them from all manner of vassalage and dependence on the great men, their neighbours, as King James was to have done, for which they produced his letters; so that, being free from the tyranny and oppression of these superiors, they might have their sole dependence on the Crown, and be enabled effectually to suppress thieving, and employ their people in the service of their country.

4th. That King James's officers might have full liberty either to remain at home or to go into foreign service as they pleased, and that they, and all others engaged in his interest, should not only have passports for that purpose, but also be carried to the port of Havre de Grace at the expense of the Government.

5th. That they be all allowed to wear and use their arms as they were used to do; and that no other oaths should be put to them except that of simple allegiance; and that they should have full and free indemnity for all crimes whatever committed by them, or any of them, during the war; and that in the meantime there should be cessation of arms.

In September following, before any effect could be given to the terms of this treaty, Argyll was ordered north by the Council to join the Earl of Glencairn, with orders to reduce the Highlanders. These, gentlemen, however, had little success. But the Government was determined; an act of sequestration was taken out against Lochiel and the other chiefs, and to execute it a commission was granted, in the month of November, to Colonel Hill, governor of Fort-William, to collect Lochiel's rents. He was, however, as might be expected, quite unable to carry out his instructions. "but remained confined within the walls of his fort" until a treaty of peace was finally arranged.

King William ultimately agreed that Sir George Barclay and Major Duncan Menzies should visit James at the Court of St Germains, to obtain permission for the Highland chiefs to lay down their arms and come to terms with the existing Government; and, on the 27th of August, William wrote to the Privy

Council, informing them of what he had agreed to, and intimating that, as the vassalage and dependence of some of the Highland chiefs upon others in their neighbourhood had occasioned many feuds and differences among them, which obliged them to neglect the improvement and cultivation of their lands, that he was graciously pleased now not only to pardon, indemnify, and restore, all who had been in arms, and who should take the oath of allegiance before the first of the following January, but that he had also resolved to pay the cost of the purchase of the lands and superiorities which were the subjects of those disputes and animosities, so that in future they would be entirely dependent, as its immediate vassals, on the Crown. He urged upon the Council the utmost application of the Royal authority to carry this arrangement into effect, and at once to issue an indemnity such as he desired, without any limitation or restriction whatever, to all who agreed to take the oath of allegiance to him and Queen Mary, before the first of January 1692, in presence of the Council, or before the Sheriffs or their Deputies in the respective shires wherein the chiefs resided. Those leaders who declined, or were obstinate, were ordered to be prosecuted with the utmost severity of the law.

Notwithstanding these offers, which must be considered liberal enough in the circumstances, not one of the Highland chiefs took advantage of the indemnity offered to them, until the return of their commissioners from the Court of James at St Germains, a few days before the time stated therein expired. The letter from James granting the required permission is addressed "To our trusty and well-beloved General, Major Thomas Buchan, or to the officer commanding-in-chief our forces in our ancient kingdom of Scotland," and is in the following terms :—

"James R., right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We are informed of the state of our subjects in the Highlands, and of the condition that you and our other officers there are in, as well by our trusty and well-beloved Sir George Barclay, Brigadier of our Forces; as by our trusty and well-beloved Major Duncan Menzies: And therefore we have thought fit hereby to authorise you to give leave to our said subjects and officers, who have hitherto behaved themselves so loyally in our cause, to do what may be most for their own and your safety; and so we bid you farewell. St Germains, this 12th day of December 1691, and in the seventh year of our reign."

Lochiel did not get his copy of this letter from Buchan, who was

at the time residing with Glengarry, until within thirty hours of the expiry of the period allowed him under the conditions of indemnity to submit to King William's Government; but by a great effort he managed to arrive at Inveraray, where the Sheriff of the County resided, on the very day on which the period of the indemnity expired, and, with undoubted reluctance, made his submission, and saved himself from a prosecution and possible ruin; but King William took advantage of his delay in not coming forward until the last moment, "as a pretence to defraud him of his share of the £20,000 sterling, promised and due to him by the treaty, and of the superiority of his lands, which he stood engaged to purchase for him," as already described. In 1696 Sir Ewen, then sixty-seven years of age, made over the greater part of his estates to his eldest son, John, reserving the life-rent to himself.

John was a thorough Jacobite, and he took part in all the political intrigues and other proceedings of the Highland Chiefs, which culminated in the Rising of 1715, for the restoration of the exiled King. In 1706 a warrant was issued for his apprehension on the charge of high treason, but it does not appear that it was ever executed. About the same time John seems to have made over the estates to his eldest son, Donald, afterwards so distinguished as the "gentle Lochiel" of 1745. John Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother, Lieutenant Allan Cameron, are included in a summons issued against all the Highland Chiefs, "and other suspected persons," early in September 1715, to appear at Edinburgh, by a certain day, to find security for their good conduct. Sir Alexander Erskine and Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre were the only persons named who complied, and all the others, including the brothers Cameron, were denounced and declared rebels.

John is said "to have had a greater genius for civil than for military affairs," and we are informed that his leadership of the Clan in 1715 "seems to have given but little satisfaction either to his father or the clan, and it is reported that they expressed an unwillingness again to serve under him." On the 17th of September, he, with a party of Macdonalds, Macleans, his own clan, and a few others, attempted to surprise the garrison at Inverlochy, when they took two redoubts in the vicinity of the garrison, sword in hand, capturing a lieutenant and twenty men

in one, and a serjeant and five men in the other, after which they proceeded to Argyleshire. Having held out for a short time, the Camerons submitted to General Cadogan in 1716, and delivered up their arms John having been forfeited for his share in the Rebellion of 1715, escaped to France, where he died in 1747, at an advanced age, without ever after visiting his native land.

Sir Ewen seems to have retired entirely into private life after his submission in 1692, his age and infirmities rendering him quite unfit, even were he disposed, to take an active part in the Rising of 1715, or in the proceedings which led up to it. He is known to have owned a plantation in the West Indies for some years before he died, a remarkable fact in the history of a man like him. This he made over to members of his family, with his landed property, several years before he died.

The following account of his latter years and of his death is abridged from a copy taken by Miss Cameron of Lochiel from one of the Balhaldy Papers, and reproduced in the Editor's Preface to the "Memoirs," though it was not incorporated in any of the manuscripts to which he had access. It will be noticed that the writer of the original manuscript was personally acquainted with Sir Ewen, and, therefore, his description may safely be accepted as accurate. He informs us that:—His eyes retained their former vivacity, and his sight was so good in his ninetieth year that he could discern the most minute object and read the smallest print; nor did he so much as want a tooth, which seemed as white and close as one would have imagined they were in the twentieth year of his age. In this state he was when I had the good fortune to see him in 1716, and so great was his strength at that time that he wrung some blood from the point of my fingers with a grasp of his hand. He was of the largest size, his bones big, his countenance fresh and smooth, and he had a certain air of greatness about him which struck the beholders with awe and respect. He enjoyed continued perfect health from the cradle to the grave, except the flux already referred to, by which he was laid up during the whole of the year 1674; and not a drop of his blood was ever drawn, except on one occasion when a knife had accidentally pierced his foot.

The story which I am going to tell, the same writer continues, would be absolutely incredible were it not vouched by a

multitude of witnesses. Very early in the morning on which the Chevalier de St George landed at Peterhead, attended only by Allan Cameron, one of the Gentlemen of his Bedchamber, Sir Ewen started, as it were, in a surprise from his sleep, and called out loudly to his lady—who lay near him in another bed—that his King was landed, that his King had arrived, and that his own son, Allan, was with him; she awoke, and, inquiring if he wanted anything, he repeated the same statement over and over again, and commanded that a large bonfire should be put on, and the best liquor be brought out to his lads (as he called his clansmen), that they might make merry and drink his king's health. The lady, who at first fancied he was raving, took little notice of him, but he was determined and positive, and gave his commands with such authority, that she was at last obliged to obey them. Not only his own grandchildren and his domestics, but all the people in the neighbourhood, were convened to take part in this celebration, which they continued "with uncommon festivity and mirth" until the next day was nearly spent. His lady was so curious that she noted down the words upon paper, with the date, which she, a few days after, found verified in every particular, to her great surprise.

It will be remembered that he had a somewhat similar experience on the occasion of his visit to General Middleton at Lochgarry; and in the present case "his waking through his sleep, his expressing the words, and giving the orders here related, stand vouched not only by the lady and a servant that lay near him, but likewise by the multitude convened to the solemnity, who all came and kissed their chief's hand, and informed themselves of the truth of it. Besides, contrary to his usual custom, he talked of nothing else all the next day; gave orders from time to time to carry out more liquor to his lads, and said that he would see his son Allan, but should never have the honour of seeing his king." This landing of the Chevalier at Peterhead took place in December 1715, just three years and a few months before Lochiel died.

Pennant informs us that Sir Ewen outlived himself, that he became a second child, and was even rocked in a cradle; so much were the faculties of his mind and the members of his body impaired. Tradition has it that he was even fed on woman's milk and

suckled as an infant before he died. The account given from Miss Cameron's copy of the Balhaldy Papers, written by one who was personally acquainted with the old chief in his latter years, appear sufficiently conclusive on the point, though, it must be admitted, that Pennant is remarkably accurate in everything else he has written of his career. The fact of his mind continuing unimpaired until late in life, except during the high fever from which he died, is also corroborated in Patten's "History of the Rebellion," published in 1717. When Sir Walter Scott published his "Tales of a Grandfather," he made every inquiry to ascertain if any trustworthy tradition or other account existed of the cradle, and he found none ; but it was a current tradition that Lochiel had lost the use of his lower limbs, and that he turned himself about in bed by the assistance of a rope and pulley.

Than Lord Macaulay's description of his qualities and appearance nothing could be finer :—"Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, surnamed the Black, was," he says, "in personal qualities unrivalled among the Celtic Princes. He was a gracious master, a trusty ally, a terrible enemy. His countenance and bearing were singularly noble. Some persons who had been at Versailles, and among them the shrewd and observant Simon Lord Lovat, said that there was in person and manner a most striking resemblance between Lewis the Fourteenth and Lochiel, and whoever compares the portraits of the two will perceive that there really was some likeness. In stature the difference was great. Lewis, in spite of high-heeled shoes and a towering wig, had hardly reached the middle size. Lochiel was tall and strongly built. In agility and skill at his weapons he had few equals among the inhabitants of the hills. He had been repeatedly victorious in single combat. He was a hunter of great fame. He made vigorous war on the wolves which, down to his time, preyed on the red deer of the Grampians ; and by his hand perished the last of the ferocious breed which is known to have wandered at large in our island. Nor was Lochiel less distinguished by intellectual than by bodily vigour. He might, indeed, have seemed ignorant to educated and travelled Englishmen, who had studied the Classics under Busby at Westminster and under Aldrich at Oxford, who had learned something about the sciences

among Fellows of the Royal Society, and something about the Fine Arts in the galleries of Florence and Rome. But though Lochiel had very little knowledge of books, he was eminently wise in council, eloquent in debate, ready in devising expedients, and skilful in managing the minds of men."* In another part of the same work, Macaulay says that Lochiel was especially renowned for his physical prowess; that his clansmen looked big with pride when they related how he had broken hostile ranks and hewn down tall warriors ; and that he owed quite as much of his influence to these achievements as to the qualities which, if fortune had placed him in Parliament or at the French Court, would have made him one of the foremost men of his age.

Sir Ewen was married three times ; first to Mary, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, eighth Baron and first Baronet of Sleat, by Janet, daughter of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, without issue.

He married, secondly, Isabel, eldest daughter of Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart, first Baronet, and sister of Sir Hector and Sir Allan, second and third Baronets, by Mary, daughter of Sir Roderick Mòr Macleod of Macleod, with issue :—

1. John his heir.

2. Donald, a man "of great honour and merit," Major in the service of the States of Holland. He fought at Killiecrankie, with the rank of Captain, under General Mackay, against his own father ; but we can trace nothing further of his history except that he died, without issue, about the same time as Sir Ewen, in 1719.

3. Allan, "a man of extraordinary parts and great integrity." He was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Chevalier de St George, and was one of those select few who landed with him at Peterhead, in December 1715. After the Rebellion he was among those summoned to appear in Edinburgh. He did not, of course, obey, but returned with the Prince to France, where he remained for several years at his Court. In 1725 he came back to the Highlands on a mission to the Highland Chiefs, and was employed in correspondence and negotiation with them on behalf of the Chevalier until about 1729, when he appears to have again returned to France, where he lived with his Royal master

* *History of England*, p.p. 319-320.

for several years. He died before 1745. He was married to a daughter of Fraser of Lovat, with issue—three daughters, one of whom married Campbell of Lochdochart, by whom she had numerous issue. In a letter from the Chevalier, signed "James R.," to Donald Cameron, younger of Lochiel, addressed as "Mr Johnstone, junior," and dated April 11th, 1727, he refers to his uncle thus—"Allan is now with me, and I am always glad to have some of my brave Highlanders with me, whom I value as they deserve." Allan himself writes to his nephew, young Lochiel, "from Albano, October 3rd, 1729," a most interesting letter, which will be given in full later on.

4. Margaret, who married Alexander Drummond of Balhaldy, with issue.

5. Anne, who married Allan Maclean of Ardgour, with issue.

6. Catherine, who married William, Tutor of Macdonald, and brother-german of Sir Donald Macdonald, eleventh Baron and fourth Baronet of Sleat, with issue—Ewen (with several others), progenitor of the Macdonalds of Vallay.

7. Janet, who, about 1698, married, as his second wife, John Grant of Glenmoriston, with issue—ten sons and five daughters. She died on the 9th of February 1759, in the eightieth year of her age, when her descendants numbered over two hundred.

Sir Ewen married, thirdly, Jean, daughter of Colonel David Barclay, XVII. of Urie, with issue.

8. Ludovick, who acted as Major for his nephew, the "Gentle Lochiel," in 1745. He was designed "of Torcastle," from his having his residence there. He married a daughter of Chisholm, with issue—(1), Allan; and (2), Catherine, who married, first, Maclachlan of Coruanan; and secondly, Macdonald of Greenfield. He had also two other sons.

9. Christian, who married Allan Cameron of Glendesseray, with issue—two sons and three daughters.

10. Jean, who married Lachlan Macpherson of Cluny, great-grandfather of the present chief of Clan Chattan, with issue—seven sons and four daughters. Three of these daughters married respectively, William Mackintosh of Aberarder, Donald Macpherson of Breakachy, and Lewis Macpherson of Dalraddie.

11. Isabel, who married Archibald Cameron of Dungallon, with issue—three sons and three daughters.

12. Lucy, who, as his second wife, married in 1707, Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine, with issue—(1), Colin of Glenure, who married, 9th of May 1749, Janet, daughter of Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, son of George, third Lord Reay, F.R.S. On the 14th of May 1752, Colin was murdered by the Stewarts of Appin, leaving issue—three daughters, one of whom, Louisa, inherited Bighouse, in 1770, on the death of her grandfather. She married, on the 11th of June 1768, George Mackay of Islandhanda, with issue—nineteen children. (2), Donald, a surgeon in the Royal Navy; (3), Alexander, an officer in the army; (4), Duncan, who succeeded his father in the estates and carried on the succession, and whose daughter, Lucy, married Sir Ewen Cameron, Baronet of Fassifern, and was the mother of the famous Colonel John Cameron, of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, who fell at Quatre-Bras; (5), Archibald, an officer in the army; (6), Robert, a merchant; (7), Allan, a general officer; (8), Isabella, who married Campbell of Auchallader; (9), Mary, who married Macdougall of Macdougall; (10), Annabella, who married Campbell of Melfort; and (11), Jane, who married Campbell of Edinchipp.

13. Ket, who married John Campbell of Auchallader, with issue—two sons and four daughters.

14. Una, who married her cousin, Robert Barclay, XX. of Urie, with issue—Robert, his heir, now represented by Barclay-Allardice of Urie and Allardice; two other sons, Evan and Alexander, both of whom died without issue; and one daughter.

15. Marjory, who married Macdonald of Morar, with issue.

Sir Ewen died of a high fever, though it had left him a few hours before his death, when "his memory and judgment returned and he discoursed as sensibly as ever he was known to do in his greater vigour. He called his sons, Major Donald and Ludovick, and all his friends and domestics that chanced to be about him, to each of whom he spoke a word or two, and then recommended to them in general, religion, loyalty, patriotism, and the love of their friends. In a word, his exit was suitable to his life, and he left a memory behind him so glorious that his name shall be mentioned in these countries with the utmost veneration and respect."

He died in February 1719, having completed his ninetieth year, when he was succeeded by his eldest son, John.

(To be continued.) X

THE DISARMING ACT AND PROSCRIPTION OF THE HIGHLAND DRESS.

By J. G. Mackay.

II.

Several of the loyal chiefs remonstrated with the Government, but to no purpose; the fates were against them; the Highlands must be subdued; it mattered little how, or at what cost of human suffering. Lord President Forbes, who had done such good service for the Government, in checking the rising of many of the disaffected clans in the North, entreated the Government on behalf of his countrymen, but his prayers and solicitations were in vain. When beseeching the Duke of Cumberland to spare the lives of the unfortunate rebels, he reminded the "Butcher" "that the slaughter that was going on was not only inhuman, and against the laws of God, but also against the laws of the land." "The laws of the country, my lord!" said the Duke. "I'll make a brigade give laws, by God!"

Provost Hossack, of Inverness, who had also rendered good service to the Government, shared the same rebuff when craving mercy for the unfortunate victims. The Duke, after the battle of Culloden, accompanied by Generals Hawley and Huske, was consulting as to the quickest mode of putting the prisoners to death. The worthy Provost besought them—"As His Majesty's troops have happily been successful against the rebels, I hope your excellencies will be so good as to mingle mercy with judgment." Hawley, in a rage, cried out, "D——n the puppy! Does he pretend to dictate here? Carry him away." Such acts as this, of which unfortunately there were many, could not but impress upon the Highlanders the hopelessness of their cause.

The Lord President had an equally unfavourable opinion of the "Dress Bill." In a letter to Brodie of Brodie, then Lord Lyon for Scotland, dated 8th July 1747, he says:—

"The garb is certainly very loose, and fits men inured to it to make very quick marches, to go through very great fatigues, to bear out against the inclemency of the weather, to wade through rivers, and shelter in huts, woods, and rocks upon occasion, which men dressed in Low-Country garb could not possibly endure.

"But it is to be considered, as the Highlands are circumstanced at present, it is—at least it seems to me to be—an utter impossibility, without the advantage of the dress, for the inhabitants to tend their cattle and go through the other parts of their business, not to speak of paying their landlords. Now, because too many of the Highlanders have offended, to punish all the rest who have not, and who, I venture to say, are the greatest number, seems to me to be very unreasonable."

The value of any remonstrances on the part of the President may be seen by the following quotation from the *Anti-jacobin Review*, Vol. xiii. :—"When he visited London in the end of the year 1746, for the purpose of settling the accounts he had run with the loyal Highland Militia, he, as usual, went to Court. The King, whose ear had been offended with the repeated accounts of the conduct of the military, thus addressed him—'My Lord President, you are the person I most wished to see. Shocking reports have been circulated of the barbarities committed by my army in the North; your Lordship is, of all men, the most able to satisfy me.' 'I wish to God,' replied the President, 'that I could, consistently with truth, assure your Majesty that such reports are destitute of foundation.' The King, as was his custom, turned abruptly away from the President, whose accounts next day were passed with difficulty, and as report says, the balance, which was immense, never fully paid up." This was the treatment given to the man who of all others rendered the greatest service to the Government in those critical times; but the House of Hanover had discharged its debt of gratitude, and President Forbes was forgotten!

To provide against the possibility of their evading the law, a form of oath was devised, by which all persons were required to swear that they neither had nor should have any arms in their possession, and should never wear any portion of the Highland garb. This atrocious oath was as follows :—

"*I, ——, do swear, and as I shall have to answer to God at the great Day of Judgment, I have not nor shall have in my possession, any gun, sword, pistol, or arm whatsoever; and never use any tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do so, may I be cursed in my undertakings, family, and property—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, and relations—may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without Christian burial, in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred;—may all this come across me if I break my oath.*"

If the framer of this oath was not himself a Highlander, he at all events had a most intimate knowledge of their feelings and

character, of which he took the fullest advantage. He well knew the Highlander's love for family and kin; his dread of being stigmatised as a coward; his warm attachment to the land of his birth; and what an awful destiny he would consider it to "lie without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of his forefathers."

It was not to be expected that the Highlanders would submit to such treatment with a good grace; and though we have no account of their making direct resistance, they took every possible means of evading the law. "The obstinacy," says General Stewart, "with which the law was resisted proceeded no less from their attachment to the proscribed garb, than from the irksomeness of the garb forced upon them. Habituated to the free use of their limbs, the Highlanders could ill brook the restraint and confinement of the Lowland dress, and many were the little devices which they adopted to retain their ancient garb, without incurring the penalties of the Act—devices which were calculated rather to excite a smile than rouse the vengeance of persecution. Instead of the prohibited tartan kilt, some wore pieces of blue, green, or red thin cloth, or course camblet, wrapped round the waist, and hanging down to the knees, like the *feildag*." [The *feildag* was the same as the *feileadh-beag* or kilt, but not plaited at the back.] "After being debarred the use of swords, they seldom went without a stick, and as a substitute for the dirk, they carried a short knife stuck in the side pocket of the breeches, or inserted between the garter and the leg, by those who ventured to wear the hose. Some, who fearful of offending, or wished to render obedience to the law, which had not specified on what part of the body the breeches were to be worn, satisfied themselves with having in their possession this article of legal or loyal dress, which, either as the signal of submission, or more probably to suit their own convenience when on journeys, they often suspended over their shoulders upon their sticks; others who were more wary, or less submissive, sewed up the centre of the kilt with a few stitches between the thighs, which gave it something of the form of the trousers worn by Dutch skippers." We have to this day an instance of the contempt in which the breeches were held in the dance, "Seann-Triubhais," which is a burlesque on the awkward restraint of the

Lowland garb in comparison with their own free and handy dress.

At first these evasions of the law were punished with considerable severity; but at length its officers seemed to have assented to the interpretation put by the Highlanders upon the Act. This appears from the trial of a man of the name of Macalpin or Macgregor, from Breadalbane, in the year 1750, who was acquitted on his proving that the kilt was stitched up in the middle.

The Dress Act remained in force for thirty-five years, though latterly it may be said to have been in abeyance, particularly in the well-affected districts; where, after the first stripping process, it was not so rigidly enforced. "Although," remarks General Stewart, "the severity of this wantonness of power began to be relaxed in 1757, it was not till the year 1772 that this Act, so ungenerous in itself, so unnecessary, and so galling, was repealed. In the session of that year the Duke of Montrose, then a member of the House of Commons, brought in a bill to repeal all penalties and restrictions on the Celtic Garb —it passed without a dissenting voice." We may well imagine the jubilance with which this would be received in the Highlands, particularly among the older people who had witnessed the disgrace of their cherished costume.

Donnachadh Bàn gave vent to his joy on the occasion. He says in

ORAN DO 'N EIDEADH GHAIDHEALACH.

Fhuair mi naidheachd as ùr,
Tha taitinn ri rùn mo chridh,
Gu faigheamaid fasan na dùthch',
A chleachd sinn an tùs air tim.
O'n tha sinn le glaineachan làn,
A' bruidhinn air maran binn,
So i deoch-slainte Mhontrois,
A sheasamh a choir so dhuinn.

Chunna' mi 'n diugh an Dun-eideann,
Comunn na féile cruinn,
Litir an fhortain thug sgeul,
Air toiseach an eibhnis dhuinn.
Piop gu loinneil an gleus,
Air soilleireachd reidh an tuim;
Thug sinn am follais ar 'n eideadh,
A's co their reubail ruinn?

Deich bliadhna fichead a's còrr,
Bha casag de 'n chlò ma' r druim,
Fhuair sinn ad agus cleòc,
'S cha bhuineadh an seors' ud dhuinn.
Bucail a dunadh ar bròg,
'S e 'm barr-iall bu bhoiche leinn,
Rinn an droch fhasan a bh' oirnn',
Na bodaich d' ar òigridh ghrinn.

Fhuair sinn an cothrom an dràst,
A thoilicheas gràdh gach dùthch',
Comas ar culaidh chur oirnn
Gun fharaidh de phòr nan lùb ;
Tha sinn a nis mar is coir,
A's taitnidh an seol r'ar sùil,
Chur sinn a' bhrigis air làr,
'S cha tig i gu brath a cùil.

Chuir sinn a suas an deise,
Bhios uallach, freagarach, dhuinn,
Breacan an fheile phreasaich
A's peiteag de 'n eudach ùr,
Còt' a chadath nan ball ;
Am bitheadh a' charnaid dlù,
Osan nach ceangail ar ceum,
'S nach ruigeadh mar reis an glùn.

The garb was now, however, so long forbidden, and the habits and circumstances of the people so much changed, that, even after the repeal of the Act, the dress was not universally resumed. The younger generation had, by force of habit, become reconciled to the change, while the older portion could hardly be expected to resume the costume after thirty-five years of proscription. The "March of Progress and Civilisation" which followed the suppression of the rebellion, had brought so many changes in its wake, that now, the people found themselves in such altered circumstances that they could hardly resume the dress, however willing they might be. These changes were accelerated by the measures introduced by Government for the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, and the consequent overthrow of the power of the chiefs, who now found time hanging idly on their hands. They had no further use for the faithful clansmen by whose claymores they had held their lands; their ideas had become modernised and their expenditure had increased to such an extent that to keep pace with their Saxon compeers, their limited incomes must be increased, and to this

cause may be traced the many painful changes which subsequently took place.

The trusty clansman, who lived contented, comfortable, and happy on his small patch of land, tending his flock and herds with fearless confidence in the equity of the leader of the people, had to make way for the speculative capitalists and land jobbers from the South, to whose promises of large increase of rents, the chiefs lent a willing ear. Thus began those changes which have since exerted a most baneful influence on the character, comfort, and independence of the Highlanders. Need we wonder then, that the repeal of the Act found the Highlanders so much altered in spirit as to prevent the dress again coming into general use. "Considering the severity of the law against the garb," says General Stewart, "nothing but the partiality of the people could have prevented its going entirely into disuse. The prohibitory laws were so long in force, that more than two-thirds of the generation who saw them enacted passed away before their repeal. The youth of the latter period knew it only as an illegal garb, to be worn only by stealth, under the fear of imprisonment and transportation. Breeches, by force of habit, had become so common, that it is remarkable how the plaid and philabeg *(Feileadh-beag)* were resumed at all."

J. G. MACKAY.

DONALD OG MACAULAY.

DONALD OG MACAULAY, great-grandson of the famous Donald Càm Macaulay, was left an orphan at the early age of fifteen, by the death of his father, and on this child depended the welfare of all the rest of the family. But notwithstanding the hardships and cares of his youth, he became, when he grew up, a man of gigantic size and corresponding strength, and of this latter attribute many stories and songs are still extant in the Western Isles. He had one defect, however—his swordmanship—which, in comparison with the skill displayed by some of his contemporaries, was quite indifferent. He was too proud, however, to acknowledge that he lacked the skill, or that he was second to any man in the Highlands in the handling of the weapon.

At that period there lived at Berneray, in Harris, a far-famed swordsman named Donald Roy Macleod, and a report of some prodigious sword feats performed by him having reached Donald Og Macaulay, the latter sent him a challenge. He proposed that Macleod should meet him with twelve men at Tolmachan, then a hamlet between Amhainnsuidh and Bun-amhainnader, in Harris, on a given day. "Tell Macleod," said Macaulay to the messenger, "that I hear he is an expert swordsman, and that I am determined to try his skill." "Tell your master," answered Macleod, "that I never considered myself an adept in the handling of that weapon, and that I thought, now that I am old and grey-haired, I should go down to the grave without any little skill I may possess being called into requisition. But, little as my knowledge of swordmanship is, I accept Macaulay's challenge with pleasure, and will meet him at his own time and place." Early on the morning of the day appointed for the duel at Tolmachan, Donald Roy and his twelve men took boat to Rodel, and travelled thence to Torgabost, whence they again took boat for Loch *Meabhag-a-chuain*—there is a *Meabhag-a-chuain* and a *Meabhag-nam-beann* in Harris—a loch close to Tolmachan.

At the time there lived at Torgabost a man called *Aonghas 'ic Dhonachaidh 'ic Aonghais,* or Angus, son of Duncan, son of Angus. He was not much to look at, being slender of build, and small in stature, but what Angus wanted in size he possessed in skill, especially as a swordsman. Angus's house was close to the shore, and seeing Donald Roy and his men passing, and fearing that some evil might befall them (for he knew where they were going), he ran into his house, and bid his wife put a *creap, i.e.*, a lump of dough, into the fire at once, while he would get his sword ready, as he was going to Tolmachan to fight a duel for Donald Roy of Berneray. The *creap*, which was a common lunch carried by persons going a journey in the Highlands in those days, was only half cooked when Angus was ready, and taking it out of the fire, and putting it into his pocket, he started for Tolmachan.

Angus had to go by Tarbert, so that he had more than eighteen miles to travel to the rendezvous. He was, however, so light of foot, that he was at the place almost as soon as Donald

Roy and his party. On seeing Angus coming up, Donald Og Macaulay, who had arrived with his men a short time before, enquired of Donald Roy, Who was that insignificant creature approaching them? "He will speak for himself when he comes," said Donald, who at once recognised Angus, and guessed his purpose. As soon as he came up to them, Angus said to Macaulay:—"'*S mise do dhuine* (I am your man.) And I am sure I am the smallest of all the men Donald Roy brought here. The Harris motto is, 'The weakest to the front,' so here I am ——guard yourself!"

Macaulay, stung by the taunt, rushed at Angus furiously, and a sharp fight followed. For some time Angus confined himself to simply warding off Macaulay's blows; but, at length, observing an oportunity, he made a slash at his adversary's face, taking the whisker clean off his right cheek. Macaulay now struck at Angus more recklessly than ever, but the latter by another skilful pass, cut the button from the neck of Macaulay's shirt. "This is your last chance, Macaulay," said Angus, "your head shall come off by the next stroke." On this, Macaulay thought discretion the better part of valour, threw down his sword, and frankly acknowledged that he had met his match and had been defeated.

Donald Og Macaulay parted with Donald Roy and Angus on the best of terms, and this state of matters continued until Macaulay's death, which took place soon after in the following manner:—Donald Og had occasion to go to an island off the coast of Lewis, and for this purpose he ordered his boat to be ready at a certain time. From some cause or another his orders were neglected, which, it is said, excited his feelings so much that his heart burst, and he died almost immediately. The following dirge was composed to his memory:—

'S luath a thainig an fhras oirn,
'S og a rinn i ar 'n àbhan aiseag o thiom;
Is tric am bàis oirn a bagairt,
'S e ri tighinn mar ghadaich san oidhche;
Am fear as fearr tha air fhaicionn
Tha e diobradh a bhrachd anns' gach ni;
'S tha gach linn a dol seachad,
Eadar 'n Timbirn, an fhaidhe, 's an Righ.

Dhomhsa b'aithne do nadur,
Nuair a bha thu na d' ailleagan og;
Sud a ri is bi' tu araidh,
Nan ceud armunn a 'g ol.
Cha robh cron ort ri arach,
Aig aon duine don àlach tha beo;
Ach nach fuilingeadh tu tamailt,
Do aon duine air na chaireadh an dorn.

'S beag an t-iognadh do cheile
'Bhi gu dubhach, trom, deurach, fo leon;
C' ait am faighear fear t'aogaisg,
Ann a fursuingeachd chuildean do shloigh?
'S tu a chitheadh le cheile,
Far an stadadh an eucoir 's a choir;
'S tu b'urrainn ga'n reiteach
Le uirigleadh ghleusta do bheoil.

Cha bu sgair' air mo naigheachd,
Gu 'm bu tu fear-tighe nach gann;
An an gliocas is tuigse,
Thug Dia dhuit mor mhisneachd na cheann.
'S bha tlachd air do chosnadh,
'S cha 'n fhaca' thu riamh cosgais no càll;
Bu tric iomradh do phailteis
An a cearnaibh nach fhacas thu ann.

Cha b'ann air islead a ghàraidh
Bu mhaith leat bhi bàrcadh a steach;
Ach air 'n aon mhir a b' airde
Far an ruigeadh do lamhan air streap.
Chuir thu romhad na b'aill leat
Do chriochanaibh àsaid bha ceart,
'S cha b'e spiocaire 'n airdean
Bha stri ri' do nadar 'na gleachd.

Ann a bhi 'g ionndran do mhaitheas,
Tha rud againn ri ràtha gu leor;
Bu neo-stoirmeal do ghluasad
'S cha bhitheadh an tuagh mu do shroil.
Cha'n eil sinne dheth 'm buannachd
Ged tha d' anam-sa shuas an an gloir;
Ach se dh -innseas sin fathast,
Am fear is faide gheibh latha dhinn beo.

We have often heard this lament sung in the West Highlands to a beautiful and melancholy air. We do not think it was ever written out in full until we did so between the years 1860-64.

MACIAIN.

MORE ABOUT SELLAR AND THE SUTHERLAND CLEARANCES.

COLONEL STEWART of Garth, when collecting the materials for his "Sketches of the Highlanders"—incomparably the best book ever written on the Highlands—wrote, among others, to Colonel Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, for information about the hair-breadth escapes of his father after the battle of Culloden, and other questions, especially those connected with the management of Highland property within his own recollection and experience. Cluny was born in 1750, and was, therefore, at this date (1817), in the sixty-seventh year of his age—full of knowledge derived from personal observation and experience of the state of the country, and the actual condition of the people. After detailing a most interesting account of Cluny's wanderings, the devotion of his followers, his many and almost miraculous escapes from capture by the Government troops, and the raising of the Old 71st, or Fraser's Highlanders, in which he had himself long and gallantly served, he concluded a long letter, dated "Cluny House, 9th June 1817," in the following terms :—

"I am clearly of your opinion that much of the attachment of the people to their superiors is unncessarily lost, though I cannot impute the whole blame to proprietors. In many instances the people themselves are entirely in the fault, and in other cases factors abuse the trust reposed in them, and, of course, the proprietor gets the whole blame of their oppressions. You have given two very striking and opposite instances, which may serve to illustrate the situation of landlord and tenant all over the nation. I mean Sir George Stewart, and the Earl of Breadalbane. The one has well-paid rents, and the offer of a large sum of money besides for his accommodation, while the other with difficulty gets one-tenth of his. If a tenant has a fair bargain of his farm, it is an absurdity to suppose that one bad year will distress him, but when the rent is so *racked* that he is only struggling in the best of times, a very little falling off in prices or seasons will totally ruin him, and I am sorry to say that much of the present distress is to be

attributed to that cause. I am happy to have it in my power to tell you that my rents were all paid, that is, to a mere trifle, and even that trifle due by a few improvident individuals who would be equally in arrear in the best of times. The Duke of Gordon has not received more than one-half his rents either in Lochaber or Badenoch, but I have reason to believe his Grace's rents were better paid in the low country. Belville has not exceeded one-tenth, and though I do not exactly know in what proportion the Invereshie rent was paid, yet I know that it was a bad collection. The conduct of the family of Stafford is certainly unaccountable, for I am credibly informed that the old tenants offered a higher rent than those that came from England, consequently they are losers in every respect. I know it will be said by those who are advocates for depopulating the country that they could not stand to their offer, but neither could their successors, for a very large deduction has already been given them, and one man in particular has got *five hundred pounds down.* Upon the whole, it is clear that the Marquis of Stafford was led into those arrangements (so disgraceful to the present age) by speculative men that wish to overturn the old system at once, without considering that their plans were at least only applicable to the present moment, and that such changes, even if necessary, should be done gradually and with great caution. I cannot dismiss this subject without making a few remarks on the conduct of Lady Stafford, and you will be astonished to learn that when her old and faithful adherents, who had given her such repeated proofs of their attachment, were cruelly oppressed by a factor, that she should refuse to listen to their complaints, and when that factor was tried for his life on charges of cruelty, oppression, and murder, it is most unaccountable that her Ladyship should exert all her influence to screen him from the punishment which he so richly deserved. I have only to add that, as far as my own observations extend, much of the evil complained of arises from the absence of proprietors from their properties, by which they are in a great measure unacquainted with the real state of their tenants, and consequently open to every species of advice and misrepresentation."

This letter was written within less than a year of Patrick Sellar's trial at Inverness, and the comments of a landed proprietor

of Cluny's age, high social position, and experience, written at the time, will be read with much interest at present Only the substance of the letter was published by Colonel Stewart, in the "Sketches;" and the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, unfortunately quite forgot that he had an authentic printed copy of it in his possession, when writing *The History of the Highland Clearances*, kindly given him several years ago by the present Chief.

The following communication from one of the leading ministers in Nova-Scotia, and one of the most accomplished living Gaelic scholars, will prove interesting in the same connection :—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

BARNEY'S RIVER, NOVA SCOTIA, March 4th, 1884.

SIR,—I have received your "Isle of Skye," with Patrick Sellar's Trial. I have read them with great interest. Sellar's deeds of cruelty were made known to me before by the people from Sutherlandshire in my congregation here, but the one-half was not told of his work. I read the trial to an old man of 75 years, who was an eye-witness to some of the deeds of that time when he was a little boy. He remembers seeing a party of soldiers marching up and down along the banks of the Brora River, not far from Golspie. He said that a satire or lampoon had been composed on Sellar, but he could repeat only one stanza of it. When he came to the chorus he almost jumped up out of the chair; the old spirit revived in him; his horror awakened at the bare mention of Sellar's name, whose memory is held in execration by the people here who came from Sutherland.

The song was long remembered, and used to be sung by the old people who had been driven from their homes and came to live here, especially by the descendants of John Sutherland of the Kilt, commonly called "Iain Muilleir." About the year 1735 John Sutherland was born in the parish of Clyne, and was a boy, about ten years old, when the battle of Culloden was fought. He remembered the battle and a skirmish also at the Little Ferry between Golspie and Dornoch. In his younger days he was employed as a forester or deer-keeper by William, Earl of Sutherland, and he lived on the Sutherland estate all his life, until the year 1820, when he was evicted from his house and home by Sellar, at the age of 85. Because he would not willingly remove he was forcibly ejected, and carried as a prisoner to Dornoch jail, where he was confined for some time, with other persons, until he was liberated at the request of the Countess Elizabeth, who, on consideration of the services he had rendered to her father and family, ordered him to be set at liberty.

He emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1821, and settled here at Barney's River with his family, consisting of two sons and three daughters. He never wore a pair of trowsers in his life, and as he always wore the kilt he was known here by the name of "*Bodach-an-fhéilidh*," the kilt-man, or John Sutherland of the kilt. He lived till March 1840, and died at the age of 105 years. His wife, Elizabeth Mackay, was five years younger than he, but lived sixteen years after him, so that she was 116 years old at the time of her death, in March 1856. His eldest daughter, who was known by the name of "*Sine Mhor*," Big Jane, lived to be 105 years old; she died in 1877. This Big Jane was a heroine; and when the constables and officers were sent to

eject her father and other people, she, with a gang of women, opposed and attacked them. Big Jane took hold of the summons in her teeth as Lochiel did of the Englishman's throat at Achadalew, and though she was thrown down on the ground by the constables who held her fast, she tore it in pieces with her teeth. Her daughter "*Sine Bheag*," Little Jane, a girl of sixteen, was struck with a stick by one of the constables; but the girl's uncle, Alexander Sutherland, rushed in to protect his niece, and received a blow from Brander's staff on the top of the head. These cruelties were never forgotten by the people; they were indelibly imprinted on their minds; they are still remembered by the descendants of John Sutherland of the Kilt, whose posterity live here to the sixth generation.

The satire on Sellar is now almost forgotten; some odd verses of it are remembered by one here and there. I send you a copy of all I could collect of it. Likely it will be remembered by old persons in the parish of Clyne, where it was originally composed. It is a curiosity in the history of that period. I would like to have the whole of it. Whenever it is repeated here by any of the people, the old *animus* towards Sellar appears and breaks forth. He has certainly gained for himself an unenviable reputation.

As you have been taking so much interest in Sellar's doings in Sutherland, I thought the above worth sending to you.—Yours truly,

D. B. BLAIR.

[We may inform our reverend correspondent that twelve verses of the "Satire" on Sellar were published last year in the *Oban Times*, and afterwards circulated in slips. We shall try to procure and send him a copy. Mr Blair sends us some verses not included in the published version.—Ed. *C. M.*]

MACDONALD OF SCOTUS AND HIS SON IN 1745.—Macdonald of Scothouse came to pass the day with me. He was endowed with a fine figure and a prepossessing address, joined to that of an agreeable exterior, and had all the qualities of soul which ordinarily distinguish the honourable and gallant man—brave, polite, obliging, of fine spirit and sound judgment. As he was naturally of a gay disposition, I perceived his melancholy on his entering my dwelling. On asking him the cause, this worthy man looked at me, his eyes bathed in tears—"Ah, my friend, you do not know what it is to be a father. I am of this detachment which must depart this evening to attack Lord Loudon. You do not know that a son whom I adore is with him an officer in his regiment. I believed myself fortunate in obtaining that rank for this dear boy, not being able to foresee the descent of Prince Charles Edward into Scotland. Perhaps to-morrow I shall have the grief to kill my son with my own hand, and that the same ball that I shall fire off in my defence may occasion from myself a death the most cruel! In going with the detachment I may be able to save his life; if I do not march, some other may kill him." The recital of poor Scothouse rent my heart. I retained him the whole day at my house, endeavouring to dissipate his fears as much as I possibly could, and making him promise on parting to come straight to my house on leaving the boat. The next day, at evening, I heard a great knock at my door. I ran thither, and perceived the good father holding a young man by the hand, of a jolly figure, who cried to me, his eyes sparkling with joy, "Behold, my friend, the one who yesterday caused all my alarms. I have taken him prisoner myself; and when I had hold of him he embraced me fervently, not regarding the others who were present." I then saw him shed tears of joy, very different from those of the night before.—*Memoirs of the Chevalier de Johnstone.*

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

XIII.—Celtic Worship and Rites.

A brief glance at the places and rites of worship and burial among the ancient Celts will conclude the religious aspect of their Mythology. The Celts worshipped in temples and in groves; both are frequently referred to in the classical writers. Unfortunately no description of any Celtic temple is vouchsafed us; the natural conclusion we must come to is that they must have been similar, however rude, to the temples of the kindred races of Greece and Rome. Celtic houses were constructed of wood: "great houses," says Strabo, "arched, constructed of planks and wicker, and covered with a heavy thatched roof." They were circular, high, and with either a conical or domed roof. This description applies to the very earliest Celtic buildings, those of Britain and rural Gaul, for the Gauls of Cæsar's time had towns with walls, streets and market places, as opposed to the "dunum," the stockaded hill-top or fortified forest-clearing, of their insular brethren. The Gaulish temples must, therefore, have been of stone, but the British temples were most likely constructed, like the houses, of wood. The earliest Christian churches were also made of wood, and, for the most part, clearly consisted of the old heathen temples consecrated to Christian use. "The temples of the Idols in Britain," says Pope Gregory (A.D. 601), "ought not to be destroyed; but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples; let altars be erected and relics placed." There are no remains of either Celtic heathen temples or early Christian churches. The theory that the so-called "Druid" circles were Celtic temples is refuted by the two facts that the Celts were Aryans with Aryan culture, and that they made use of metal—even iron—tools from the earliest period we have record of them. The rude stone circles are evidently not the work of a race well acquainted with the use of metal. It is quite true that in religious ceremonies old phases of culture, whether of dress, instruments, or buildings, survive in a higher stage of civilisation. Thus the flint knife of

the "stone" age was used on solemn occasions at the Jewish circumcision, and at the sacrifices of old Carthage and Rome; and the gowns of modern clergymen are the survivals of Middle-Age dresses. This, however, operates but to a limited extent; the Jewish temple, unlike their rude stone altars, was built of *hewn* stone, made ready before being brought to the temple, so that "there was neither hammer nor axe, nor any tool of *iron*, heard in the house while it was building." In this way a metal-using people reconciled the old with the new phase of culture, and we cannot suppose that the Celts, even if they did use stone circles, which is most improbable, would not have reconciled them to their state of culture by dressing and shaping the stones, as, indeed, the Bronze Age builders of Stonehenge had begun to do.

Along with temples, the classical writers continually mention "groves" as especial places where Celtic worship was conducted. A grove was a secret recess embowered by tall trees, and marked by votive offerings, insignia of the gods, and an altar of stone, or some equivalent. The distinguishing features of a grove were secrecy and sacredness. Groves are prior in time to temples, and Grimm has analysed the Teutonic words for "temple" to signify "wood" or even "grove." He says—"The earliest seat of heathen worship was in groves, whether on mountain or in pleasant mead; there the first temples were afterwards built, and there also were the tribunals of the nation." The classical words for temple—Latin, *templum*, Greek, *temenos*, both from the root *tem*, to cut, mean, originally, a "clearing"—a forest clearing, in fact. The Greek *temenos*, which may mean a sacred grove, is often used in speaking of Celtic places of worship. The Gaulish word of like signification was *nemeton*, which appears in several place-names in Britain, Gaul, and Asia Minor; in the latter country the Galatian council of the twelve tetrarchies met at a place called Drynemeton, that is, "oak-grove." In old Irish, the word appears as *nemed*, a chapel, and is the same in root as the Gaelic *neamh*, heaven, and the Latin *nemus*, a grove. Lucan, in the following lines, gives us a vivid description of a Gaulish grove, dwelling on the superstitions and miracles connected with it, and alluding to the worship of the "secretum illud," the abstract existence, which Tacitus says the Germans reverenced, who, here as elsewhere in religion, differed but little from the Celts.

"A grove, inviolate from length of age,
With interwoven branches' mazy cage,
Enclosed a darkened space of earth and air,
With chilly shades, where sun could enter ne'er.
There not the rustic gods nor satyrs sport,
Nor sylvans, gods of groves, with nymphs resort;
But barbarous priests, on altars dire, adore
Their gods, and stain each tree with human gore.
If miracles of old can be received
And pious tales of gods can be believed,
There not the feathered songster builds her nest,
Nor lonely dens conceal the savage beast;
There no tempestuous winds presume to fly,
Ev'n lightnings glance aloof, obliquely by.
Nor ever breezes lift or lay the leaves,
But shivering horror in the branches heaves:
The plenteous stream the darkened fountains leaves:
The images of gods, a mournful band,
Have ne'er been shaped so rude by artist's hand—
Misshapen forms with limbs lopped off forth stand.
The very place, with oaks all hoar and drear,
Inspires the gazer's soul with numbing fear:
'Tis not the deities of wonted form
They worship thus 'mid terrors and alarm,
But gods unknown—it but increases fear
They do not know the gods they so revere.
Oft, as fame tells, the earth in throbs of woe
Is heard to groan from hollow depths below;
The baleful yew, though dead, has oft been seen,
To rise from earth and spring with dusky green;
With sparkling flames the trees, unburning, shine,
And round their boles prodigious serpents twine.
The pious worshippers approach not near,
But shun their gods and kneel with distant fear;
The priest himself, when Phœbus, god of light,
Rolling, has reached his full meridian height,
Or night rules all, dreads to approach the place
And shuns the master of the grove to face."

The favourite tree among the Gauls for groves was the oak; "the Druids," says Pliny, "choose groves of oak and conduct no sacrifice without its leaf," and he suggests that the name Druid is from the same root as Greek *Drus*, an oak, a derivation which is yet the only one worth consideration of the many suggested. The sacredness of groves and of trees has not yet died out among the Celts. In Ireland it is counted especially unlucky to cut down trees in raths and such early structures. Mr Kinahan, in

the "Folklore Record" for 1882, says:—"A man, near Kilmaganny, County Kilkenny, came to me in a great state of mind one morning, as the previous night some one had cut a thorn tree in a rath on his land, and some ill-luck must come to him before the end of the year. I tried to console him by saying the year [it being October] was nearly out, so that he would probably live out the charm, but curiously enough before Christmas he buried a fine girl of a daughter."

The Celts made use of statues in their worship: Cæsar mentions that there were very many statues of Mercury, and other writers, as Lucan, in the lines quoted above, bear testimony to the same fact. Before they used images, they were content with emblems of the gods; thus we are told by a writer of the second century that the Celts worshipped Zeus, and that a tall oak represented his statue, a reference which again puts the Celts on a level with the Germans of Tacitus, who had no statues, and even thought it an impiety to represent celestial grandeur in human shape. Some remains of Gaulish art in statue-making have weathered the ravages of ages, and of these the statuettes of Taranis are the most numerous and interesting. Uninfluenced by Roman or Greek art, their statues were rude and unshapely, as Lucan says:—"Simulacraque maesta deorum arte carent." Gildas speaks of the grim-faced idols mouldering in the deserted temples; and idols of bronze to the number of nineteen were dug up at Devizes in 1714. A true Celtic statue called by its Breton votaries the "Groah-Goard," and known as the "Venus of Quinipily" was worshipped in Britanny till the 17th century. It was a huge misshapen figure, 7 feet high with a large and uncouth body, a flattened bust, and eyes, nose, and mouth like those of an Egyptian idol. We meet in Irish history with the mystical figure of Crom or Crom-Cruaich, king-idol of Erin, first, in the reign of King Tiernmas (1543 B.C.), who, we are told, died along with three-fourths of his people whilst they were "ic adrad Chroim-Chroich, rig idaill hErenn," and, a second time, in St Patrick's life, who found at Mag Slecht ("adoration plain") in Cavan, Crom-Cruaich, the chief idol of Erin, covered with gold and silver, and having twelve other idols about it covered with brass. The saint caused the earth to swallow these up as far as their heads, where they still were, as a sign of the miracle, when the pious Middle-Age scribe was writing.

The Gaulish altars and also the Gaelic altars were pillars of stone inscribed with emblems of the sun and moon, or a beast, bird, or something which symbolised some force of nature—"dealba nan dula"—representations of the elements, as Cormac calls them. Another feature of Celtic groves and temples consisted of the many votive tablets and images, with representation of limbs, faces, and bodily parts, hung up on the walls or suspended from the trees. These were set up as thank-offerings for rescue from some sickness or pain in the part represented, or with a view that relief from pain might come. The "rag-bush" by the modern wells, and the crutches and other accessories of infirmities left at holy wells, are a remnant of ancient and analogous beliefs in the deities of the fountains. A more ghastly sight, however, would be presented by the many heads of animals, and, possibly, of men hung up in the groves, like trophies of the chase, but really intended as votive offerings, and rendered, at times, all the ghastlier by having their mouths prized and kept open by sticks of wood. This custom is still kept in remembrance in modern architectural designs.

For Celtic religious rites we have to trust almost entirely, in attempting to discover them, to the superstitions and customs of Christian and modern times. Superstition is the survival, in another phase of culture, of earlier religion and science. At present we shall only deal with some customs and superstitions that appear to bear on Celtic religious ritual, leaving the wider question of quaint customs and superstitions to be dealt with afterwards. The classical writers mention but little of Celtic rites. The human sacrifices attracted most attention: "They sacrifice men," says Diodorus, "striking them at the place above the diaphragm [on the back, Strabo says], and from their fall, the convulsion of the limbs and the flow of the blood, they predict the future." When the Romans put a stop to their human sacrifices, vestiges, however, remained, as Mela says, of the old but abolished savagery, and "just as they refrain from going the whole length of slaughter, they nevertheless touch and graze the persons devoted to sacrifice after bringing them to the altars." An interesting parallel to this in modern times occurs in the Samoan islands. There cannibalism has for ages been unknown, yet the punishment that carries the highest disgrace among them

is to put the delinquent into a *cold oven*, an evident survival from the time when such a person would be roasted and eaten. The remembrance of these old Celtic human sacrifices was until lately kept up at the Beltane fires.

The only religious rites of any consequence that can be pointed to are those connected with the worship of fire and the changes of the year. It must not be supposed that the Celts were greater worshippers of fire, sun, and moon than the other European nations, and that this worship was distinctive of them. The fire worship was equally as strong among Teutons, Romans, and Greeks as among the Celts, and quite as long maintained into modern times. But Celtic idiosyncracies bring some features of the worship and practices into greater prominence. The custom of showing reverence by walking round persons or things, keeping the right hand towards them, is derived from the apparent course of the sun, and is known as "deiseil" *(dextralis)*, "right-hand-wise." In India the old name for the custom is similarly the "right-hand-turn," *dakshiman kri.* The "need-fire"—Gaelic, *teine-eiginn*—is a "survival" from a very ancient phase of culture, and, possibly, from a time when men lived in a warmer climate, and the rubbing of sticks easily produced fire. It is also significant that, in the best preserved form of the custom, the need-fire makers must have no metal about them, a survival which points to the Stone Age. Another general fact in regard to Celtic need-fire was that all the district fires within sight had previously to be extinguished, to be re-lighted only from the pure need-fire. The need-fire was variously produced. In Mull, about 1767, a hill-top was selected, within sight of which all fires were put out, and then the pure fire was produced by *turning a wheel over nine spindles of wood* until the friction caused combustion. Martin in his "Western Isles" thus describes it:—"The *tinegin* they used as an antidote against the plague or murrain in cattle, and it was performed thus—All the fires in the parish were extinguished, and then eighty-one married men, being thought the necessary number for effecting this design, took two great planks of wood, and nine of them were employed by turns, who by their united efforts rubbed one of the planks against the other until the heat thereof produced fire; and from this fire each family is supplied with new fire, which is no sooner kindled than a pot full of water is

quickly set on it, and afterwards sprinkled on the people infected with the plague or upon the cattle that have the murrain." In Caithness the friction was produced by working a horizontal wooden bar, supplied with levers, in two upright pieces of wood, into which it was inserted at each end. In all cases, within Christian historic times, the need-fire was lighted as a charm against the plague, whether it attacked men or cattle. Fire has always been considered the purifier *par excellence*, and clearly no fire could be so pure as the need-fire, which was there and then produced for the first time. But though latterly restricted to being a charm against the plague, the need-fire shows clear traces of a higher religious purpose. These fires were lighted at the great festivals of the solar and lunar year, and from them all the fires of the neighbourhood, previously extinguished, were re-lighted. Priests, we know, presided at these sacred fires, and men and cattle were passed through them, as Cormac and others tell us. One of St Patrick's first struggles with King Loegaire was over the sacred Beltane (?) fire. "Fire is kindled by him at that place on Easter Eve," says a Middle-Irish life of the saint; "Loegaire is enraged when he sees the fire. For that was a prohibition of Tara which the Gael had, and no one durst kindle a fire in Ireland on that day until it had been kindled first at Tara at the solemnity. And the Druids said 'unless that fire be quenched before this night, he whose fire it is shall have the kingdom of Ireland for ever.'" But that fire was not quenched, and the boldness of the missionary, along with the inevitable miracles, brought Loegaire and his people to the side of the Saint and Christianity.

"THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS," now in the press, by Alexander Mackenzie, Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, will be issued in a handsome volume, uniform with his *History of the Mackenzies* and his *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, in July, or early in August next. Price to Subscribers—whose names will be printed in the book—One Guinea. Any remaining, unsubscribed, copies will, immediately on publication, be charged £1. 10s. The issue is limited to 500 copies, demy octavo. Seventy-five copies are being printed on large paper, demy quarto, at a Guinea and a-half to subscribers; any remaining copies will be charged £2. 10s. The complete work will contain, in addition to the General History of the Clan, Biographies of General Sir Allan Cameron of Erracht; Colonel John Cameron of Fassiefern; Dr Archibald Cameron; and other distinguished members of the Clan. The Camerons of Glenevis, Erracht, Callart, Fassiefern, and others, will be noticed at length under separate headings. Intending Subscribers should send in their names without delay, to A. & W. MACKENZIE, INVERNESS.

OLD HIGHLAND REMEDIES.

I.

RECENTLY a limited edition of a very rare book — Martin's *Western Islands of Scotland*—has been published. It contains many curious things, among them an account of the remedies used in those days (1695), previously, and to some extent since, in the Highlands and Islands of the West, for all kinds of ailments to which man or beast was liable. It is thought that a brief reference to some of these, with a few examples taken from other sources, may prove interesting to the reader. We shall first deal with those remedies used for the ailments of the people themselves, after which we may have something to say about those applied for the cure of cattle, and other animals.

Two or three hundred years ago, such a person as a professional doctor was unknown in the Highlands. The people were naturally healthy, and the little ailments which affected them were quickly relieved by some simple concoction of herbs. They found healing in the roots, stones, shells, and other objects of nature which lay close at hand, and although at times their remedies showed traces of superstition, in general they served their purpose well enough. Some of these remedies are used in the Highlands to the present day, and their efficacy is in many instances undoubted. What, for example, can be better for a cough than plenty brochan or gruel and butter, which was and is still the sovereign cure for that complaint in the Western Isles? Nettle roots and the roots of reeds boiled in water with yeast was also used. Speaking of the men of Lewis, Martin says, when the uvula falls they cut it in this curious manner—"They take a long quill, and putting a horse-hair double into it, make a noose at the end of the quill, and putting it about the lower end of the uvula, they cut off from the uvula all that is below the hair with a pair of scissors; and then the patient swallows a little bread and cheese, which cures him. This operation is not attended with the least inconvenience, and cures the distemper so that it never returns." He tells us that John Campbell, the forester of Harris, when he had caught a cold, walked into the sea with his clothes

on, and then went to bed in his wet garments, but well wrapped up in the bedclothes, and the perspiration thus induced cured his cold by the next day. Another common remedy for a cold was a decoction of colt's-foot. A cure for coughs and hoarseness was to bathe the feet in hot water, and then to rub some deer's grease to the soles of the feet in front of a good fire at bed-time. The following recipe for a cold is taken from *Nether-Lochaber* :— "Take a pint—say a tumblerful—of sea water that has been heated to the boiling point, without having been allowed actually to boil. Sprinkle over it some pepper, rather more plentifully than you do in your soup ; drink this as hot as you can bear it as you step into bed at night." This is said to be even yet a popular cure in Lochaber.

Fresh wounds were dressed with a salve made of golden rod, mistletoe, and fresh butter. A broken limb was first rubbed with the white of an egg mixed with barley meal, and tied up in splints for a day or two. An ointment composed of betony, St John's wort, and golden rod, all pounded together in butter or sheep's grease, was afterwards applied. Sometimes the fat of a sea bird was made into a pudding, and being placed in the stomach of the bird, was applied as a kind of poultice to fresh wounds. This was called "Giben of St Kilda." The plant called shepherd's purse was applied to cuts to arrest the flow of blood, but yarrow was considered the best remedy for that purpose. The latter plant was used also for headaches, the leaves being pushed up the nostrils until the blood sprung, from which very likely it took its Gaelic name of *lus na fola*, or the blood-weed. In the Island of Gigha nettles were used to stanch bleeding, and also the common fungi called puff-balls. Ribwort, wood mercury, herb Robert, and bloody cranesbill were all used for the same purpose, the Gaelic name of the last-mentioned plant, according to Cameron, being *creachlach dearg*, the red wound healer.

The following amusing cures for the jaundice among the Lewis men are taken from Martin :—"The first is by laying the patient on his face, and, pretending to look upon his back bones, they presently pour a pailful of cold water on his bare back ; and this proves successful. The second cure they perform by taking the tongs and making them red-hot in the fire ; then pulling off

the clothes from the patient's back, he who holds the tongs gently touches the patient upwards on the vertebrae of the back, which makes him furiously run out of doors, still supposing the hot iron is on his back, till the pain be abated, which happens very speedily, and the patient recovers soon after." In Shetland the remedy for this disease was to mix powdered snails in the patient's drink.

Diarrhœa and dysentery were treated in Lewis with a beverage composed of what Martin calls "the kernel of the black molocca beans," ground to powder, and mixed with boiled milk. Moderate doses of strong whisky and juniper berries were also taken for these ailments. In Harris powdered cuttle-fish bone was given to the patient in boiled milk; and in Uist the great cures were to eat seal, and drink plenty whisky in which a hectic stone had been quenched. Another remedy for diarrhœa was red coral and a roasted yolk of egg.

In cases of fever, whey, in which violets had been boiled, was given as a cooling drink. Distilled raspberry and whortleberry juice were used for the same purpose. For what Martin calls "spotted fever," probably measles, they drank freely of brandy; and for scarlet fever the same remedy was used in smaller quantities. In the case of infants, the nurse drank the brandy, to qualify the milk; and, it is feared, the nurses of those days frequently discovered symptoms of scarlet fever in the infants under their care.

Serpent bites were cured in a variety of ways. The people followed the old proverb—"Take a hair of the dog that bit you;" for Martin states that in Skye the principal cures for serpent bites were to wash the wound in water in which the forked tongue of the serpent had been steeped, and to apply the head of the reptile which gave the wound. Another was to place the hind part of a living cock to the bite, which was thought to draw out the venom. New cheese, promptly applied, was found effectual; as were also juniper berries, ground ivy, and decoctions of oak bark, acorns, and ash leaves.

In Harris the remedy for gravel was an infusion of wild garlic. In Skye it was cured by taking broth made of dulse, or ometimes of the large, pale whelk, pounded in its shell, boiled and strained. Another remedy was water gruel without salt.

For sleeplessness after fever the patient washed his feet, knees, and ancles in a warm infusion of chickweed, and on going to bed a poultice of the same plant was applied warm to his neck and between his shoulders. A poultice of chopped nettle-tops and raw white of eggs applied to the forehead and temples at bed-time was also used to induce sleep. A kind of heath called *Erica baccifera*, boiled in water, and applied to the crown of the head and temples, and the green sea plant, called in Gaelic *linnearach*, were remedies for sleeplessness, and an infusion of thyme was a certain preventive against nightmare and horrible dreams.

To raise a blister the Highlanders bruised spearwort, and applied it in a limpet shell to the spot where the blister was required. This very soon took effect, and when the blister burst the wound was healed with *linnearach*. Another blister they used was groundsel, applied much in the same way.

For consumption a common remedy was the broth of a lamb in which the plants lovage and Alexanders were boiled; another being milk or water in which a red-hot hectic stone had been cooled, to which they sometimes added yarrow. In Skye they used an ale composed of hart's-tongue and maiden-hair ferns boiled in unfermented beer, and sometimes also brochan without salt. Lungwort was a very common cure. In Black's *Folk-Medicine*, it is stated that "In the county of Moray the people were formerly in the habit of paring the nails of the fingers and toes of persons suffering from hectic and consumptive diseases. The parings were put in a rag cut from the patient's clothes, and waved three times round his head, with the cry *Deas soil* [*? Deas-iuil.*] After this the rag was buried in some unknown place."

The cure for fluxes in Uist was dried seal's liver, pulverised, and taken with milk or whisky. In Skye a syrup extracted from blackberries was used, and a decoction of plantain in which hectic stone had been quenched.

For sciatica the Uist men bound a girdle of sealskin round the hips, to which was also applied the fat of a sea-bird which Martin calls a "bonnivochil."

Megrim and headache were cured by applying the sea-plant *linnearach* to the side of the head affected, and also by a plaster of cold dulse.

Colic was relieved by taking broth made of dulse, and for stitches the Skye-men, if bleeding was ineffectual, applied an ointment composed of camomile, or brandy and fresh butter, or a poultice of raw scurvy-grass chopped fine. It was cured in Jura by a vapour-bath formed of the fumes of ladywrack and redfog boiled in water, the patient sitting upon the vessel which contained the herbs.

To expel worms the Highlanders took dried bruised dulse, or an infusion of tansy in whey or brandy, taken fasting. Bog-myrtle tea and the powdered roots of shield ferns in water were also used with success. Worms were expelled from the hands by washing them in salt water in which the ashes of burnt sea-weed were mixed.

Regarding ringworm, *Nether-Lochaber* informs us that, "There is a very wide-spread belief over the West Highlands and in the Hebrides that ringworm can be readily cured by rubbing it over and around once or twice with a gold ring—a woman's marriage ring, if it can be had, being always preferred." In *Folk-Medicine*, we are told that "in Shetland a person affected with ringworm takes, on three successive mornings, ashes between the forefinger and thumb, before taking food, and, while holding them to the part affected, says—

'Ringworm, ringworm red!
Never may'st thou spread or speed
But aye grow less and less
And die away among the ase' *(ashes.)*"

H. R. M.

(To be continued.)

THE CHIEF OF GRANT AND THE SEAFIELD ESTATES.—Intense feeling has been roused among the Grants in consequence of the late Earl of Seafield having left all the family estates unconditionally to his mother, the Countess Dowager. The facts, stated simply, are as follows:—The late Earl, by will, left the whole estates absolutely to his mother, without making any provision whatever for the head of the House of Grant and the holder of the title. So far, then, as the late Earl could, the estates were wholly alienated by him from his successor as Chief of Grant and Earl of Seafield. His mother has, however, come to the rescue, and, so far, saved the honour of the Clan by the execution of a deed in terms of which the estates will, at her death, revert to the Chief and Earl. In the meantime, he is to receive £4000 a-year for his maintenance. This allowance is equal, as near as possible, to £5 per cent. per annum on the gross rental of the family estates, which amounts to about £80,000! We fear this will scarcely be considered consistent with the general idea hitherto entertained of what is necessary for upholding an ancient Highland aristocracy.

TUIREADH AIR SON PRIONNSA DONNACHADH * DIUC ALBANI.

LE MAIRI NIC-EALAIR.

O buailidh mi 'n téud òrbhuidh,
Fann bhuailidh mi 'n téud,
'S mi 'sileadh nan déur,
'O n' chuala' mi 'n sgéul brònach.

An t-ailleagan ciùin,
Am fiuran deas ùr,
'Bha finealt'o thùs òige,

'Bhi paisgt' ann an lìon,
Gun aithne gun chlì',
Ann an ciste na 'n tri bòrdan.

'Bhi an glais aig an éug,
An t-aintighearn' nach géill,
'S a chleachd feadh gach ré fòirneart.

O buailidh mi 'n téud òrbhuidh,
Fann bhuailidh mi 'n téud,
'S bean òg a chùil réidh,
A' sileadh nan déur brònach.

'S beag ioghna' an saogh'l,
An diugh dhi bhi faoin,
'S nach faic i a gaol bòidheach.

Nach faic gu la' bhràth,
Aghaidh mhìn-mhaiseach mhàld,
'S nach cluinn i a dhàn ceòlmhor.

A beadragan maoth,
Tha briodal ri 'taobh,
'S cha toir athair a gaoil pòg dhi.

O buailidh mi 'n téud òrbhuidh,
Fann bhuailidh mi 'n téud,
'S an dùthaich gu léir,
A' sileadh nan déur brònach.

Do mhathair tha caoidh,
O ! Bhànrigh ar gaoil,
'S luath sheargadh do chaoin ròs-geal.

'Se bu 'dealradh na gnùis,
Aig céile do rùin,
Rinn sona an tùs d'oig' thu.

* Duncan was the Highland name of the Prince.

'An gliocas 's an ciall,
'An ceanaltas gniomh,
'An tuigse 's am fior eòlas.

O buailidh mi 'n tèud òrbhuidh,
O buailidh mi 'n téud,
Tha solus 's an spéur,
Ged tha sinne air céum ceòdhar.

'S a mhoch-thrath tha ghrian,
A lasadh nan sliabh,
Le h-òr-ghathan fial glòrmhor.

'S i 'g innse 'gach là
Mu mhaduinn an àigh
'N oidhche a bhàis fhògradh.

Bi' am bàs ann an daors'
Ceangailt' teann aig na maoir,
'S gheibh thu 'Bhanrigh do chaoin ròs-geal,

Is buailidh sibh tèud òrbhuidh,
Ard bhuailidh sibh tèud,
Gu suthainn le chéil,
Aighearach, réidh, ceòlmhor.

DUGALD BUCHANAN'S SPIRITUAL SONGS, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE. By L. MACBEAN. Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart. 1884.

IT were a work of the veriest supererogation to commend to Highlanders the spiritual poetry of Dugald Buchanan. There is no Highland poet so popular; and deservedly so. His sacred songs have been the constant companion of, and have afforded spiritual refreshment to, Highlanders in every part of the world from his own time to the present day. Various attempts have been made to set forth the poems in an English garb, both in prose and in rhyme. Some of these have been very successful, but the translation now before us by Mr L. Macbean is vastly superior to them all. It is both free and faithful; and, notwithstanding the double difficulty of reproducing in another tongue the forms of thought and expression peculiar to a very different language, and of translating these into the identical rhythm and measure of the originals, Mr Macbean has sacrificed little, if any, of the richness of the author's imagery or the power of his thought and language. It may be said of Dugald Buchanan's poetry that, though it may be some times quaint and familiar, reminding one somewhat of George Herbert's oddities of rhyme and phrase, it never descends to commonplace; and in "The Day of Judgment" there are verses of quite Miltonic power. Indeed, there is a remarkable coincidence of language observable between Buchanan and not a few of his poetic predecessors and successors. Mr Macbean in his notes indicates a few of these, but a great many more might be added. A number of stanzas from Pollock's "Course of Time" might be compared with the words in which Buchanan, a quarter of a century earlier, describes the same event in his "Day of Judgment." "The Skull," in which the poet moralises and conjectures as to the life and character of the former tenant of the skull which he lifted from the heap of earth at the newly dug grave, might have received its suggestion from Hamlet's contemplations on a similar subject; and though it is true that Buchanan was quite familiar with the works of the great dramatist, such promptings were not at all required in the case of one of such fertility of imagination and artistic power as the schoolmaster of Rannoch. As a specimen of his manner, and an instance of the admirable character

of the translation, we subjoin a few stanzas. Referring to the skull which he held in his hand, Buchanan says :—

"Or a lord of the land
Do I hold in my hand,
Whose acres were fertile and wide,
Who was generous and good,
And clothing and food
To the naked and needy supplied.

"Or wert thou wont to flay
Those under thy sway,
Sore grinding their faces with rent,
And pressing them sore,
Arresting their store,
Though their need might have made thee relent?

"Poor men would not dare
With their heads bald and bare,
Pinched, pallid, and palsied with years,
In thy presence to stand
But with bonnet in hand,
Though the frost wind were piercing their ears.

"But now without fear
Thy slave may come near,
Nor honour nor power thou hast.
O blest be the tomb,
That conqueror by whom
Thy sway has been broken at last!"

For the work of the translator we have nothing but praise. He has placed his countrymen under deep obligation to him, inasmuch as he has done justice to the work of one of their best and most cherished bards. He has also afforded those who could not understand Buchanan in the original Gaelic an opportunity of enjoying the works of one whom Highlanders, very deservedly, delight to honour. The book is very neatly got up, and will be highly prized.

CROFTER ELOQUENCE IN THE ISLE OF SKYE.

A LARGELY attended meeting of the Stenscholl branch of the H.L.L.R. Association was held on the 6th of April, at Dun Raesburgh. Dun Raesburgh is a township in possession of Alexander Macleod, tacksman of Scudiburgh, described as holding "every civil office that can be imagined, from parish innkeeper and miller on the one hand, to sanitary inspector and boarder of parish lunatics on the other, and who, in addition to all that, is a land shark of no small voracity." The following is a translation sent us of the speeches made:—

Hugh Matheson, Stenscholl, after dealing at length with the injustice by which they had been not only impoverished, but actually enslaved, pointed out the necessity of united and earnest perseverance in agitating for the reforms that they want, so that they may either receive justice or fall together. He spoke of the encouragement and sympathy they had so far received from all quarters. He insisted that landlord was a false title, there being no absolute lord of the land but the One Almighty Creator who made the land, and gave it to his own creatures to live on during their pilgrimage here. He quoted from Scripture to show the land was meant by the Creator to belong to the people, and he wondered how landlords would dare, like so many gods, to say that the land was theirs, and that they would dispose of it according to their pleasure. The fish that was yesterday miles away from land was claimed by the landlord the moment it neared the shore, and so also were the birds of

the air as soon as they flew over his land. The law made it so, because landlords were themselves the law makers, and it was a wonder that the poor man was allowed to breathe the air of heaven and drink from the mountain stream, without having the factors and the whole of the country police pursuing him as a thief. He believed they would soon have the landlords advocating wholesale emigration, but if the French or Russians should invade the county would the landlords shake themselves like so many Samsons against the Philistines, and put the enemy to rout with an army of factors, ground-officers, tacksmen, and Cheviot rams. Even with all those they would not be able to stand up for Queen and country as the men of Skye did seventy and eighty years ago. The crofters were not met to plot against either life or property, but to consider what should be done to secure redress of their grievances, and he hoped our gracious Queen and her councillors would seriously consider the matter, and put an end for ever to the oppression and cruelty with which her loyal subjects were being treated in Skye—a treatment which was a disgrace to the civilisation of the nineteenth century. Think of a poor widow gathering shell-fish on the sea-shore for her children's breakfast, and chased away by the landlord's orders, on the ground that she was trespassing. Think, too, of that poor delicate woman whose husband was far away earning the rent, while she was compelled to carry the peats on her back three-quarters of a mile through sleet and snow, because the tacksman wanted the small bit of pasture they used to rent. Here, too, was a poor old man in ragged trousers deprived of his croft because he could not now pay double the rent he paid a few years ago. He had a large family, but they had all been obliged to leave ; one of them was wounded in the battle of the Alma, and some of them were still away fighting for their country, while the poor old man and his wife had no one to cheer their last days. He (the speaker), since he could no longer pay his full rent, saw no prospect before him but the Sheriff Court and eviction, unless the Government would speedily legislate on behalf of the oppressed crofters. He denounced the conduct of those crofters who were too chicken-hearted to join the agitation, and said they might frequently be seen about the kitchens of their oppressors selling their birthright for a mess of pottage. He eulogised the spirit of kindness and impartiality with which the Royal Commission received their evidence last year, and hoped that some good would soon come out of it. He condemned the action of landlords in Parliament, in making special laws to suit their own selfish ends, and expressed the hope that the people would soon be able to send their own representatives into Parliament.

Murdo Maclean, Lealt, said that many things had been said since these meetings began, which had thrown light on the causes of the poverty now existing on various estates in the Highlands, and that was one good thing that the meetings had already done. He pointed out how, when the old chiefs lost the land, the new landlords made it their aim to screw as much money out of the land as they possibly could, and in this they were often assisted by traitors who were bribed from among the people themselves. By-and-bye the landlords came to the conclusion that they could get quite as much rent at less trouble by converting the land into large sheep farms, and so the evictions began, and at the same time the rents of the crofters, who were allowed to remain, were raised to an extraordinary extent, while at the same time the crofts were reduced, and the result was now so much misery, that if the Queen would only visit them, and see their women doing the work of horses, while the men were away earning the rent, he felt sure that out of the nobleness and greatness of her heart she would put a speedy stop to a system that has led to such cruel treatment of her loyal subjects.

Norman Stewart, Valtos, in the course of a long speech, contrasted the treat-

ment of the crofters by strangers who came among them with that by the native tacksmen. He knew an Englishman who at one time had taken the farm of Scorybreck. When this gentleman came to see the farm, he saw some of his shepherds gathering a number of sheep into a fold. Upon being informed by his shepherds that they were the sheep of the crofters who were about to be evicted from the farm which he had taken, the generous Englishman said, "Let the sheep out again to the grazing. I shall have nothing to do with this place after Whitsunday. My bargain with the landlord was for land already under sheep, and not for land from which poor people were to be evicted. I shall never be the means of depriving a poor man of his home." The good Englishman was as good as his word. He gave up the farm at once, and the crofters were left undisturbed. How many of our Scotch tacksmen would have acted in that generous way? Not one. A tacksman induced a cottar to take a piece of land that had been fallow for years, on the border of his farm. The cottar took the croft, drained it, and so greatly improved it that in a few years it was the best croft in the neighbourhood, whereupon the tacksman stepped in and evicted the crofter without giving him a single penny of compensation. In striking contrast to the conduct of those land sharks, the speaker thought they should not forget to mention Mr Johnston, of Montrose, lessee of the salmon fishing. Not only does Mr Johnston pay his men liberally, but provides for them in their old age; takes an interest in the widows and orphans of his deceased servants, and has lately filled the hearts of the children with gladness by providing substantial New-Year treats to them in their schools. But what, continued the speaker, do our proprietors and factors do to the widow and her orphans. When she fails in her rent she is forced to go and take shelter by the dyke side. It would be better for her to share the fate of the Brahmin widow and be sacrificed on the funeral pile. The proprietor has reduced the limits of our pasture land, and more than doubled our rents, and we are reduced to such a state of poverty that we can't get credit for a single boll of meal, unless one of our cows is put in pledge for it. Before we have barely finished our tillage we must leave the country in quest of work to earn money to pay the mealdealer, otherwise our miserable effects are sold, and we are ruined. Our wives in our absence have to do the work of horses, attending to the crop, the cattle, and the peats, until we come back to gather in the harvest, and as soon as that is done we must be off to earn money to pay the rent. Our houses are so wretched that when it rains with a north wind we have to shift our beds to the south side, and when it rains from the south we have to shift our beds back again to the north side, so leaky are our roofs. If we dare take a burden of heather or rashes for thatch we are prosecuted for theft and imprisoned. I have been in jail myself for a week for taking one burden. We have suffered too long and too patiently, but a cloud of relief, at first no bigger than a man's hand, has appeared, and is rapidly growing larger. Let us make our grievances loudly and widely known. We know that all good men in England and Scotland, so far as they know our circumstances, are on our side, but we must agitate more loudly and more unitedly still, so that our cause may become still more widely known, and by the help of God, our cause will yet triumph, and we shall receive justice.

Ronald Maclean, Elleshadder, said that, being from home lately, he met a gentleman who ridiculed this movement and said no good would come of it. I replied—continued the speaker—that good came of a similar movement in another part of the kingdom. You mean Ireland, he said, the Irish are braver and pluckier than you. I said that Skyemen were not prepared to take part in any such horrible deeds as the Irish have been committing. The people of Skye are as loyal to their Queen and country as ever their forefathers were, and on that account we think that we are en-

titled to justice ; and put a Skyeman on a footing of equality with an Irishman in one of the colonies for instance, and the Skyeman will hold his own against the best man that ever came out of Ireland. When, however, a man sees the hunger-pinched faces of his wife and ragged children, and knows that it is all owing to the cursed land laws, he is very apt to do things which, under more favourable circumstances, he could even be ashamed to think of ; but I pray God, however, that our land may be saved from the barbarous outrages which have been committed in another part of the kingdom. But, fellow crofters, we must do something. Our bondage has been too long and too heavy, and we must remain inactive no longer. I would propose in the first place that no labour by crofter or cottar be given to the tacksmen. If that system were carried out the tacksmen would soon find themselves in a rather awkward fix. The tacksmen are the means by which the crofters are oppressed, by which they are evicted, and by which the voracious pockets of the greedy landlords are being filled, and therefore we must do all in our power to throw difficulties in the path of the tacksmen. In the second place, I would propose that the land be revalued, and that we pay no rent above this valuation. The proprietors have repeatedly valued and revalued our holdings, and raised our rents, and now it is our turn to do something. The last valuation was made by an entire stranger. This man knew nothing of our circumstances, and so our rents were raised from 50 to 100 per cent. I would now propose that we turn the tables on our oppressors, and revalue our land. and as we do not want to do anything unreasonable, let us take the tacksman's farm as our standard, and let us pay not a penny of rent above his valuation. I say let us pay not a penny of rent above that valuation until the Government settles the question. We have faith in the Government, and we hope they will do what is right. Anyhow, let us never rest or stop the agitation until we have received justice.

Charles Macarthur, Elleshadder, said he had been moved from his croft in Kilmuir to make room for sheep, to where he is now, on the top of the Kelt Rock. He remembered the clearing of fourteen townships on that estate, and so much was the competition by the tacksmen for those townships that he could compare them to nothing but two solan geese, the one trying to get possession of the fish which the other had caught. Before the man who cleared the townships got a lease, he was deprived of his farm by another tacksman.

Murdo Nicolson, Brogaig, said when I went to pay my rent this year I was short by £3. I told the factor I had no more to give him, and that I had to go all the way to Shetland in a boat to earn what I had ; but that I would put my cow in pledge for the £3, if he would let me. The tacksman of Duntulm, who was present, asked me if I belonged to the Land League. I said I did not, but that I belonged to the Highland Land Law Reform Association. He then told me that he would give me £3 and more, if I would give up my connection with that Association. I told him I would not give up my connection with this Association until we got our grievances redressed, even if I had to sell my very clothes. The factor then said I seemed to be very well dressed; but, if I must tell the truth, I had to tell him that I borrowed most of the clothes I had on to go and see him. My wife would make cloth as well as any woman if she had wool, but Major Fraser took our sheep pasture from us, and now we cannot get any wool. Even if my wife could make a suit of clothes out of heather, she could not get it except by stealing it.

Alexander Nicolson, Brogaig, said the cottars had joined the crofters in this agitation, and would support them with their means to the utmost of their power. He built a cottage and brought up a family there, although he never got a day's labour nearer than Buckie on the East Coast. Even if his children could live on grass they would not be allowed to eat it. The farmer who rented the land would not allow them to sit on the grass, to say nothing of eating it. The crofters were badly off, but the cottars were worse. They were next to the paupers, and he thought men had a better right to the land than sheep. He urged upon the crofters not to accept any settlement of the land question that would not better the condition of the cottars.

All the speeches were enthusiastically cheered throughout, while there were interruptions of a very uncomplimentary nature against the lairds, factors, and tacksmen. This is a fair specimen of what is going on in almost every township in the West, though scarcely any notice is taken of it by the press, and the general public are left in total ignorance.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XVII.

XVIII.—JOHN CAMERON, in 1706, made over the estates to his eldest son Donald. They had previously, in 1696, been assigned to himself by his father, Sir Ewen. We had thus Sir Ewen and his son John both living, while the actual proprietor of the estate was Donald XIXth Chief of the Clan, so prominently known in connection with the Rising of 1745, and of whom presently. It will be remembered that John commanded the clan after Killiecrankie, when his father, Sir Ewen, returned to Lochaber. For this act a warrant was issued, in 1706, for his apprehension, charging him with treason; but it does not appear to have been executed, though, no doubt, it was in consequence of this warrant that he, in the same year, transferred the estates to his eldest son.

He had been involved in all the schemes for the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, but his forte seems to have lain more in the civil than the military groove. He took part, as we have seen, in the Rising of 1715. For this he was attainted and forfeited, after which he left Scotland, and spent the remainder of his life in France; while his son, Donald, took his place at the

head of the clan in Lochaber. His personal attendant, Duncan Cameron, was one of those who accompanied Prince Charles to the Highlands in 1745, to pilot his ship and party to a suitable place of embarkation, which he was well fitted to do, from his accurate knowledge of the West Coast of Scotland. Duncan wrote an account of the voyage, which has been preserved by Bishop Forbes, and printed by Chambers in the *Jacobite Memoirs*. The military genius of the family seems to have gone somewhat under a cloud in the person of John, but only to shine more brilliantly in that of his immediate successor, and others of his descendants. It is even said that his conduct in 1715 gave but little satisfaction to his father or his clan, and that the latter expressed unwillingness again to serve under him. It would, however, in the nature of things, be difficult to satisfy those who had served under such a successful and brilliant leader as Sir Ewen, and this will probably account for any such feeling that may have existed. He married Isabel, daughter of Alexander, sixth, and sister of Sir Duncan Campbell, seventh of Lochnell, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir and successor.

2. John of Fassifern, who married Jean, daughter of John Campbell of Achallader, with issue—four sons and seven daughters, The eldest son became distinguished as Colonel John Cameron, of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, who fell so gloriously at Quatre Bras, and of whom, at length, under "The Camerons of Fassifern."

3. Alexander, who became a priest, and suffered for his sympathies with the Rising of 1745. He was apprehended in Strathglass, and sent to the hulks on the Thames, where he died shortly after, on board a ship, on her way to Hanover, carrying a batch of Jacobite prisoners. Among them was an old and intimate friend of Alexander Cameron—Father John Farquharson, in whose arms he died. He had been removed from his own wretched quarters by order of the Captain of the ship, through the influence of his old companion, in whose arms he breathed his last.*

4. Dr Archibald, executed at Tyburn in 1753, for his share in the Rising of 1745, at the age of 46 years, and of whom, with his family and descendants, hereafter.

* This incident, and the subsequent movements of Father Farquharson, are fully described by Mr Colin Chisholm, Vol. VII., pp. 144-145 of the *Celtic Magazine*.

5. Evan, who died a planter in Jamaica.*
6. Miss Peggy.

Two other sons of Lochiel died young.

He died in exile at Newport, in Flanders, in 1747 or early in 1748, at a very advanced age, when he was succeeded as Chief of the Clan by his eldest son.

XIX. DONALD CAMERON, of 1745 celebrity, known as "The Gentle Lochiel." Though advanced into middle life, he was called "Young" Lochiel, his father being still alive. For several years before the Rising, Donald was in correspondence with the Chevalier de St George. One of the letters received by him from James is given in the Appendix to Home's "History of the Rebellion," dated the 11th of April 1727, in which, addressing him as "Mr Johnstone, junior," the Chevalier writes :—

I am glad of this occasion to let you know how well pleased I am to hear of the care you take to follow your father's and uncle's example in their loyalty to me ; and I doubt not of your endeavours to maintain the true spirit in the clan. Allan is now with me, and I am always glad to have some of my brave Highlanders about me, whom I value as they deserve. You will deliver the enclosed to its address, and doubt not of my particular regard for you, which, I am persuaded, you will always deserve. (Signed) JAMES R.

On the 3rd of October, 1729, Allan Cameron, Donald's uncle, referred to in the Chevalier's letter just quoted, writes to young Lochiel, from Albano, as follows :—

Dear Nephew,—Yours, of September 11th, came to my hand in due time, which I took upon me to shew His Majesty, who not only was pleased to say that you wrote with a great deal of zeal and good sense, but was so gracious and good as to write you a letter with his own hand, herewith sent you, wherein he gives full and ample powers to treat with such of his friends in Scotland, as you think are safe to be trusted in what concerns his affairs, until an opportunity offer for executing any reasonable project towards a happy restoration, which they cannot expect to know until matters be entirely ripe for execution, and of which they will be acquainted directly

* "It appears that Sir Ewen of Lochiel obtained or purchased property in the West Indies. How it was managed by him, or by his son, we know not ; but we see from other documents that, in singular contrast to the contempt for commerce attributed to the Highland gentry of the day, two of his grandsons, Evan and Alexander, went to the West Indies to manage this property. Evan took with him in 1734 *a cargo of people* from Maryburgh, as Fort-William was then called, to carry to the West Indies, and it was believed in the country that he had made riches in Jamaica."—*Dr Clerk's Life of Colonel John Cameron of Fassiefern*, p. 104. See also Editor's Preface to the *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel*, p. 29.

from himself; and, therefore, whatever they have to say at any time, either by you, by the power given you by the King's letter, or by any other person, the account is to be sent to His Majesty directly, and not to any second hand, as the King has wrote to you in his letter. Dear Nephew, now that His Majesty has honoured you with such a commission, and gracious letter, concerning himself and family, and that he has conceived so good an opinion of your good sense and prudence, I hope this your first appearance, by the King's authority, will answer the trust he has been pleased to put in your loyalty, zeal, and good conduct, of which I have no reason to fear or doubt, considering the step you have already made. By executing this commission with prudence and caution, depend on it you have an opportunity of serving the King to good purpose, which in time will redound to the prosperity of your friends and family. I need say no more on this head, since you will see by the King's letter fully the occasion you have of serving His Majesty, your country, and yourself. But as I am afraid you will have difficulty to read it, his hand not been easy to those who are not well acquainted with it; the substance of it is, that he would not let you go without shewing you how sensible he is of your good zeal and affection to his interest and service; that Scotland, in general, when it is in his power (hoping that happy time will one day come) shall reap the fruits of the constant loyalty of his friends there; that you represent to them to keep themselves in readiness, not knowing how soon there may be occasion for their service; but that they take special care not to give a handle to the present Government to ruin them, by exposing themselves to their fury by any unreasonable or imprudent action, for that they shall have His Majesty's orders directly, when it is proper; and recommends entire union among yourselves in general; and towards the end of the letter, he is pleased to make yourself and family particular promises of his favour, when it pleases God he is restored; and while he is abroad all that's in his power. I hope this hint of the meaning of the letter will enable you, by taking some pains, to read it through; it being wrote in the King's own hand, there was no occasion for signing it.

I think it proper you should write to the King, by the first post after you receive his letter. I need not advise you what to say in answer to such a gracious letter from your King, only let it not be very long; declare your duty and readiness to execute his Majesty's commands on all occasions, and of your sense of the honour he has been pleased to do you, in giving you such a commission. I am not to choose words for you, because I am sure you can express yourself in a dutiful and discreet manner without any help. You are to write, sir, on a large margin, and to end, your most faithful and obedient subject and servant, and to address it, To the King, and no more; which enclose to me sealed. I pray send me the copy of it on a paper enclosed, with any other thing that you do not think fit or needful the King should see in your letter to me; because I will shew your letter in answer to this, wherein you may say that you will be mindful of all I wrote to you, and what else you think fit.

This letter is so long, that I must take the occasion of the next post to write you concerning my own family; but the King, as well as Mr Hay, bid me assure you, that your father should never be in any more straits, as long as he, the King, lived; and that he would take care from time to time to remit him; so that I hope you may be pretty easy as to that point.

I must tell you, that what you touched on in your letter to me of the 14th August concerning those you saw there live so well, beyond what they could have done at home, they must have been provided for some other way than out of the King's pocket; and, depend upon it, some others have thought themselves obliged to supply them.

You are to assure yourself and others, that the King has determined to make Scotland happy, and the clans in particular, when it pleases God to restore him; this is consistent with my certain knowledge. You are only to touch upon this in a discreet way, and to a very few discreet persons; but all these matters I leave to your own good sense and prudence, for may be sure there are people who will give account of your behaviour after you return home; but I hope none will be able to do it to your disadvantage; keep always to the truth in what you inform the King, and that will stand; though even on the truth itself, you are to put the handsomest gloss you can on some occasions.

You are to keep in good terms with Glengarry, and all other neighbours, and let by-gones be by-gones, as long as they continue firm to the King's interest; let no private animosity take place, but see to gain them with courtesy and good management, which I hope will give you an opportunity to make a figure amongst them, not but you are to tell the truth, if any of them fail in their duty to the King or country.

As to Lovat, pray, be always on your guard, but not so as to lose him; on the contrary, you may say that the King trusts a great deal to the resolution he has taken to serve him; and expects he will continue in that resolution. But, dear Nephew, you know very well that he must give true and real proof of his sincerity, by performance, before he can be entirely reckoned on, after the part he has acted. This I say to yourself, and therefore you must deal with him very dexterously; and I must leave it to your own judgment what lengths to go with him, since you know he has always been a man whose chief view was his own interest. It is true he wishes our family well; and I doubt not he would wish the King restored, which is his interest, if he has the grace to have a hand in it, after what he has done. So, upon the whole, I know not what advice to give you, as to letting him know that the King wrote you such a letter as you have; but, in general, you are to make the best of him you can, but still be on your guard; for it is not good to put too much in his power before the time of executing a good design. The King knows very well how useful he can be if sincere, which I have represented as fully as was necessary.

This letter is of such bulk, that I have enclosed the King's letter under cover with another letter addressed for your father, as I will not take leave of you till next post. I add only that I am entirely yours, A. CAMERON.

The letter enclosed from the Chevalier has not been preserved, but we have the substance of it in Allan's letter to his nephew. The reference to Lovat shows that his Lordship's character had been correctly estimated long before 1745, and that it was placed at its proper value by the friends of the Stuart dynasty. It is to be regretted that we do not know the exact nature of the promises made by Charles and his father to Lochiel, for himself and for his family. We are told in the *Jacobite Memoirs* that Donald, before agreeing to "come out," took full security from the Prince for the value of his estates, and that it was "to fulfil this engagement that Charles, after the unfortunate conclusion of the enterprise," obtained a French regiment for him. Chambers, who, in a foot-note, quotes this

from Bishop Forbes, says, regarding it, "that it is scarcely necessary to remark, that the presence of generous feelings does not necessarily forbid that some attention should be paid to the dictates of prudence and caution. Lochiel might feel that he had a right to peril his life and connexion with his country, but not the fortune on which the comfort of others besides himself depended, especially in an enterprise of which he had a bad opinion, and which he only acceded to from a romantic deference to the wishes of another person." In this view the majority of people will agree.

The Jacobites, not only in the Highlands but in the Lowlands, were acquainted with the contents of the letters which passed between the Chevalier, Prince Charles, and young Lochiel. In 1740 he was one of the seven Highland chiefs who signed articles of association for the restoration of the Stuart line, engaging to take up arms, for that purpose, provided sufficient assistance was sent from France. These articles were taken to the Chevalier at Rome by Drummond of Balhaldy.

A letter is given among the Stuart papers from Lochiel, under the signature of "Dan," dated the 22nd of February 1745, addressed to the Chevalier de St George, in which he refers to a recent letter forwarded by him. He assures His Royal Highness of his steady adherence to whatever may conduce to the interest of his family, and urges that, as "the season is now fast advancing," and that, as they had as yet no return from their friends in England, "how far it is necessary that we be informed of what is expected from the French, and in how soon, that we may have it in our power to settle matters so as will enable us to make that assistance to your Royal Highness our duty and inclination direct." Very soon after this Prince Charles Edward embarked for the Highlands of Scotland, and shortly after his arrival at Borrodale, he sent messengers to several of the most influential chiefs, and, of course, among the rest, to his trusted friend Lochiel, who, when told that the Prince had landed without troops, arms, or ammunition, resolved to take no part in what seemed so perfectly hopeless an enterprise. At the same time he determined to visit His Royal Highness in person, first out of courtesy, but particularly with the view to induce him, if possible, to wait for the promised assistance from France,

failing which to give up his intention, and return as quietly as he could. Home informs us that Lochiel left Lochaber on this visit quite determined not to take up arms, and that on his way to Borrodale, he called at the house of his brother, John Cameron of Fassifern, who, surprised to see him at such an unusual hour, asked what had brought him there so early in the morning. When Lochiel explained the object of his journey, Fassifern asked, "What troops had the Prince brought with him? What money? What arms?" Lochiel answered that he believed he had brought with him neither troops, money, nor arms; and, therefore, he was resolved not to be concerned in the affair, and would do his utmost to prevent Charles from making such a rash attempt. Fassifern approved of his brother's sentiments, and applauded his resolution; advising him, at the same time, not to go any further on the way to Borrodale, but to come into the house, and impart his mind to the Prince by letter. "No," said Lochiel, "I ought at least to wait upon him, and give my reasons in person for declining to join him, which admit of no reply." "Brother," said Fassifern, "I know you better than you know yourself. If this Prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases." This conversation, Home informs us, was repeated to him in 1781 by Fassifern himself.

No sooner had Lochiel arrived at Borrodale than the Prince and he retired together, when, according to the same authority, a discussion to the following effect took place:—The Prince began the conversation by bitterly complaining of the treatment he had received from the French Ministers who had so long put him off with vain hopes and deceived him with false promises of active support; their coldness in the cause, he said, but ill agreed with the opinions he had of his own rights, and with that impatience to assert them with which the promises of his father's brave and faithful subjects had inflamed his mind. Lochiel acknowledged the engagements of the chiefs, but observed that they were nowise binding, as he had come over to the Highlands without the stipulated aid; and, therefore, as there was not the least prospect of success, he advised his Royal Highness to return to France and to reserve himself and his faithful friends for a more favourable opportunity. Charles refused to follow Lochiel's

advice, affirming that a more favourable opportunity than the present would never come; that almost all the British troops were abroad, and kept at bay by Marshal Saxe, with a superior army; that in Scotland there were only a few newly raised regiments, that had never seen any service, and could not stand before the Highlanders; that the very first advantage gained over the troops would encourage his father's friends at home to declare themselves in his favour; that his friends abroad would not fail to give their assistance; and that he only wanted the Highlanders, in the meantime, to begin the war.

Lochiel still resisted, entreating him to be more temperate, and consent to remain in the meantime concealed where he was, till he and his other friends should meet together, and arrange as to what was best to be done. Charles, whose whole mind was wound up to the utmost pitch of impatience, paid no regard to this proposal, but answered that he "was determined to put all to the hazard. In a few days with the few friends that I have, I will erect the Royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, to win it, or to perish in the attempt; Lochiel, who, my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his Prince." "No," said Lochiel, "I'll share the fate of my Prince, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune hath given me any power." Such was the immediate effect of this singular conversation, on the result of which depended peace or war; for it is admitted on all hands, that if Lochiel had persisted in his refusal to take up arms, the other chiefs would not have joined the standard of the Prince without him, and the incipient spark of the proposed rising must have there and then expired.

Lochiel now returned home, and dispatched messengers to all his vassals able to bear arms, commanding them to get ready at once to join him, and to march with him to Glenfinnan, where it had been resolved to raise the standard of the Prince. In the meantime, on the 16th of August, two companies of the 1st Regiment of Foot, under Captain Scott, which had been sent from Fort-Augustus to reinforce Fort-William, were cleverly surrounded and taken prisoners, by a small body of Keppoch and Gengarry

Macdonalds, at the end of Loch-Oich. Lochiel, to whom word had been sent to come to the assistance of the Macdonalds, arrived just as Captain Scott and his men surrendered, when Donald, with a body of Camerons, took charge of the prisoners, and marched them to his residence at Achnacarry.

On the 19th, at the head of between 700 and 800 of his followers, Lochiel marched to Glenfinnan, where the Prince was anxiously waiting for the clans that he expected would have met him there on his arrival at this place, which had been appointed for raising his standard. "At length," says Chambers, "about an hour after noon, the sound of a pibroch was heard over the top of an opposite hill, and immediately after the adventurer was cheered by the sight of a large body of Highlanders in full march down the slope. It was the Camerons to the number of 700 or 800,

'All plaided and plumed in their tartan array,'

coming forward in two columns of three men abreast, to the spirit-stirring notes of the bagpipe, and enclosing the party of soldiers whom they had just taken prisoners. Elevated by the fine appearance of this clan, and by the auspicious result of the little action just described, Charles set about the business of declaring open war against the Elector of Hanover." The standard having been unfurled on the arrival of Lochiel, by the Marquis of Tullibardine, he carried it back to the quarters of the Prince, surrounded by a guard of fifty stalwart Camerons.

Some five hundred firelocks and a quantity of French broadswords having been landed from the "Doutelle" at Castle Tirrim, 250 of the Camerons were sent for them, and, with 300 of Clanranald's men, they met the clans, who had marched from Glenfinnan on the 21st, at the head of Loch Eil, on their way South. Here the Prince issued the famous proclamation offering £30,000 for the person of King William, "Given at our camp at Kinlochiel, August the 22nd," and on the following night, Friday, the 23rd, he slept at Fassifern House, on Lochielside, the residence of John, Lochiel's eldest brother, from whence 200 Camerons were dispatched in advance with the Prince's baggage to Moy, in Lochaber.

The Highlanders continued their march southwards. At

Corrieyarrack they were informed by a soldier named Cameron of Cope's march to Inverness. This man deserted from the army of King William for the express purpose of conveying this news to his friends, with whose movements he appears to have made himself fully acquainted. The intelligence was received with exultation, and the Highland army at once descended the southern steep of Corrieyarrack, on their way to the Scottish Capital, leaving Sir John Cope unmolested on his march to the Highland capital. While bivouacked at Dalwhinnie, Dr Archibald Cameron, who appears to have held the rank of Captain in the Highland army, Macdonald of Lochgarry, and O'Sullivan were ordered on an expedition against a small Government fort at Ruthven, with instructions to take the barracks. In this they failed, losing one man killed and two mortally wounded, but on their return they brought in Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, who had just the day before accepted a command under the Government, and received orders from Sir John Cope to embody his clan, numbering about 300 able-bodied, fighting men. Cluny, it may be assumed, was not altogether sorry for his capture, for he is found returning from Perth a few days after to raise his clan for the Prince, who treated him with every consideration during the short time he kept him prisoner.

It is not intended to give a continuous and connected account here of the proceedings and movements of the Highland army. These are already so well-known as to render it quite unnecessary, even did our plan admit of it. We shall only deal with the points in the narrative where the Camerons, or their leader, come prominently on the scene. From Blair Castle, Lochiel, with Lord Nairne, and 400 men went on in advance, entered and took possession of Dunkeld on the morning of the 3rd of September. The same evening the City of Perth was taken by the Camerons, and next morning, Prince Charles having arrived, attired in a superb Highland dress of Royal Stuart tartan, trimmed with gold, they immediately proceeded to the Cross of the Fair City and proclaimed the Chevalier, amid the acclamations of the people. Lochiel was then appointed, accompanied by Macdonald of Keppoch, Stewart of Ardshiel, and Sullivan, to lead 900 men, comprising a large number of Camerons, sent forward for the capture of Edinburgh, with instructions to blow up the

gates of the City, if necessary, to attain their purpose.* They were soon in possession without the spilling of a single drop of blood. When the inhabitants awoke in the morning, they found the government of the Capital transferred from the Provost and Magistrates in name of King George, to the Highlanders in name of King James, and everything in the City was going on, to all outward appearance, as if nothing extraordinary had occurred, the one guard having relieved the other as quietly, according to Home, as one guard relieves another in the routine of duty on ordinary occasions.

At the battle of Preston, fought on the 21st of September, Lochiel, at the head of his followers, occupied the left wing of the army, whose "line was somewhat oblique, and the Camerons, who were nearest the King's army, came up directly opposite to the cannon, firing at the guard as they advanced. The people employed to work the cannon, who were not gunners or artillerymen, fled instantly. Colonel Whiteford fired five or six field pieces with his own hand, which killed one private man and wounded an officer in Lochiel's regiment." The Camerons carried everything before them; the enemy fled, dragoons and artillery, and the foot "were either killed or taken prisoners," except about two hundred, "who escaped by extraordinary swiftness or early flight." The cannon, tents, baggage, and military chest of the King's army fell into the hands of the Highlanders, whose total loss only amounted to four officers and thirty men killed, and about seventy wounded; while five of the King's officers were killed and eighty taken prisoners, many of the latter being wounded. Their loss in men has been estimated at from four to five hundred, with some seven hundred prisoners. Chambers says that "the victory began, as the battle had done, among the Camerons. That spirited clan, notwithstanding their exposure to the cannon, and although received with a discharge of musketry by the artillery guard, ran on with undaunted speed, and were first up to the front of the enemy," who, with Colonel Gardener and his dragoons, immediately reeled, turned, and fol-

* It has been stated that immediately before leading on the band, Lochiel met with an accident, in consequence of which he was unable to execute the commission entrusted to him in person, and that Cameron of Erracht took his place on the occasion. We have not been able to procure satisfactory evidence on this point.

lowed their companions. Lochiel ordered his men to strike at the noses of the horses, as the best means of getting the better of their masters; but they never found a single opportunity of practising the *ruse*, the men having chosen to retreat while they were yet some yards distant. Hamilton's dragoons, at the other extremity of the army, no sooner saw their fellows flying before the Camerons than they also turned about and fled, without having fired a carbine. The whole action only lasted about four minutes, ending in "a total overthrow, and the almost entire destruction of the Royal army," and Lochiel, with his trusty Camerons, had the principal share in securing this remarkable result. Of the four officers killed in the action two were Camerons—Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lundavra, and Ensign James Cameron, both of Lochiel's regiment.*

(To be continued.)

MURDER OF COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

DEAR MR EDITOR,—In your last instalment of the History of the Camerons (*Celtic Magazine* for May), you are more than unkind—you are unjust—to the Stewarts of Appin. Referring to Colin Campbell of Glenure, you say that he was murdered by the Stewarts of Appin, and this surely is a terrible charge to be brought against the loyal and gallant Sliochd Mhic Iain Stiubhairt, a clan characterised by the contemporary seanachie of the Macleans, as all of them gentlemen of honour, and all of them true and trusty as the steel of the daggers in their belts.

Colin Campbell of Glenure was indeed shot dead by a Stewart, but not by a Stewart of Appin. The assassin was Allan Breac

* Just as the army was marching to the attack the Chevalier appeared at their head, very alert, and ready to lead them to the onset. Lochiel, however, who had a great respect and esteem for him, earnestly entreated him to forbear exposing his person, and advised him to take his stand upon a rising ground, under the guard of a party, from whence he might send his orders to any part of the army during the engagement as he should see occasion; for if any misfortune should befal him they were all ruined to a man; and that too much depended on his safety to hazard his person without more apparent necessity than there was; which advice the Chevalier followed, and retired with a party to a high field to the south-west of Seatoun.—*Life of Dr Archibald Cameron.*

Stewart, of the family of Invernahadden, in Rannoch. Glenure, as factor on the forfeited estates of Appin and Lochiel was, rightly or wrongly, accused of being a cruel oppressor of the people. At all events it is the case that at the time of his death he was preparing to carry out "evictions" on a large scale, and of the fact abundant evidence was found on his person after death. He was furthermore accused of having borne false witness against some of the gentlemen of the West for their share in the '45, and of thus encompassing the death of far better men than himself. Because of all this Allan Breac shot him dead, and managing to escape to France, another man, entirely innocent of the crime, as is now known, was laid hold of and executed under every circumstance of ignominy that his hereditary foes—the Campbells—could devise. If the manner of Glenure's death can only be characterised as a deed of foul murder, a cowardly assasination, it is equally true that the execution of James Stewart of the Glen *(Seumas-a-Ghlinne)* was, as it has been characterised by a high authority, with all the evidence of the case before him, neither more nor less than "a judicial murder."

As a descendant of the gallant Invernakyles of Appin, and brave MacRobbs of Letter-Shuna, I have to request that you will withdraw your cruel and utterly unfounded indictment of murder against "the Stewarts of Appin," a race, let me assure you, far too proud and brave to be guilty of anything so cowardly and mean as the assassination of Colin Campbell of Glenure, even if he had been ten times over the heartless tyrant and oppressor Allan Breac believed him to be. The whole history of the clan goes to prove that when they had to deal with an enemy it was always in honourable and open fight, never once by assassination.

My distinguished friend, the late John Hill Burton, was very proud of his title of Historiographer Royal for Scotland. You, Mr Editor, are now, by common consent, Historiographer Royal of the Highland Clans; and very nobly and impartially, altogether admirably, have you discharged your onerous and important duties, so far as your histories have yet gone. I therefore appeal to you in this matter with the utmost confidence that you will do my claim justice; that you will withdraw the charge to which I call your attention, either by appending a foot-note

to the text, or by an entire obliteration of the words to which I take objection.

With hearty congratulations on the continued success of your excellent *Magazine*, believe me, yours very faithfully,

NETHER-LOCHABER.

20th May 1884.

[We regret, in one sense, having roused the Royal ire of our excellent friend, "Nether-Lochaber." In another sense we are not; for we confess to an inclination to "do it again," to draw another letter from him; for we are always pleased to see any of his productions in the *Celtic Magazine*, even when he hits hard. We have, however, on this occasion, discovered the slip which moved his patriotic soul, and had already corrected it for the separate work, before his letter was received. It will be seen that the unpardonable crime complained of consisted in our having written "Stewarts *of* Appin" for a "Stewart *in* Appin."—ED. *C. M.*]

OLD HIGHLAND REMEDIES.

II.

MARTIN describes several methods which the Islesmen had for inducing perspiration. In Skye, the patient boiled his shirt in water, and then put it on, and this soon had the desired effect. Another way was to pile live peats upon an earthen floor until it became sufficiently hot, when the peats were removed and a quantity of straw substituted. Water was then poured upon it, and the patient lay down upon the steaming straw until the perspiration came on. When it was desired to make any particular part of the body perspire, a hole was dug in an earthen floor and filled with dry sticks and rushes. A red-hot hectic stone was placed upon these, and water being poured over the whole, the patient held the special part of his person over the vapour evolved until he obtained the desired result. A bowl of hot gruel and butter was taken at bed-time to produce a copious perspiration all over the body—a remedy common to this day.

Their cure for faintness of spirits cannot be better described than in Martin's own words. It was performed by a blacksmith in the parish of Kilmartin as follows :—"The patient being laid on the anvil with his face uppermost, the smith takes a big hammer in both his hands, and making his face all grimace, he approaches his patient ; and then drawing his hammer from the ground, as if he intended to hit him with his full strength on the forehead, he ends in a feint, else he would be sure to cure the patient of all diseases ; but the smith being accustomed to the performance, has a dexterity of managing his hammer with discretion, though at the same time he must do it so as to strike terror in the patient ; and this, they say, has always the designed effect."

For costiveness there were a number of remedies, one of the most common being to boil a quantity of dulse in water, and drink the infusion with a good-sized piece of butter in it. Some of the Skye people took an infusion of spearwort in melted butter, but as this was rather a violent remedy it was not generally used. Wood mercury and horehound were often found effectual. In St Kilda the natives drank the oil which the fulmar, a species of petrel, spouted from its bill when alarmed, and which contained valuable laxative properties.

For bloodshot and inflamed eyes, the Skye people applied a poultice of yellow fern and white of egg laid upon coarse flax. An infusion in milk of the plant called eyebright, applied with a feather, was also used with success, and dulse eaten in liberal quantities was thought to improve the eyesight.

In cases of toothache, spearwort was applied to the temples, another remedy being to heat a turf and place it to the side of the head affected as hot as it could be borne. In *Folk-Medicine* it is stated that "to go between the sun and the sky to a place where the dead and the living cross (a ford), and lift a stone from it with the teeth, is thought in the North-East of Scotland a cure for toothache."

The iliac passion was treated by giving the sufferer a drink of cold water and oatmeal, and then suspending the patient by the heels for some time, poultices of hot dulse being applied to the abdomen, until relief was obtained.

To ripen a tumour or boil they used a warm poultice of

female jacobea, cut small, and mixed with fresh butter on a hot stone, and this was also applied to hard and swollen breasts.

Benumbed feet were scarified with a lancet, and when swollen and blistered with walking long distances they were bathed in a decoction of alder leaves. Rheumatic pains were relieved by rubbing the affected parts with fulmar oil, and the juice of the crab-apple was considered good for sprains and cramps. For flatulency the people ate the roots of knaphard and lovage, taking nothing else, however, the same day.

In Colonsay, the people had a curious custom of fanning the sick with the leaves of the Bible. Martin states that while he was there the loan of his "book" was thrice requested and given for that purpose, and he was informed next day that the patient had benefited considerably by the use of it.

The remedies for the ills which afflict man have hitherto been entirely dealt with. We shall now give a few of those used for the diseases of cattle, sheep, and horses.

In Harris, the sheep which fed upon sandy ground became afflicted with a film which grew over their eyes and caused blindness, and to cure this the eyes were rubbed with chalk or powdered cuttle-fish bone. Lovage was a sovereign remedy for sheep troubled with cough.

To cure cramp in cows, the part affected was bathed in water in which a curious kind of stone found in clay banks had been steeped for some hours. These stones were called cramp-stones. For blindness, chewed wild sage was put into the animal's ears. Costiveness was cured by giving the sea-plant slake, boiled with some butter.

Horses troubled with bots were washed with water in which a peculiar stone, called by the Skye people bot-stones, had been steeped. Wild sage chopped small, or an infusion of it, were given to horses to kill worms, the animal being kept from drinking for at least ten hours after the dose.

These are some of the most curious remedies given in Martin's work, which contains a valuable store of information regarding the life, manners, and customs of the Western Islesmen two hundred years ago.

H. R. M.

JOSEPH ANDERSON, LL.D., ON EARLY CELTIC ART.—The Ettles Lecture Trustees have this year devoted the funds at their disposal to a very patriotic purpose, and our only regret is that the treat which they provided for all who care to know the early history of their race, by inducing Dr Anderson, the Custodian of the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh, to deliver three lectures on Ancient Celtic Art, was not more fully appreciated and more widely taken advantage of. The lectures were delivered in the Fraser Street Hall on the 28th and 30th April and the 2nd May, to an audience which, if not large, was thoroughly appreciative, and the interest of the lectures was greatly enhanced by the numerous beautiful coloured representations of the various relics of Art described in the lectures. In the first lecture Dr Anderson treated of the pre-Christian times, describing the various relics of Art workmanship belonging to those times, which have come down to us, and demonstrating that those objects exhibit a peculiar style and development of Art and Art workmanship, displaying not only the possession of great technical skill and boldness of conception and design, but also a style and development of Art, no example of which has been found outside the Celtic area, which exhibits no trace of any foreign influence, and which must, therefore, have been of native origin. This, as the lecturer pointed out, clearly shows that our ancestors at the time of the Roman Invasion of Britain were not the rude savages we have been led to think by the descriptions of classical writers, who classed all the world except the Romans as barbarians, but were a people who had attained at least that amount of culture which is implied in the love of beautiful objects of Art, in the faculty to design these, and in the technical skill to make them. In the last two lectures Dr Anderson proceeded to treat of early Christian times, and showed that in Ireland and the part of Scotland which had not been conquered by Rome, there continued a peculiar style of Art, exhibited in churches and their attendant round towers, in bells, in sculptured stone monuments, in crosses, reliquaries, and in the ornamentation of manuscripts, which was a continuation and development of the style of Art of the pre-Christian period, and continued until comparatively recent times to be entirely independent of external influence of any kind and which by its association with Celtic writing is shown to be Celtic, and to have been Celtic in its origin, as in its continuous development. In the report of the Crofters' Commission, the Commissioners, in noticing the rudeness of the houses of the class about whom they were inquiring, remark significantly that they are not as a rule discontented with their dwellings, and that the rudeness of these has not prevented them being more moral and of more polite and gentle manners than the same class in other parts of the country. In like manner Dr Anderson remarks of our remote ancestors—"The men who produced this school of Art, though they may have lived in beehive houses built of unhewn and uncemented stones, and worshipped in churches scarcely more ornate in appearance or more architectural in construction, were not men who were destitute of that variety of culture which is literary and artistic in its character. On the contrary, we now see that they were men of such acquirements and tastes, that they multiplied their books laboriously, and counted it a virtue to be diligent in doing so; that the skill they thus acquired enabled them to produce manuscript volumes written with a faultless regularity and precision of character, rivalling the best caligraphy of the most literary nations, which they adorned with illuminations of exquisite beauty and intricacy of design, and enclosed in cases rich with the costliest workmanship in gold and silver, in filigree work or embossed work, or covered with gilded and engraved designs and precious stones." It is pleasing to all who take a pride in their race to have such a picture of our ancestors from the hand of so high an authority as Dr Anderson.

CHARLES FRASER-MACKINTOSH, M.P.

"THE MEMBER FOR THE HIGHLANDS."

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION (HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS)— AN ANALYSIS.

THE long-looked-for Report of the Royal Commission appointed last year to inquire into the grievances of the Highland crofters has at last been issued. On the 17th of October 1877, the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine* asked Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., in the Music Hall, Inverness, the following question :—

"*Keeping in view that the Government has graciously considered the reputed scarcity of crabs and lobsters, and of herrings and garvies, on our Highland coast, of sufficient importance to justify them in granting two separate Royal Commissions of Inquiry—will you, in your place in Parliament, next session, move that a similar Commission be granted to inquire into the present impoverished and wretched condition and, in some places, the scarcity of men and women in the Highlands; the cause of this state of things; and the most effectual remedy for ameliorating the condition of the Highland Crofters generally?*"

The subsequent history of the movement originated by that question is already well known to the reader. It will, we think, be readily admitted that, from our early association with the proceedings which resulted in the granting of the Commission, and from several other facts connected with its history and progress, we have a very special interest in the result of its labours, embodied in the Report before us. The Commission was sanctioned by her Majesty on the 17th of March 1883, "to inquire into the condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and all matters affecting the same or relating thereto," terms identical in meaning with those used in the question addressed, as above, to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, in 1877. The proceedings having wisely been carried on in public, the manner in which they were conducted under the able, impartial, and sympathetic guidance of the noble Chairman, Lord Napier and Ettrick, has been so fully recognised and appreciated by all, and, on a previous occasion, gladly admitted by our-

selves, as to leave no room for saying anything now but the expression anew of our most complete approval. While saying this much with pleasure regarding the conduct of the Commissioners during the inquiry, we are at liberty to differ from them, and we do so very decidedly, in some of the conclusions at which they have arrived. We are perfectly willing, however, to admit that in some of the recommendations of the majority, concessions are made, in principle, far in advance of anything we had ever hoped for, though far short of what the circumstances of the country and people demand.

When the Commission was appointed we very pointedly expressed disapproval of its composition, at the same time declaring the high respect in which the members were held—in their private and public capacities by us and all who knew them —apart from the duties which they were called upon to perform. We then wrote that—"nothing will satisfy the public short of making the cruel evictions of the past impossible in in future in the Highlands, by giving the people a permanent interest in the soil they cultivate. That a recommendation to that effect can emanate from a Royal Commission, composed as this one is, is scarcely conceivable. Nor is it expected that they can rise so far above the common failings of humanity as to be very anxious to procure evidence which will lead to legislation in that direction. Are Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and Lochiel, for instance," we asked, "at all likely to recommend the modification of their present rights of property, or the abolition or material curtailment of deer-forests, from which they and their class derive a great portion of their revenues? If they do they will prove themselves more than human." How has this forecast been verified? In reference to the receiving of evidence, the statement already made admits in this respect to the full the fairness of the Commissioners. But what about our expressed anticipations about evictions and deer-forests? The Commissioners unanimously declare that they "have no hesitation in affirming that to grant, at this moment, to the whole mass of poor tenants in the Highlands and Islands, fixity of tenure in their holdings, uncontrolled management of these holdings, and free sale of their tenant-right, good-will, and improvements, would be to perpetuate social evils of a dangerous character." Seeing that none of these things now exist, it is

difficult to conceive how they can be perpetuated as social evils of a dangerous character, or at all ; and, on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the framers of such a thoughtful, able, and, in many respects, excellent report, must have perceived that it would be quite possible to secure permanent tenure without necessarily granting the other good things named—the uncontrolled management of holdings, free sale of tenant-right, goodwill, and improvements—if these concessions were likely to lead to the undesirable results apprehended by the Commissioners. So much for the first part of our original prediction, with certain important exceptions—at least in principle—relating to improving leases, which will be hereafter discussed.

Next, as to deer-forests. The Commissioners make some very excellent proposals as to the formation of future deer-forests. It is their unanimous opinion "that provisions should be framed, under which the crofting class would be protected against diminution, for the purpose of afforestment, of arable or pasture area now in their possession, and by which the areas which might hereafter form the most appropriate scene for expanding cultivation and small holdings should be preserved from curtailment," and that no land should in future be appropriated for deer-forests below an altitude of 1000 feet. These recommendations "are not intended to apply to existing forests," not "even at the termination of current leases"—not even to such as the Winans desolation, which skirts the very shores of Loch-Duich, in Kintail, and the history of which has become a public scandal and a shame. One cannot help saying that what, in the opinion of the Royal Commissioners, must be so desirable in the case of future desolations, would also be beneficial in the case of existing forests, many portions of which are admittedly fit for arable and pastoral farming. The formation, and we would say, the continuation, of deer-forests—which, unlike fixity of tenure, do exist—"is also calculated to perpetuate in an altered form an evil which has often been submitted to our attention, the absence of a graduated local representation of the various orders of society. Under the system of pastoral farming on a large scale this defect is deeply felt. The labouring class is represented by the crofter, the cottar, and the shepherd ; the large farmer is the absent tenant of an absent landlord. The minister, the doctor, the schoolmaster, and the

factor, thinly scattered at great intervals over the forsaken country, are the only representatives of culture, of counsel, and of power. This forlorn feature in the social aspect of some remoter parts of the Highlands is changed, but not much mitigated, by the transfer of the farm to forest. For a brief space in the year the sporting tenant appears at the lodge with company, expenditure, and benefaction in his train ; but the area consolidated in a single hand is greater still, the gulf between the labouring people and the leaders of social life is as wide as ever, the leaders are less concerned in local interests, and intermediate social positions are blotted out." So say the Commissioners; yet they recommend the continuation of existing forests, on the present conditions, while they suggest such excellent provisions regarding future misappropriation of land for a similar purpose !

They unanimously agree that in the case of land exclusively "devoted to the use of deer, not let or proposed to be let to a sporting tenant, but reserved intentionally for the enjoyment of the proprietor, the latter should be assessed on the basis of the sporting rent, and not on the basis of the agricultural value, as is at present the case." This is a righteous proposal, long insisted upon by all disinterested, impartial people, but, curiously enough, this is the last recommendatory paragraph in the report immediately before we come upon the following :— "The preceding remarks are not intended to apply to existing forests. We would not think it equitable that these areas should be subjected to special legislation, other than that which may be made applicable to agricultural or pastoral lands." The explanation for this curious and decidedly inequitable finding must be accounted for by the weakness of human nature, and the composition of the Royal Commission, in the direction of our original objections; and the result realises to the full what we then so pointedly anticipated on the question of deer forests. We shall return to this subject; meanwhile we pass on to the portion of the report, which deals with

The Evidence.

Before discussing the various proposals of the Commissioners, it may be well to refer to what they state respecting the evidence submitted to them—"depositions," the Report says, "regarding

acts and incidents often obscure and remote, in many cases delivered by illiterate persons speaking from early memory or from hearsay, or from popular tradition, fleeting and fallacious sources, even when not tinged by ancient regrets and resentments, or by the passions of the hour." To this is to be added the fact that the Commission "was anticipated by agents enlisted in the popular cause," which "was to be expected in a free country," and which "may not have been without justification and even utility among a population in a dependent and precarious condition, unused to combination for a public purpose." From two of these agents in advance — the writer being one of them — the Commissioners received assurances that their influence was not employed to intensify irritation, but rather in an opposite direction. "We" (the Commissioners) "are willing to believe that there was no conscious incentive to mis-statement" by the crofters, "nor shall we deny to the individuals above mentioned, irrespective of their opinions and connections, a genuine zeal for the good of their countrymen." This is very condescending, in view of the admissions made, immediately after, in the Report itself. Many of "the allegations of oppression and suffering" made by the crofters, it is said, would not bear a searching analysis. "Under such a scrutiny they would be found erroneous,"—not, be it remarked, in fact, but—"as to time, to place, to persons, to extent, and misconstrued as to intention." This is a curious admission following upon what had just been suggested respecting the agents in advance. These gentlemen could not possibly know anything about the *details* of the personal grievances of individuals; they could only know the *general* acts of "oppression and suffering." It was simply beyond their power to instruct the people in advance, even had they the wish to do so, about the details. Yet the Commissioners follow up the sentence just quoted by admitting to the full the general accuracy of all the charges and complaints, made by the people themselves, declaring that—

"It does not follow, however, that because these narratives are incorrect in detail, they are incorrect in colour or in kind. The history of the economical transformation which a great portion of the Highlands and Islands has during the past century undergone, does not repose on the loose and legendary tales that pass from mouth to mouth; it rests on the solid basis of contemporary records, and if these were wanting, it is written in

indelible characters on the surface of the soil. Changes of this nature, going to the very foundation of domestic and social life, are not anywhere accomplished without some constraint, resistance, and distress, and if the instances produced for our information are not specifically and literally true, they are akin to truth."

This is surely admitting, in the most complete manner, everything that outsiders, who could only be acquainted with the general history of the various districts—not with individual cases—could possibly know or say. But this is not all. We are told of the people themselves, who did, and who only could, speak in detail of their own oppressions and sufferings—

"That even among the poorest and least educated class who came before us there were many examples of candour, kindness, and native intelligence, testifying to the unaltered worth of the Highland people;" while the depositions of "proprietors, factors, farmers, clergymen, and members of the learned professions contain much that is valuable in connection with the industrial history and moral and physical condition of the population" only "subject to the powerful influences of prepossession or interest belonging to their several conditions and employments."

It is plain that "the poorest and least educated" have decidedly the best of the comparison, and the agents in advance need have no hesitation, in all the circumstances, in preferring their company. It is clear, on the face of it, that great concessions have been made on the part of individual Commissioners in the preparation of the report, and, judging by the course of the examination pursued by certain of them, there may be no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the unsuccessful attempt to throw discredit on the leaders of the agitation which brought about the Inquiry was a sop by the majority to conciliate their opponents. If these gentlemen are as satisfied with the result on this point as we are with the result generally, they are happy indeed.

The Commissioners have admitted unequivocally the existence of all the grievances, oppressions, and sufferings ever alleged by the crofters or by their friends, and their conclusions, they tell us, "are in no small measure founded on impressions derived from personal observation, from the opinions of men of authority, from books, and from previous familiarity with the interests at issue." This is all that need be said on the grievances of the

people, and the evidence presented in support of them. Practically their substantial accuracy is admitted to the full in the Report.

The following is presented by the Commissioners as the people's own conception of the condition of their forefathers in the Highlands a hundred years ago.—

"A large extent of arable and pasture land held by prosperous tenants in townships, paying a rent to the proprietor; a sufficiency of grain grown, ground, and consumed in the country, in some places with an overplus available for exportation; cattle in numbers adequate to afford milk in abundance, and young stock for sale; horses for the various purposes of rural labour; sheep, which yielded wool for home-spun and home-woven clothing of a substantial quality, and an occasional supply of animal food; fish of all kinds freely taken from the river and the sea. The population, thus happily provided with the simple necessaries of rustic life, are represented as contented with their lot, deeply attached to their homes, but ready to devote their lives to the service of the Crown and the defence of the country. Of the terms under which the smaller tenants held their possessions no definite account is presented, but it is assumed that they were entitled to security of tenure, subject to rent and services, as the descendants or successors of those subordinate members or dependants of the family, who in former ages won the land for the clan and maintained the fortunes of their chiefs by their swords. This claim of security of tenure is held to have been in some sort transmitted to existing occupiers. If the picture thus submitted," continues the Report, "is a faithful likeness of any phase of popular life that ever existed in the northern parts of Scotland, it could only be in fortunate localities and in favourable seasons. That it contains some of the lineaments of truth must be admitted, but it is a view drawn without a shadow." It then proceeds—"There have been in some districts from an ancient date small tenants holding farms in common, and paying rent direct to the proprietor. Such undoubtedly existed in considerable numbers in the latter half of the last century. In these cases the small tenants occupying large areas at low rents, and little vexed by services to the landlord, who was remote or indulgent, no doubt enjoyed a life of tolerable ease and abundance, diversified from time to time by the deprivations caused in years of scarcity."

This pleasant picture is followed by qualified remarks on those holding as sub-tenants under the tacksmen, concluded by the following, also painted by the Royal Commissioners themselves:—

"As a general view of the advantages and disadvantages attached to the condition of the sub-tenant in the past, compared

with those belonging to the condition of the crofter of the present, in many cases his representative, the sub-tenant had often the benefit of more room; in this case he held a larger arable area, by which cultivation could be suspended, and the productive properties of the soil, in consequence, to some extent preserved. On the vast unappropriated waste he could pasture a greater number of live stock; he possessed the potato in a more prolific and reliable condition as a main source of sustenance; in the manufacture of kelp he found the means of paying his money rent. He had a greater freedom in regard to the natural produce of the river and the moor. The intervals of leisure were passed with great cheerfulness among a primitive people, to whom hardships were familiar, who enjoyed their own traditional forms of physical and intellectual recreation, and whose minds were not embittered by an intelligent envy of the welfare of others, or by the belief in rights from which they were debarred. The various orders of society were more fully represented in the resident community; the natural leaders of the people lived among them."

There were disadvantages no doubt, but they were small, even as detailed in the Report, when placed against the picture here presented. Let us now submit the contrast—the condition of the present crofter, as pictured by the Commissioners; and we are not aware that his condition has ever been painted in darker colours.—

"The crofter of the present time has, through past evictions, been confined within narrow limits, sometimes on inferior and exhausted soils. He is subject to arbitrary augmentations of money rent; he is without security of tenure, and has only recently received the concession of compensation for improvements. His habitation is usually of a character which would almost imply physical and moral degradation in the eyes of those who do not know how much decency, courtesy, virtue, and even mental refinement, survive amidst the sordid surroundings of a Highland hovel. The crofter belongs to that class of tenants who have received the smallest share of proprietory favour or benefaction, and who are by virtue of power, position, or covenants, least protected against inconsiderate treatment."

Several advantages now possessed by the crofters are then enumerated, but with one exception—their direct relationship with the proprietor—none of these advantages have been secured for them by the landlords, but, in most instances, in spite of their active and powerful opposition. It is satisfactory, however, to find the Commissioners unanimously admitting, in spite of all they are

able to say of the modern advantages of the crofting classes, that—

"Whatever has been the progress in the condition of the Highland and Island population, we have not reached a point which should satisfy their just expectations," and that the population belonging to this class, "engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, in addition to the evils attached to an unproductive soil, high elevations, and a variable and boisterous climate, suffer from various causes of indigence, discouragement, and irritation, which are subject to remedial treatment."

These causes, they tell us, may be enumerated as follows :—

"Undue contraction of the area of holdings; undue extension of the area of holdings; insecurity of tenure; want of compensation for improvements; high rents; defective communications; withdrawal of the soil in connection with the purposes of sport. To these we may add" they say, "as contributing, in our opinion, to the depressed condition of the people, defects in education, defects in the machinery of justice, and want of facilities for emigration."

As regards the fishing population, which are generally the same persons as the crofters, in the West Highlands and Islands, there are in addition—

"The want of harbours, piers, boat-shelters, and landing-places; inability to purchase boats and tackle adapted for distant and deep-sea fishing; difficulty of access to the great markets of consumption; defective postal and telegraphic communication."

This black catalogue—blacker than even we ever depicted it, but now fully admitted by all the Commissioners—it would be difficult to magnify; and the mere statement and admission of its faithfulness by such an authority—a Commission composed as this one was—is more than sufficient, not only to justify all the agitation which was found necessary to direct the attention of the Crown, the Country, and Parliament, to so lamentable a state of things, but also to justify all and any agitation that may be necessary to compel the Legislature to supply an early and complete remedy, and pass a measure which will make its continuance any longer absolutely impossible. It certainly more than justifies all that has ever been alleged by the crofters and their friends, and much more.

This leads us to consider the proposals made by the Commissioners to remove these evils.

The Township.

The first remedy proposed is to re-organise the Highland "Township," Village Community, or *Baile*, as a distinct agricultural area or unit, endowing it with certain immunities, powers, and privileges, by which it can "attain stability, improvement, and expansion." The township in its past and present position and relationships is fully and clearly described. "It has never possessed any corporate existence in the law of Scotland," but it "does nevertheless possess a distinct existence in the sentiments and traditions of its component members, and by the customs of estate management," in a manner accurately set forth by the Commissioners, who further declare that, though it has no legal status, it is yet "a reality in the habits of the people, and could not now be set at nought without arousing public resentment and opposition;" and they entertain the belief that it "contains latent capacities which are worthy of being studied and developed;" and that some evils may be thus prevented and benefits conferred, which could not be prevented or conferred by dealing with individual interests in the township apart from it as an agricultural unit or area with such powers and privileges as it is proposed to confer upon it by law; which are briefly as follows:—

All inhabited places containing three or more agricultural holdings possessing pasture lands in common, or which, within forty years, have enjoyed the use of such, are to be registered in the Sheriff Court books of the county as crofter townships; a plan of each township to be deposited in the office of the Sheriff-Clerk, showing its boundaries, the dwelling-houses upon it, the divisions between the various holdings in it, and other features of occupancy; these plans to be corrected from time to time as changes in any of its features occur. The township, thus constituted and recorded, would not be liable to reduction in area, or to be dissolved without the consent of two-thirds of its whole occupiers, expressed by formal resolution, passed at a meeting called for the purpose; and no exchange of lands, or the division of any one township into two or more, or its being joined with another township, can take place without the assent, in a similar way, of a majority of the whole members. It is proposed that in the recognition of townships close to the sea a right should be

reserved by the proprietor to take township lands and shores for the formation of houses and plots of land for fishing communities, harbours, boat-shelters, and buildings, necessary for carrying on and encouraging that industry, compensation being always awarded, where possible, to the township, by grants of land equal in value to that reserved, or by the reduction of rent to the individuals whose holdings may be depreciated in value by the curtailment of their holdings. Proposals follow for the appointment of an officer, who is to act, under the designation of constable of the township, to convene meetings, represent the people in dealing with the proprietor and his representatives, to act as arbitrator on behalf of the township in all cases of valuation, and to co-operate with the sanitary inspector in all matters connected with the improvement of dwellings and public health. "By these simple provisions" the Commissioners are of opinion that "the stability of the township would be firmly founded, and the crofting class would be maintained in the possession of the arable area still left to them, and protected against the further alienation of common pasture." In addition to these rights, it is proposed that provision should be made for the erection of township fences, for roads and paths, fuel, thatching material, and sea ware. In the case of fences between the arable and pasture lands, the proprietor on the one hand, or a majority of the occupiers on the other, are to be empowered to call on each other to co-operate —the proprietor, in the case of a stone dyke, to undertake the expenses of building, while the tenants procure the stones and place them on the ground; in the case of a wire-fence, the proprietor to supply the material and the skilled labour, while the tenants would supply the carriage and the unskilled assistance required. Provisions almost similar are recommended in the case of fences between the pasture lands of the township and the proprietor, or the adjoining proprietor, or their tenants, or between one township and another, the expense in the latter case to be divided between the two townships. Roads and paths and bridges are similarly provided for, with the main object of stimulating the people "to shake off the torpor which besets them, and use their own labour for their own benefit, obliging at the same time the proprietor to make those pecuniary outlays and sacrifices for the township which he is practically compelled to do for the large farm," particularly in the case of a resident tenant.

Some excellent recommendations are also made in connection with what will, perhaps, appear comparatively small matters in the view of strangers to the necessities of a crofter's life in the Highlands. Let the Commissioners themselves explain them—

"Among the minor subjects of complaint which seem to

rankle in the minds of the small tenants, and to exasperate their relations with the proprietor or the neighbouring tenant in some exceptional localities, are payments for peats, sea-ware, and heather or grass for thatching. We think it desirable that all specific charges for privileges, such as these, should cease. They cause some irritation, they yield little profit, and as they involve payments for commodities indispensable to the poor, but which cost the landlord nothing, and have scarcely any marketable value, they seem peculiarly oppressive."

The township, it is recommended, should have the right to cut peats, sea-ware, and material for thatch, when such cannot be procured within the bounds of the township itself, on any lands most convenient to occupiers, and belonging to the same proprietor, always free of charge, and under proper regulations; in some cases, failing agreement by the parties, to be settled by the Sheriff-Substitute.

These provisions are designed for the preservation to the small tenants of their present contracted area of arable and pasture lands, but the Commissioners have also very properly concluded that this is not enough; and they propose to enforce the compulsory application of more land—arable and pastoral—for the extension of the crofters' present domain, under certain conditions and circumstances. They are "of opinion that the condition of the crofting population in some quarters is such that it would be justifiable in the public interest to introduce the alternative of a compulsory process, in the absence of voluntary concession," on the part of the landlords. They therefore recommend that—

The township should be able to claim an extension of ground from the proprietor; that the occupiers should be entitled to register their claim in the books of the Sheriff Court; that a period of one year should be allowed for a voluntary arrangement; that the Sheriff-Substitute should then investigate their claim, and if he finds it well founded, that he should record the township as an "overcrowded township," and the claim a reasonable claim. The proprietor would then be held liable to increase the land of the township from contiguous lands; no holding under £100 rent to be liable to diminution for this purpose, without the voluntary assent of the proprietor. The aggregate value, however, of the land assigned for this enlargement is not to exceed one-third of the annual value of the holding from which it is taken—that is, when the annual value of the dimin-

ished holding is below £150; it is not to exceed one-half, when the annual value is below £300; and it is not to exceed two-thirds, when the annual value is above £300. The enlargement must not be used for creating fresh holdings in the township, but only for the development, improvement, or transfer of existing holdings. The Sheriff must be satisfied that the occupiers are able to use the additional ground profitably, and to stock the hill pasture. The rent of the enlarged ground is to be fixed by valuation. This scheme would not involve any sudden or violent change. In most cases it would mean merely "a moderate restoration of the hill pasture which the grandfathers of the existing hamlets enjoyed sixty years ago." New townships, to admit of migration from one part of an estate to another, where no contiguous land is available, may be formed with consent of the proprietor. In these cases, the Commissioners recommend Government to make advances not exceeding £100 for every £10 of annual value in each new holding, and of £5 for each additional pound of annual value, for the construction of dwelling-houses, farm offices, and fences, at 3 per cent. per annum, the holdings to be created not to be less than £10, nor to exceed £30 of annual value; these new townships to have all the rights and obligations of existing ones, and not to be subject to sub-letting or division in any form. No holding in a township of less than £20 annual rent should be hereafter susceptible of subdivision, and no new holding of less than £10 annual rent should be constituted. Holdings of less than £3 annual rent, on becoming vacant, should be added to existing holdings."

The Commissioners anticipate that objection may be taken to the proposed Highland township area and its extension, for partaking "of a retrogressive character," as it proposes to give legal sanction to a form of occupation and land tenure which has almost everywhere given way before the gradual introduction of individual industry and occupation. To this objection they, in our opinion, conclusively reply—

"That pasture is indispensable to the small tenant in most parts of the Highlands and Islands, the soil and climate being such that he can never depend on cereal cultivation alone, either for rent or sustenance, while the areas requisite for the grazing of cattle, and especially of sheep, are so vast, and the surface so rugged, that numerous enclosures are impracticable. The choice is thus not between separate pasture and common pasture, but between common pasture and no pasture at all."

By these proposals, it is fully conceded that Parliament may properly interfere with the rights of landed property when the

condition of the people and the interests of the public demand it. That is a great point gained in the present controversy between landlord and tenant; and, if the proper means are used, it may be turned to good account. It will, however, we think, be observed with very general regret that, while it is proposed to preserve and even extend the existing township lands, no provision whatever is made to secure the individual tenants in their holdings in the township, even after it has been registered and has acquired the legal status recommended by the Commissioners. The land cannot be taken away from the people, but the people can be driven off the land. The people may be evicted, and the township turned into a large farm or a mere sporting domain. The proposed township, without security of tenure, is like a bundle of sticks, each of which may be picked out and burnt, until the whole bundle is consumed. So with the township crofters. They can be evicted individually until the township area ceases to exist for the purpose desiderated in the Report, as effectually as the bundle of sticks. Security of tenure would make the proposal logically complete and effectual, and the ultimate value of the plan must be based on the right of the individual to remain, and to demand from his landlord the remedies recommended, without fear of being evicted out of the place as a troublesome, disagreeable person, who claims a right to live in his native land. The want of this necessary provision will appear incredible when so much is recommended that, logically, can only be based upon security of tenure, but the Commissioners themselves declare its absence. After describing all the other conditions of the proposed township tenancy, they say that "the occupier would, however, remain subject to the arbitrary removal in the absence of a lease." This is, unfortunately, but too manifest.

We regret to find that, from the whole of this portion of the Report—the portion which recommends the adoption of the township unit or area—Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and Lochiel enter their dissent in the most emphatic language; while they only sign others of its recommendations with hesitation and reluctance. [See separate article on the Dissents.]

With the object of providing, to a small extent, against arbitrary removals, and for other reasons, the Commissioners recommend that—

Should be granted, subject, however, to so many conditions, and limited to tenants paying so high a rent, as to make them applicable to a very small number of the people. The proposal is valuable, however, inasmuch as it clearly admits the principle of Security of Tenure, which, if once conceded, cannot possibly be confined to tenants paying a rental of from £6 to £30. In these proposals, the Commissioners themselves declare that:—

"There is undoubtedly some abridgment of the landlord's power. In regard to the township, the owner is compelled to restrict a portion of his estate to a specific purpose, to restore in some cases a part of it otherwise appropriated to that object, it may be, with some diminution in its return, and to co-operate in certain works of no small charge for the benefit of the township. He is held to concession, and he is held to expenditure. He is subjected to the obligation to grant leases; and in connection with those of an inferior status we propose some other limitations to his authority. In all this there is a sacrifice of the prerogatives and freedom of proprietory management, as well as a sacrifice of money."

Had the Commissioners carried this interference sufficiently far to provide complete security to the tenants, they would not have disturbed the equanimity of the landlords any more than they have done with the more limited but practically inoperative proposals made; and they would have satisfied all reasonable claims, and secured general peace and contentment among the people. We have always held that, given security of tenure, everything else required would naturally follow; without it, any other proposals will be found of little practical use, except in so far as the admission of the principle involved in them will help the people at no distant date to secure the thing itself. The Commissioners justly declare that—

"It would obviously be idle to set apart particular areas of land as an asylum for a particular class of cultivators, and to deny to the individual cultivator those securities which are necessary to the safe and proper exercise of his industry. In view of the sufferings endured in past times by the people through inconsiderate removals of which they retain a lasting impression, and to the dread which they express of similar treatment, though that may be in some degree unreal [?] as well as for the purpose of giving an impulse to ameliorations, we are of

opinion that special provisions would be here justified, which would not be requisite on behalf of other orders of men more independent, and more capable of governing their own destinies."

They might have added that, as this state of things was brought about by "inconsiderate" action on the part of the owners of land in the past, and that as it is being intensified by similar conduct by not a few of them now—notwithstanding the misplaced faith which the Commissioners express in the exemplary conduct of the landlords of the present and the future—the landlords have no right to complain, if it is now proposed to slightly curtail their powers of mischief to themselves and to the people placed at their mercy by the one-sided class legislation of the past. The public have not, like the Commissioners, forgotten Leckmelm, Lochcarron, the "Brave Old Crofter," and scores of similar cases, within the last few years; to say nothing of the wholesale notices of removal issued in Skye and elsewhere, simultaneously almost with the Report of the Commissioners.

Though the principle conceded in the proposed improving lease is a good one, the manner in which it is proposed to give effect to it, will satisfy neither landlord nor tenant. The conditions are far too onerous, and incapable of being carried out in practice by the small tenant, while it is only to the better class crofters—those who least require it—that it is proposed to extend the application of the principle involved in the improving lease. The principal conditions and requirements are, stated briefly, as follows :—

Any occupier not in arrear, and paying £6 or more annual rent, should be entitled to claim from his proprietor an improving lease. The application is to be recorded in the Sheriff Court books; and on the expiry of six months the applicant will be entitled to ask the Sheriff for an official lease extending over thirty years; the rent to be fixed by valuation, the oversman in case of difference to be appointed by the Sheriff. At the outset the holding is to be inspected by valuators, and any buildings on it in serviceable condition and suitable for the holding which had been erected by the occupier, or by his predecessors of the same family within the previous thirty years, or paid for by him or them—provided no assistance for their erection had been received from the landlord, and that the tenant was not bound by express conditions in estate regulations or otherwise in writing—shall "be valued by arbitration, and the value awarded should constitute a debt on the part of the proprietor to the occupier,"

but in no case shall this compensation exceed three years' rent of the holding. During the first seven years of his lease the occupier shall engage to expend in money or labour an amount equal to not less than ten years' rent in permanent improvements. Two breaks occur, one at the end of three, and the other at the end of seven years, at which the lease will lapse if the specified conditions are not fulfilled. At the close of the lease the occupier will be entitled to improvements executed during the last twenty years of the lease—the first ten being excluded. He can also claim a renewal of the official lease. If the tenant causes the holding to deteriorate, the landlord is to have a claim against him. A full year's notice must be given by either of the contracting parties to terminate the occupancy at the end of the lease, when, whether the tenant removes or remains, an inquiry and valuation shall take place to clear up and adjust the mutual relations of proprietor and tenant, and settle the compensation due; that for buildings not to exceed five years' rent, and that for improvements made during the second ten years of the lease, not to exceed one-third of their cost, while the compensation for the last ten years shall not exceed two-thirds of the cost of the improvements executed by the tenant. In the event of the tenant choosing to remove, the sum found due to him shall be paid by the proprietor; if he decides to remain in the holding, the money is to be paid to him at once, or it may be constituted a debt against the proprietor, in a manner mutually agreed upon between the two. The tenant can demand a new lease, and, failing agreement with the proprietor, the rent and conditions are to be settled by arbitration. Permanent improvements must be held to comprise the erection of a dwelling-house, with chimneys and windows, the walls being of stone and lime; farm offices substantially built of stone; subsoil drains with stones or tiles, dry stone dykes, properly built; deep trenching and clearing of the ground, and no other improvements but those named. They must all be for the benefit of the holding, and whether they are so or not, in case of dispute, is to be settled by arbitration.

So far good, subject to a reduction of the oppressive conditions attached to occupation under the proposed leases; but these are mere matters of detail, easily settled by Parliament once legislation is honestly attempted.

The limitation of the improving lease to the absurdly high figure of a £6 rental is a much more serious matter, and would confine its application within such narrow limits, even if the other impossible conditions were removed, as to make the leases practically of little utility, satisfying but a very small share of the fair claims of an extremely small section of the people. The

Commissioners themselves are conscious of the fact; for they say that it may be objected to the scheme, "that the protection and encouragements afforded to the higher class of crofters above the level of the £6 line are withheld from those of an inferior condition, forming in most localities, we regret to say, the vast majority, and who may need such safeguards equally or more. This must be admitted"—the Report continues—"the poorer sort are here endowed with no formal security against eviction or excessive rents. The inequality of treatment is manifest and may appear unjust." It not only appears, but it is unjust; and such a limit ought not for a moment to be listened to by the people and their friends.

In a foot-note to the Report, we are told that this limit of £6 was inserted "as a compromise between the opinions of those in the Commission who favoured a higher, and those who favoured a lower figure;" and, like all other compromises, it will satisfy no one, and it must and will be brushed aside with little ceremony by the people and the Legislature. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, in his dissent from the £6 limit agreed upon by the other Commissioners, proposes the more reasonable basis of £4, which, "though high enough," he would consider a fair one, and, having been recognised in the Valuation Act of 1854, he claims that it has a distinct significance. Even £4 is far too high, and perhaps the fairest compromise—if compromises there must be—would be a £3 limit. This would include the bulk of the small tenants; and anything that does not admit that should be stoutly opposed by all interested.

Let us see the result of the two limits proposed; that of the majority of the Commission at £6, and that in the Memorandum by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, at £4. The following table, prepared from the Valuation Rolls of Inverness and Ross, applies to all the parishes, in the two counties, in which the Commissioners received evidence; and, for the purposes of comparison, it will be found sufficiently accurate, though, in several instances, it was found impossible to exclude "lands" held separately from "crofts"—a fact by which the numbers appear considerably higher than they really are, and which leaves the case stronger against the recommendations of the Report than the figures actually indicate.

The population column is taken from the Census of 1881, as printed in Mackenzie's *History of the Highland Clearances.*—

Parish.	Population.	£6 Limit.	£4 Limit.
Small Isles	550	8	22
Isle of Skye.			
Sleat	2060	28	101
Strath	2616	37	130
Bracadale	929	—	—
Duirinish	4319	96	333
Snizort	2120	126	224
Kilmuir	2562	181	277
Portree (including Raasay)	3191	50	117
Total	17797	518	1182
Southern Portion of the Long Island.			
Barra	2161	20	48
South Uist (including Benbecula)	6078	187	357
North Uist	4264	108	239
Harris	4814	55	180
Total	17,317	370	824
Lewis.			
Barvas	5325	12	155
Lochs	6284	5	87
Stornoway	10,389	7	150
Uig	3489	27	155
Total	25,487	51	547
Mainland Coast of Ross and Inverness.			
Ardnamurchan	4105	65	102
Glenelg	1601	24	51
Glenshiel	424	—	—
Kintail	688	19	26
Lochalsh	2050	61	124
Lochcarron	1456	62	136
Applecross	2239	58	170
Gairloch	4594	61*	165*
Lochbroom	4191	83	253
Total	21,348	433	1027
General Totals.			
Small Isles	550	8	22
Isle of Skye	17,797	518	1182
Barra, the Uists, and Harris	17,317	370	824
Lewis	25,487	51	547
Mainland, West Coast of Inverness & Ross	21,348	433	1027
Total in Inverness, Ross and the Isles	82,499	1380	3602

* Of these numbers there are on Sir Kenneth Mackenzie's property in the Parish only 18 at £6, and 82 at £4. On Mrs Liot's property, 43 at £6, and 83 at £4.

Will the people be satisfied with such a result? They certainly will not, and ought not. It is the old story of "muckle cry and little woo'" with a vengeance! The Commissioners evidently feel this. But how do they propose to remedy the existing state of things? The Report proceeds to tell us, as follows:—

"These people" [eleven-twelfths of the whole population!] "ought either to pass, as crofters, to new holdings of a higher value, or take their position among cottars as labourers, mechanics, or fishermen, with a cottage and an allotment, or migrate to other seats of labour here, or emigrate to other countries. Their case is contemplated by the provisions for improved fishing and voluntary emigration which will be embodied in other parts of this Report. Meanwhile, we trust they will not be subjected either to arbitrary eviction or rack-renting. From the former, they will be defended by the humanity of landlords and public opinion, while their rents cannot fail to be determined in some measure by the values fixed by arbitration on the holdings of their better endowed neighbours."

It is very easy to propose that the small occupiers should pass on to holdings of a higher value, but are they likely to get them, even if they have the means, when the landlords know that the giving of a large holding carries with it legal rights and a status to the tenant, which assuredly landlords generally will be most unwilling to grant! And, as to eviction and rack-renting. Why should the "humanity of landlords and public opinion" be still considered necessary in the case of the great mass and the most helpless portion of the people, while provisions are proposed to make the better-to-do minority, who least require it, perfectly independent of both? Why should these reviled and terrible agitators be compelled, and even encouraged, to continue the very disagreeable, though, in present circumstances, absolutely necessary, duty of fanning public opinion against arbitrary evictions? This is a duty from which most of them will earnestly pray to be relieved; and we protest against the proposal that people should be compelled and encouraged thus to continue agitating, and rousing public opinion to keep landlords from committing similar atrocities to those they have committed in the past, while their conduct in that respect is so emphatically reprobated in the Report, and when evictions can be so easily put a stop to by the Legislature.

The suggestion is a virtual instruction to the agitators to continue agitating. Is this fair, is it wise, even in the interest of the landlords themselves? It is certainly unjust to the crofters, and to their friends—who must continue to excite public opinion in future, to keep the people from being driven out of their native land, failing such remedies as are now proposed to be given to a small minority, composed of the most independent, and, therefore, those least requiring it of their number. That landlord humanity is not an unknown quantity in the Highlands is true enough; but that it is, or has been, universally practised, in the direction of keeping the people in their own country, by the class and their officials generally, or to any large extent, is a view of the case that, at this time of day, and in the light of history, need not be discussed.

The Commissioners propose certain checks—

On behalf of crofters and cottars, not in possession of an improving lease at a rent of £6 and upwards, and "not being in arrear, who being in actual occupancy, are summoned to remove by the proprietor, for his own purposes; such as a full year's warning, compensation for buildings and improvements on the holding excuted by the occupier or his predecessors of the same family, within thirty years, and, in the case of emigration, an obligation on the proprietor to purchase the occupier's stock by valuation." It is recommended that an occupier should not be summoned to remove for less than one year's full rental. He should also receive six months' warning, with permission to pay his arrears during that time, and to remain. "Arrears of rent in excess of two full years' rental should not be allowed to count against the occupier."

The following applies to a system common in the Isle of Skye —the iniquity of which was repeatedly pointed out—during the reign of "Tormore" and some of his predecessors, as factorial magnates in the Isle of Skye. The Commissioners propose that—

"It should not be lawful for an incoming occupier to bind himself to the proprietor to pay up the arrears due by an outgoing occupier, and no engagement to that effect should be entertained in a court of law in estimating the amount of arrears due by an occupier, or in any other way," and "no payment should be received by the outgoing occupier or by the proprietor for his goodwill of the holding, irrespective of the buildings or improvements transferred to him." Any obligations for labour service and for the sale or supply of any commodities whatever, are to

be commuted into money value, in the absence of voluntary agreement, by arbitration.

Tenants sub-letting or dividing their holdings, without the consent of the proprietor, will forfeit all their rights in connection with their leases. Facilities are recommended for the purchase of their holdings by the tenants, whether they hold leases or not, and to the cottar fishermen for the purchase of their houses, on the following terms :—

"Every occupant in a township paying £6 or more of annual rent to the proprietor should have the right to enter his name with the Sheriff-Clerk of the county as a claimant to purchase the fee-simple of his holding for a price not exceeding twenty-five years' gross rental of the holding, having first obtained the consent of the proprietor in writing. The claimant, on depositing one-third of the purchase money, should have a right to claim an advance of the remaining two-thirds by Government."

So long as Highland estates continue to sell at from forty to fifty years' purchase, this proposal must, we fear, continue a dead letter ; for no proprietor would be such a fool, or so absolutely unselfish, as to sell his land in small plots for little more than half what it would sell for in the open market. Therefore, the meaning of the proviso that "the consent of the proprietor in writing" must be obtained before any purchase of a holding can take place, is not far to seek. Many, it is to be feared, will hold that it was never expected to come into active operation ; and the impossible condition attached of getting the landlord to consent to such a proposal "in writing," or otherwise, will go far to strengthen that view.

Referring to the house accommodation of the crofting class, the Commissioners declare, regarding the inconveniences which the people suffer in connection with their position as occupiers of land, that—

"The one which strikes the stranger as the most deplorable, and which affects the native with the least impatience, is the nature of their dwellings. It is difficult to say how far the crofter or cottar is sensible of the disadvantages attached to the darkness and deprivations of his primitive habitation, or how far this feature in his life is actually prejudicial to his happiness or welfare. In the main, his house does not make him unhappy, for he does not complain ; it does not make him immoral, for he

is above the average standard of morality in his country; it does not make him unhealthy, for he enjoys an uncommon share of vigour and longevity. Yet no one concerned for the elevation of the Highland people can fail to desire an improvement in this particular; no one can doubt that if they are well-conducted and robust, it is in spite of their lodging, and in consequence of counteracting causes, and that if they enjoyed the benefit of purer and brighter homes, they would prosper more."

Having first described the worst forms of these dwellings, the Commissioners continue—

"When seen in a superior form, the Highland cottage, though thatched with grass or heath, floored with clay, and built with untempered stones, may yet possess a chimney and a window in the wall, a door unshared by the cattle, a partition between the stall and the lodging, and when kept clean does not offer an unpleasant aspect, animated as it often is by the loom or spinning-wheel, by a hospitable welcome, and by kindly faces. The ancient model of Highland habitation may indeed be contemplated with too much indulgence by those whose minds are not duly possessed by considerations of utility and sanitation, for it is associated in fancy with all that is most pleasing and romantic in the manners and history of the people, while in form and colour it is in perfect harmony with the landscape and the shore."

The rent, we are told, is now determined by the custom of the estate and the discretion of the proprietor, who occasionally readjusts the amount by valuation, conducted by the factor or a special agent; while in some cases, on the larger estates of the old families of the country, considerable indulgence, often amounting to benevolence, is said to be discovered in the rent of the smaller holdings; but while the Commissioners think it right not to express any opinion respecting the conduct of individual proprietors in the management of their estates, they say that the question of rent assumes a "prominent position" in the case of the Ross of Mull, Tiree, and Iona, belonging to the Duke of Argyll; Kilmuir, in the Isle of Skye, the property of Major Fraser; in the Island of Rousay, the property of General Burroughs; and at Clyth, in Caithness, belonging to Mr Adam Sharp. Cases might "probably be found of the inconsiderate imposition of increased rent, or of rent being raised with a view to advantageous sale. On a comprehensive view of the rents paid by small tenants in the Highlands and Islands, we have not found, in the conduct of

proprietors, ground for proposing a general revision by official authority ; nor would such a revision be of any substantial benefit to tenants, unless it were accompanied by the concession, in some form, of permanent tenure—a measure which we have not been able to recommend, under the peculiar circumstances of the population, except in the case of occupiers with improving leases ;" and more's the pity.

We quite concur in the final conclusions arrived at by the Commissioners, namely—That the mere recognition, improvement, and enlargement of the township ; the concession of improving leases with valuation of rents for a very limited number of occupiers ; compensation for improvements ; and a very slight mitigation of arbitrary removals, will appear inadequate, not only to "those whose imaginations have been familiarised with projects of an exaggerated or visionary character, such as a general redistribution of the land," but to all those who, like ourselves, would be satisfied, at present, with such a simple security of tenure as would make the arbitrary evictions of the past impossible in future, and compensation for improvements, legally secured to the tenants by some sure, simple, and expeditious process. All else would naturally follow.

We have, however, much pleasure in admitting that, in our opinion, the labours of the Commissioners and their Report will, at no distant date, lead to these desirable results, and otherwise vastly benefit the Highland people, if they continue to act wisely themselves.

Consideration of the sections dealing with Fisheries and Communications, Education, Justice, Deer Forests, Game, and Emigration, must, in the meantime, be left over. In this connection, however, it may be said that the recommendations of the Commissioners are exceedingly valuable, and, on the whole, of a most useful and practicable nature.

A. M.

[The Dissents of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and Lochiel are dealt with in a separate article. The subject of the Report occupies more of our space this month than we have ever given to any other subject in a single issue, but we feel that its great importance will fully justify us to the Celtic world.]

DISSENTS BY SIR KENNETH MACKENZIE AND LOCHIEL.

SIR KENNETH MACKENZIE, in signing the Report of the Royal Commission, "reserved the right to append a dissent from a part of it," in which he was unable to concur, and to note certain considerations material to the inquiry before he signed it.

He dissents in the most emphatic terms, "from all that part of the Report which relates to the organisation of crofter townships as agricultural units." This is much to be regretted; for it is undoubted that Sir Kenneth's declaration against the leading feature of the Report must tell strongly against the prospect of early action by the Government on the lines laid down by the majority of the Commissioners, especially so when supported in his opposition by Lochiel, who also records his "objections to that portion of the Report which deals with the constitution and reorganisation of townships, and in which it is proposed to confer certain powers and privileges on the occupiers of such townships in their corporate capacity." He gives his "general adherence" to Sir Kenneth Mackenzie's criticisms on the same subject, though to him it appears desirable to indicate more fully than Sir Kenneth has done, "the practical objections to the scheme, and the many obstacles which stand in the way of its adoption." This he proceeds to do in a remarkably lucid, and, from the landlord's point of view, able manner; but, after all, his criticisms point with any effect to mere matters of detail. The only one of these objections to which it is necessary to make special reference is that in which he submits—

"That not only is the proprietor likely to be a better judge than any other authority as to whether a township is overcrowded; but he is in a far better position to form an opinion as to the chances of success, in an attempt to increase the area of the township, or to relieve the congestion of the population by the removal of individual tenants to other suitable places on his property. No one," he continues, "can have the same opportunities of ascertaining the inclinations of his crofters, their means or character. No one is better able to judge which of the crofters would be most capable of profitably occupying land, which he

might be in a position to offer them, while he alone possesses the requisite information to enable him to dispose satisfactorily of the crofts thus vacated," with much more of the same kind, concluding—" In this way alone, so far as I can see, would the danger of perpetuating very small holdings with common grazing rights, described in the Memoradum, by one of my colleagues (Sir Kenneth Mackenzie), be removed, and a new system introduced, alike pleasing to the people and founded on true economical principles."

Whatever is to be done must, in Lochiel's opinion, be done on the old landlord plan of borrowing Government funds, from the Public Loan Commissioners, by the owners, and making the tenant pay them. The following is Lochiel's proposal—

" The proprietor, when he is desirous of forming a new township, or adding arable or pasture to an existing township, and has selected a certain number of crofters, not less than four, from his own estate, who are willing to settle on the lands proposed to be dealt with, should make application to the Public Loan Commissioners for a loan of money, repayable with interest at 3 per cent., by instalments, extending over a period of thirty years, to provide houses, enclose and drain land, and purchase stock, under the following conditions:—That the new tenants shall be taken from the estate belonging to the proprietor, and that their holdings, if vacated, shall be partitioned among or allotted to the remaining crofters in the same township—that leases of thirty years be granted to the tenants in a new township, and that their holdings shall be of not less value than £30 yearly rent—that the amount borrowed for the purpose be not in excess of £20 for each pound of yearly rent, and that of this £20, one-sixth shall be provided by the tenant. Thus, in the case of a new holding of the annual value of £30, the sum required to establish him, and stock the land, might amount to £600, of which £100 would have to be provided by the tenant. But I would propose that even this £100 need not be provided in money or all at once. It might take the form of labour on the farm, such as the reclamation of land, or that expended on the erection of a dwelling-house or offices, or the completion of the full stock of cattle which it is intended to maintain by natural increase instead of by simultaneous purchase. All these processes, whether of labour, or providing bestial for the farm, should, however, be considered as completed before the expiry of the third year of the tenancy."

Lochiel's plan is a very good one of its kind, but is it not wonderful that a gentleman of his ability and clear-headedness,

cannot see that the time for this kind of tinkering has long passed away, and was, for any practical settlement of the present difficulty utterly and ridiculously effete, long before it was written into shape. But, perhaps, the best reply is to tell him that he could have done all this of his own accord, long before the Commission was issued; and he may, perhaps, be good enough to tell us, why it is that neither he nor his landlord friends in the Highlands did so long ago. Lochiel's scheme is still-born, for any practical purpose, except in so far as it shows what an excellent use he can make of his pen, if he were only to use it in the interest of his Highland countrymen.

On one point, however, we heartily agree with him. While objecting to the part of the Report which proposes that Procurators-Fiscal and Sheriff-Clerks should not in future be permitted to engage in any other official work, by themselves, their partners, or deputes, as law-agents, factors, bankers, or other situations of the like kind, Lochiel strongly recommends, "that in all future appointments to the office of Procurator-Fiscal in the Highlands, a knowledge of the Gaelic language should be held essential."

Let us now see what it is that Sir Kenneth Mackenzie objects to, and in which Lochiel agrees with him. We shall quote his own exact words. After stating his objections to have the township idea "stereotyped, by giving statutory recognition to the village community as an industrial unit," Sir Kenneth proceeds—

"On the ground, therefore, that joint pastoral tenancies of the character contemplated are adverse to the attainment of a state of prosperity, and that the prospect of their eventual dissolution, if they now receive legal recognition, is visionary, I must dissent from all that part of the Report which relates to the organisation of the crofter townships as agricultural units."

He also thinks the details are open to objection; and so do we, but surely that can easily be remedied. He then continues—

"My concurrence in some other parts of the Report was not given without hesitation. I felt that it would be a misfortune if any of the measures recommended should have the effect of permanently differentiating the Highlands from the rest of Britain, and I doubted whether all of them would be suitable and likely to be made applicable to the whole country. It is improbable that if once" these other measures were "introduced, the period of their operation in the Highlands could be limited."

Sir Kenneth does not say, in distinct terms, what measures he considers so objectionable, in addition to the township unit or area; but he is sufficiently clear and emphatic in his opposition to anything but what would be "equally applicable to the whole country"—the whole United Kingdom we infer. This will appear more clearly by-and-bye, meanwhile let Sir Kenneth proceed. He says—

"If exceptional privileges were to be conferred, if it were only as the subjects of special favour that it was possible to contemplate Highlanders as thriving, the grant of such privileges, while it might patch up existing evils for the moment, could hardly fail also to protract artificially the existence of the causes which had produced them, and ensure their recurrence. In my opinion," he goes on, "the faulty tenure [? the present crofting tenure] under which they have arisen should rather be brought to an end as speedily as proper consideration for the crofters will permit, and encouragement should be given to the gradual replacement [and, necessarily, the displacement!] of the crofting system by one of small farms, to which the land law reforms desirable for the rest of the country would be applicable."

What is this but a proposal to displace and get rid in the Highlands of the crofters as a class? Sir Kenneth adopts the idea that "they are truly labourers, living chiefly by the wages of labour, and holding crofts and lots for which they pay rents, not from the produce of the land, but from wages." To ensure the prosperity and consequent contentment of a wage-receiving class, "it is of the first necessity that they should be able to find, in the place of their residential settlement, full industrial employment," and Sir Kenneth truly asserts, that "this is just what the crofters in the West Highlands and Islands cannot do." But what remedy does he propose for this unfortunate and preventible state of things? Farms paying a rental ranging "from a minimum of £15 in the Hebrides up to £50 on the mainland," with, of course, an admixture of large farms.

"Such a distribution of the soil would clothe the Highlands and Islands with the greatest population which could be maintained in prosperity; but it will be evident to every one acquainted with the country that it would not provide for the numbers who have come to be resident on it under the crofting system."

Sir Kenneth then proceeds, in our opinion, to stultify what he

had just proposed ; except on the supposition that those who cannot take such comparatively large farms as he desiderates are to become mere fishermen, day-labourers—where, admittedly, there is no labour for them—or emigrate. He says that

"The crofters, whom it is proposed to turn into farmers have no sufficiency of capital to make profitable use of a holding large enough to give the occupier a certain livelihood," and, further, "that a sub-division of the large pastoral farms would involve the erection of a number of small homesteads at an expense which neither proprietors nor tenants are very well able to undertake ;" and, if built, these holdings "would be a standing hindrance to that further consolidation which would be desirable."

Like Lochiel, Sir Kenneth, recommends cheap Government loans, "for homesteads and for the stocking of farms," but he proposes that a preferential security should be given to any one supplying the tenants with the means of procuring stock, and suggests, now that hypothec has been abolished, that this preferential security would frequently suffice to induce the landlord to grant the necessary guarantee for the tenant. He also proposes the use of State funds for the purchase of self-sustaining farms, both measures which, "though of special advantage to the Highlands, might form part of any general scheme of land law reform for the whole country."

The proposal to lend State money to the tenants, guaranteed by the landlords, for the stocking of their holdings, is certainly novel, and, if it succeeded at all, would, in one respect at least, be most effectual in making the tenant more helpless, and less independent of his landlord than ever, in any efforts to secure remedial legislation for himself and his neighbours—a fact which will no doubt recommend it, on that account alone, to a certain class, if not to a large number, of proprietors.—

"In my own time," Sir Kenneth says, "the progress of the Highlands, consequent on the spread of education and the increased facilities of communciation, has been very great," and he maintains that "an extension of these means if not artificially impeded [by such proposals as the majority of Commission recommends, being the only legitimate inference] it will of itself bring about developments which, in conjunction with general reforms," (applicable to the whole country, as he previously states) "will gradually place the land tenure of the Highlands on a

sounder footing. If, in addition to this, the encouragements to fisheries and the facilities for emigration, recommended in our Report, should be afforded, provision would, to some extent, have been made for the superfluous population, and the progress of improvement would proceed with even greater rapidity."

That is, progress in the present system for the spread of education, of the present facilities of communication, with the proposed encouragement for fisheries, and the facilities for emigration, recommended in the Report—in addition to his proposed plan of "small farms," at from £15 to £50 rental, "for the gradual replacement of the crofting system"—would, in Sir Kenneth's opinion, be sufficient to bring about peace, contentment, and comfort, to the Highland people. We do not believe it would, and we sincerely trust that such mere patching proposals will not be for a moment listened to. Sir Kenneth, in short, emphatically condemns the whole crofting system. The districts where the system prevails, he says, are "those districts in the Highlands and Islands where the frequent recurrence of destitution has given evidence of the prevailing poverty, and of the narrow margin, which, in ordinary seasons, separates the people from want. These are the districts," he says in conclusion, "where the crofting system is in its fullest operation—a system which, however, valuable as affording a home, with pleasant surroundings, to the labourer in those parts of the country where wage-paid labour is required [in the south and east], is elsewhere a general cause of poverty"; that is, in the whole of the north-west Highlands and Islands! Many people will hold that the present Land Laws are mainly responsible for those undoubted evils — for all the poverty existing.

It is but right that we should allow Sir Kenneth to state the reasons, in his own words, for the position he has, we think unfortunately, taken up on this question; and of his admitted personal desire for the people's welfare. The latter will never be questioned by any one who has the slightest knowledge of his personal character and sympathies, though his political-economy views have now landed him, we fear, for ever, as a public man, in a position decidedly antagonistic to the crofting community, as a class. That he takes up that position conscientiously, but with regret, is sufficiently clear. He says—

"If I appear to concur somewhat reluctantly in the recommendations of land legislation for the Highlands, which may prove inapplicable to the rest of the country, it is not because I am less earnest than my colleagues in my desire for the people's welfare, but that I fear the evils that are likely to attend such legislation."

As a matter of fact, he does not concur "reluctantly," or otherwise, in the more important land legislation proposed, such as the township unit and the privileges to be attached to it; so that it can only be the proposed improving lease that he is referring to as receiving his concurrence reluctantly. And this, after all, is only the natural outcome and complement of the famous Glasgow speech, wherein Sir Kenneth declared that—

"Under our present system it seems evident that small farms are as doomed as handlooms were when power was first introduced, and that farming must fall more and more into the hands of capitalists able to conduct operations on a great scale, with a maximum of machinery and a minimum of labour. Those who, at the present juncture, fancy they see signs that this process is being reversed, are not reading facts aright."

The criticism of the Duke of Argyll, Lord Lovat, and others at the time placed the impression naturally conveyed by the Glasgow speech beyond question, and Sir Kenneth's reply to the Duke rather intensified than removed that impression. In his letter, he said that—

"Unless, then, it can be shown that the small tenant will not only offer, but will also in the long run be able to make payment of a higher rent than the large tenant, the landlord's pecuniary interest will stand opposed to any philanthropic schemes for increasing the number of agricultural occupiers; and while human nature remains what it is, I fear philanthropy will be the weaker of these two motives."

Sir Kenneth then expresses regret for the diminution of the rural population. The manner in which he proposes to avert what he thus regrets, is sufficiently clear from his dissent to the Report of the Commissioners; but to his old admirers his position is simply inexplicable, except on the assumption that he has looked at the question too much from the economic, and too little from the social point of view; while, in the same sentence, in which he condemns that attitude on the part of others, he declares for himself "that no reform can be considered worthy of the name which

does not take both into consideration." We quite agree with him in this; but matters in the Highlands have been allowed to drift so far that the social point of view must be by far the most prominent in any reform attempted now; while it is clear that Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, perhaps unconsciously, gives the first place to so-called political-economy ideas, and that to an extent which must largely damage, if it does not completely neutralise, his efforts for usefulness in the future, in connection with the necessary reform of the Land Laws in the Highlands.

THE RIVER BEAULY.

By Evan MacColl.

Of all the witching scenes the North
Can boast of well and truly,—
Haunts which no bard of any worth
Would fail to honour duly,—
There's none, I ween,
To match that scene
Where quits it's Dream, the Beauly,
And laughing leaps into the plains
Where plenty smiles on happy swains.

I've stood by Foyers' thundering leap,
Seen Lora's rush astounding,
Heard the swift Brander's moaning deep
'Mong Cruachan's caves resounding:
These have their share
Of grandeur rare,
But, Beauly, thee surrounding
Are scenes that might Elysium grace,
The beauty-spots on nature's face!

'Tis grand thy crystal flood to view
Benvaichard's borders leaving,
Nor less to see the Strath below
Thy fuller flow receiving;
But grander far
To see thee where
Its narrowing bounds thou'rt cleaving
Through rocky ridges opening wide
In very terror of thy tide.

Now through the Dream's dark gorges deep
  Methinks I see thee going,
Half hid 'mid woods that love to keep
  Fond watch upon thy flowing
    From rock to rock,
    With flash and shock,
  And fury ever growing ;
A giant fettered, it is true,
Yet bound all barriers to subdue.

O for a home on Agais fair
  Nigh which, anon, thou wendest
Thy way, proud-rushing on to where
  In thy great might thou rendest
    The one more chain
    That strives in vain
  To fetter thee, and lendest
Unto the Dream thy grandest gift of all,
The gleaming glory of Kilmorack's Fall !

O scene most magically wrought !
What minstrel pen can paint thee ?
Thy charms, fantastic beyond thought,
  Art never could have lent thee :
    Enchanting spot,
    I wonder not
  The muses love to haunt thee ;
And long, loved Dream ! may they delight to stray
Through thee with tuneful King-descended Hay.*

Majestic stream ! methinks I see
  Thee now, past all commotion,
Like virtue to eternity,
  Glide calmly to the ocean.
    Soon in thy grave,
    The German wave.
  Shall ever cease thy motion—
Cease ? deathless flood ! till time shall cease to run,
Thy race is finished, and yet but begun.

DR MACKENZIE CHISHOLM.—In the *Medical Journal* of 10th May, in the list of registered medical practitioners, on whom the degree of M.D. of the Univererersity of St Andrews was conferred, is the name of Kenneth Mackenzie Chisholm, L.R.C.P., Edinr., L.R.C.S., Edinr., now of Rockhouse, Radcliffe, Manchester, late of Flowerdale and Munlochy. Dr Chisholm is the son of our good friend, Mr Simon Chisholm, Flowerdale Gardens, Gairloch.

* John Sobieski Stuart Hay, author of "The Bridal of Kilchurn," and other poems of great merit, and who for some years resided in the vicinity of the scene here alluded to.

CELTIC AND LITERARY NOTES.

GAELIC seems to be asserting itself to good purpose on the American Continent. A Celtic Society has been recently established in the City of Montreal. At its inaugural meeting there were representatives present from the Celts of Wales, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Highlands of Scotland, and some excellent speeches were delivered on the occasion. When we mention that among those who took part were Professors MacVicar and Campbell, and the Rev. Dr MacNish, it will be felt that the auspices, under which the Society has been set up, are such as will ensure it permanence and effectiveness. As the Society's ranks are to made up of members from the various countries using the Celtic tongue, men of all shades of opinion and creed, it has been wisely decided to exclude from its proceedings all controverted matters likely to lead to unpleasant collision among the members. Literary and antiquarian subjects will have the principal share of attention.

A Gaelic congregation has been set up in the City of Chicago. The Rev. Dr Campbell, of Collingwood, Ontario, has accepted the pastorate, and the scheme under his experienced and able ministry, is likely to prove a very great success.

FOUR PAGES EXTRA are given this month, notwithstanding which, it has been found impossible to give the usual chapter of "Celtic Mythology," and several other items.

ROYAL RECOGNITION OF A GAELIC BARD.—Mrs Mary Mackellar (the Gaelic poetess) forwarded to the Queen a copy of the *Celtic Magazine* for May, in which her lament (in Gaelic) for the Duke of Albany appeared, and her Majesty has been graciously pleased to send a letter of thanks to the poetess, through Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Ponsonby, dated Windsor Castle, May 12th, 1884.

"NETHER-LOCHABER."—The Rev. Alex. Stewart, F.S.A. Scot., Nether-Lochaber, is preparing another volume for the press, made up of selections from the Letters which he, at various times, contributed to the *Inverness Courier* during the last quarter of a century. We have no doubt that this volume will meet with the same success as the first. The work will contain some of the brightest and most racy of Mr Stewart's Letters. The author has the rare power not only of seeing, but of telling what he sees in graceful and pictorial language. By all classes, but especially by Highlanders at home and abroad, the new volume will be looked forward to with interest.

"AN ANALYSIS OF THE REPORT OF CROFTER COMMISSION."—A pamphlet, under this title, extending to about 80 pages, by the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, is now ready. Price, in Paper Covers, 6d.; by Post, 8d. In Limp Cloth Covers, 1s.; by Post, 1s. 2d.; from A. & W. Mackenzie, Publishers, Inverness.

THE

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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XVIII.

THE 'FORTY-FIVE.

THE PRINCE, after spending several days in Holyrood, where he daily consulted his Council of War in the drawing-room—Lochiel, being, of course, one of the members—resolved to march into England at the head of an army numbering between five and six thousand troops, some artillery, and abundance of arms and ammunition. On the 8th of November, the first division entered England, when they raised a loud shout and unsheathed their claymores. Lochiel, in the act of drawing his weapon, accidentally cut his hand, which was considered such a very bad omen, that many of those present grew pale when they were told of the mishap.

One curious incident which occurred to Lochiel on the march through the North of England is recorded. The English people were in utter terror of the Highland soldiers, whom they were led to believe were inhuman beyond conception—that they were cannibals, and were particularly fond of feeding on young infants. Great surprise was experienced when it was found that, instead of these wild charges being true regarding them, the Highlanders actually paid for everything they required, and expressed great gratitude for any refreshments given to them or favours shown

to them. Cameron of Lochiel, on entering the lodgings which had been marked off for him, his hostess, a woman of years, fell at his feet, supplicating him, with hands joined, and with a flood of tears, to take away her life, but to spare her two children. He demanded of her if she was mad, and to explain herself. She replied that everyone said that the Highlanders ate children, and made them their ordinary food. Cameron having assured her that they would do no evil to her little ones, or to any body, whoever they might be, she fixed her eyes for a moment upon him with an air of surprise, and at once opened a closet, calling out with a loud voice, "Come out, my children, the gentleman will not eat you." The children came out immediately from the closet where she had concealed them, and fell at his knees.*

Lochiel accompanied the army all the way to Derby, and on the return march to Scotland, he was present, and, with his men, took a prominent part and did excellent service in the left wing of the Highland army at the battle of Falkirk, where the Highlanders again routed the enemy under General Hawley, mainly composed of tried soldiers who had fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy. Here Lochiel was slightly wounded, by a musket ball, during the heat of the action, in the heel, which, being observed by his brother, the doctor, who always kept near his person, "he begged him to retire to have it dressed, which he accordingly did ; but as the doctor was lending him his assistance, he himself received a slight wound,"† a ball having entered his body, where it remained during the remainder of his life. Shortly after the battle the Chief was able to lead a detachment into the town of Falkirk, finding nothing but a few straggling parties in the streets, whither he was followed by the Prince, who, with Lochiel, took up his quarters in the town for the night.

Next day, during which the Highlanders remained in the town, a curious incident occurred, which Home, himself an eye-witness, thus describes :—"Lord Kilmarnock, in the morning of the 18th, came to Falkirk, which is within half-a-mile of his house at Callender (where he had passed the night), bringing

* *Memoirs of the Chevalier de Johnstone*, translated from the original French by Charles Winchester, vol. i., p. 60.

† *Life of Dr Archibald Cameron.* London, 1753.

with him a party of his men to guard some prisoners who had been taken in the retreat, and carried to Callender. Lord Kilmarnock left the prisoners and their guard standing in the street, just before the house where Charles lodged, and going upstairs, presented to Charles a list of his prisoners, who were the two officers and some private men of the company of volunteers mentioned in the account of the battle. Charles opened the window to look at the prisoners, and stood for some time with the list in his hand, asking questions (as they thought) about them of Lord Kilmarnock. Meanwhile, a soldier, in the uniform of one of the King's regiments, made his appearance in the street of Falkirk, which was full of Highlanders; he was armed with a musket and bayonet, and had a black cockade in his hat. When the volunteers saw a soldier with his firelock in his hand coming towards Charles, they were amazed, and fancied a thousand things; they expected every moment to hear a shot. Charles observing that the volunteers, who were within a few yards of him, looked all one way, turned his head that way too; he seemed surprised, and calling Lord Kilmarnock, pointed to the soldier. Lord Kilmarnock came down stairs immediately; when he got to the street, the soldier was just opposite to the window where Charles stood. Kilmarnock came up to the fellow, struck his hat off his head, and set his foot on the black cockade. At that instant a Highlander came running from the other side of the street, laid hands on Lord Kilmarnock, and pushed him back. Kilmarnock pulled out a pistol, and presented it at the Highlander's head; the Highlander then drew his dirk, and held it close to Kilmarnock's breast. In this posture they stood about half-a-minute, when a crowd of Highlanders rushed in, and drove away Lord Kilmarnock. The man with the dirk in his hand took up the hat, put it upon the soldier's head, and the Highlanders marched off with him in triumph. This piece of dumb show, of which they understood nothing, perplexed the volunteers. They expressed their astonishment to a Highland officer who stood near them; and entreated him to explain the meaning of what they had seen. He told them that the soldier in the uniform of the Royal was a Cameron. 'Yesterday,' said he, 'when your army was defeated, he joined his clan; the Camerons received him with great joy, and told him that he should wear his arms, his clothes,

and every thing else, till he was provided with other clothes and other arms. The Highlander who first interposed, and drew his dirk on Lord Kilmarnock, is the soldier's brother; the crowd who rushed in are the Camerons, many of them his near relations; and, in my opinion,' continued the officer, 'no colonel nor general in the Prince's army can take that cockade out of his hat, except Lochiel himself.'"* Nothing could better illustrate the ties of clanship which existed in those days!

The Prince returned to Bannockburn on the evening of the 18th, leaving a portion of his army and the Highland Chiefs at Falkirk. While there they prepared a document, which was signed by Lord George Murray, Lochiel, Macdonald of Keppoch, Macdonald of Clanranald, Stewart of Ardshiel, Macdonald of Lochgarry, Macdonald of Scotus, and Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, dated the 29th January 1746, urging upon the Prince, in the strongest terms, to retire to the North. Charles at once dispatched Sir Thomas Sheridan to argue against the recommendations of the Chiefs. They in turn sent Macdonald of Keppoch to reason with his Highness, who, in the end, most reluctantly agreed to the proposed retreat to the Highlands. The address to the Prince is in the following terms:—

We think it our duty, in this critical juncture, to lay our opinions in the most respectful manner before your Royal Highness.

We are certain that a vast number of the soldiers of your Royal Highness's army are gone home since the battle of Falkirk; and notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Commanders of the different corps, they find that this evil is increasing hourly, and not in their power to prevent, and as we are afraid Stirling Castle cannot be taken so soon as was expected, if the enemy should march before it falls into your Royal Highness's hands, we can foresee nothing but utter destruction to the few that will remain, considering the inequality of our numbers to that of the enemy. For these reasons we are humbly of opinion that there is no way to extricate your Royal Highness, and those who remain with you, out of the most imminent danger, but by retiring immediately to the Highlands, where we can be usefully employed the remainder of the winter, by taking and mastering the forts of the North; and we are morally sure we can keep as many men together as will answer that end, and hinder the enemy from following us in the mountains at this season of the year; and in spring, we doubt not but an army of 10,000 effective Highlanders can be brought together, and follow your Royal Highness wherever you think proper. This will certainly disconcert your enemies, and cannot but be approved of by your Royal Highness's friends both at home and abroad. If a landing should happen in the meantime, the Highlanders would immediately rise, either to join them, or to make a powerful diversion elsewhere.

The hard marches which your army has undergone, the winter season, and

* *History of the Rebellion*, pp. 180-182.

now the inclemency of the weather, cannot fail of making this measure approved of by your Royal Highness's allies abroad, as well as your faithful adherents at home. The greatest difficulty that occurs to us is the saving of the artillery, particularly the heavy cannon; but better some of those were thrown into the River Forth as that your Royal Highness, besides the danger of your own person, should risk the flower of your army, which we apprehend must inevitably be the case if this retreat be not agreed to and gone about without the loss of one moment; and we think that it would be the greatest imprudence to risk the whole on so unequal a chance, when there are such hopes of succour from abroad, besides the resources your Royal Highness will have from your faithful and dutiful followers at home. It is but just now we are apprised of the numbers of our own people that are gone off, besides the many sick that are in no condition to fight. And we offer this our opinion with the more freedom that we are persuaded that your Royal Highness can never doubt of the uprightness of our intentions. Nobody is privy to this address to your Royal Highness except your subscribers; and we beg leave to assure your Royal Highness that it is with great concern and reluctance we find ourselves obliged to declare our sentiments, in so dangerous a situation, which nothing could have prevailed with us to have done, but the unhappy going off of so many men.

We next find Lochiel and his Camerons—after the march of the Highland army from the south—in the neighbourhood of Moy Hall, where they, about a mile distant, sheltered Prince Charles when he had to depart suddenly from "Colonel" Anne's hospitable roof on hearing of Lord Loudon's approach from Inverness at the head of fifteen hundred men, with the object of making his Royal Highness prisoner. This occurred on the morning of Monday, the 18th of February 1746. Next day the Highlanders took the town of Inverness, Loudon retiring across Kessock Ferry. Two days after, the Castle, then called Fort-George, was besieged, and fell into the hands of the Highlanders, with sixteen pieces of cannon and a hundred barrels of beef. The stronghold was immediately blown up.

Lochiel proceeded to Fort-William early in March in command of the Camerons, Keppoch Macdonalds, and Stuarts of Appin, to besiege that fortress. They were joined by about 300 of the Irish pickets under Brigadier Stapleton, who had, on the previous 5th of March, compelled the surrender of Fort-Augustus. In consequence of the difficulty experienced in transporting their cannon, the siege of Fort-William was not commenced until the 20th of the month, and it finally proved unsuccessful, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts by Lochiel and his friends; for, on the 3rd of April, they received instructions to raise the siege, and proceed to Inverness, where the main body of

the Highland army was preparing to oppose the King's forces on their way north under the Duke of Cumberland.

Secretary Murray had written to Lochiel from Fort-Augustus on the 14th of March, where he was, on his way to Fort-William, urging him from the Prince "to hasten the siege as much as possible; and that over, he proposes your people, Keppoch's, Clanranald's, Glengarry's, and the Stuarts should march through Argyllshire, not only to correct that crew, but to give an opportunity to our friends to join, while he [the Prince] with the rest of the clans and our Low-country people march by the Highland road to get to Perth before Cumberland, or join with you at Menteith, or wherever shall be thought most proper. This our scarcity of money renders absolutely necessary, as we have no prospect of getting any, unless in possession of the Low-country; and as Cumberland must of necessity follow us, the coast will be left clear to our friends to land." The order to return to Inverness upset this arrangement. After a long and difficult march Lochiel joined the main army, that "lay upon the ground among the furze and trees of Culloden wood, on the evening of the 14th of April." The Prince and his principal officers had taken up their quarters in Culloden House.

At Culloden, the Camerons, who, with the Athole men, occupied the right wing, displayed their wonted gallantry, and though great praise was afterwards heaped upon Barrel's and Munro's regiments, who confronted them, for their fortitude in bearing the attack of the Lochaber men, and for killing so many of them, according to Chambers, "these battalions were in reality completely beat aside, and the whole front line shaken so much, that, had the Macdonald regiments made a simultaneous charge, the day might have had a very different issue." Of the five clan regiments that charged, sword in hand, the Camerons, Stuarts, Frasers, Mackintoshes, and Macleans, almost all the leaders and front rank men were killed. Lochiel, however, escaped, but he was so severely wounded in both ankles, as he was in the act of drawing his sword, that he had to be carried from the field by his two henchmen,* and afterwards led away on horseback by his

* Nothing could excel the love of the Camerons for their Lochiel, unless it was that of the Macdonalds for their Keppoch; for, being wounded in the very height and fury of the battle, two of them took hold of his legs, a third supported his head, while the rest posted themselves round him as an impregnable bulwark, and in that manner

faithful followers. Home's version is that "Cameron of Lochiel, advancing at the head of his regiment, was so near Barrel's, that he had fired his pistol, and was drawing his sword, when he fell, wounded with grape shot in both ankles. The two brothers, between whom he was advancing, raised him, and carried him off in their arms." Another writer describes the charge in the following terms:—"Notwithstanding the dreadful carnage in their ranks, the Highlanders continued to advance, and, after giving their fire close to the English line, which, from the density of the smoke, was scarcely perceptible, even within pistol shot, the right wing, consisting of the Athole Highlanders and the Camerons, rushed in, sword in hand, and broke through Barrel's and Monroe's regiments, which stood on the left of the first line. These regiments bravely defended themselves with their spontoons and bayonets; but such was the impetuosity of the onset, that they would have been entirely cut to pieces had they not been immediately supported by two regiments from the second line, on the approach of which they retired behind the regiments on their right, after sustaining a loss in killed and wounded of upwards of 200 men. After breaking through these two regiments, the Highlanders, passing by the two field-pieces which had annoyed them in front, hurried forward to attack the left of the second line. They were met by a tremendous fire of grape shot from the three field-pieces on the left of the second line, and by a discharge of musketry from Bligh's and Sempill's regiments, which carried havoc through their ranks, and made them at first recoil; but, maddened by despair, and utterly regardless of their lives, they rushed upon an enemy whom they felt but could not see amid the cloud of smoke in which the assailants were buried."*

The Rev. Dr Shaw, in his manuscript History of the Rebellion says, that the attack of the Camerons and Athole men "on the left wing of the royal army, was made with a view to break that wing, and then to communicate the disorder to the whole army. This could not easily be effected when a second and third line were ready to sustain the first. But it must be owned," he continues, "the attack was made with the greatest courage, order,

carried him from the field, over the small River Nairn, to a place of safety."—*Life of Dr Archibald Cameron.*

* *The Scottish Highlands, Highland Clans, and Highland Regiments*, vol. ii., pp. 663-664.

and bravery, amidst the hottest fire of small arms, and continued fire of cannon with grape-shot, on their flanks, front, and rear. They ran in upon the points of the bayonets, hewed down the soldiers with their broadswords, drove them back, and possessed themselves of two pieces of cannon. The rebels' left wing did not sustain them in the attack, and four fresh regiments coming up from the Duke's second line, under General Huske, they could not stand under a continued fire both in front, in flank, and rear, and therefore they retired." This is all confirmed in the Lockhart Papers, where almost the same phraseology is used.

By the assistance of his friends, Lochiel soon found his way to Lochaber, where he was followed by Secretary Murray and a few others. For three weeks after the battle, no attempt was made to penetrate the central and western Highlands, whither most of the followers of the Prince ultimately retired. On the 8th of May, a meeting of several of the chiefs and other gentlemen was held at Muirlagan, in Lochaber, where they entered into a bond for their mutual defence, and agreed never to lay down their arms or enter into a general peace, without the consent of all and of each other. Among those present were Lochiel, Young, Clanranald, Barrisdale, Dr Archibald Cameron, John Roy Stuart, Gordon of Glenbucket, Cameron of Dungallon, Lord Lovat, Major Kennedy, and Secretary Murray. A few days before this meeting, £30,000, in six casks of gold, had been received from France, by two frigates, which arrived on the west coast.

It was resolved to raise as many men as possible and agreed that the Camerons, Glengarry, Clanranald, Keppoch, and Barrisdale Macdonalds, the Stewarts of Appin, the Mackinnons, and the Macleods, should assemble on that day week, Thursday, the 15th of May, at Achnacarry; while arrangements were made for the other clans to meet at more convenient centres. Any one making separate terms with Cumberland for himself was to be held as a traitor to the Prince, and to be treated by all the other leaders as their common enemy. For various reasons no one attended on the appointed day. Some of the men refused to follow their leaders, and others had, in the meantime, delivered up their arms. On the 21st and 22nd, Lochiel, with 300 men, and Barrisdale, with 150, met at the appointed place, but on the 23rd they were surprised by a force of 1500 Government troops, who succeeded in taking one of Lochiel's officers and two of his men

prisoners. The Chief, who escaped across the lake in a boat, seeing no further chance of resistance, wrote to his brother Chiefs advising them to disperse in the meantime, but to preserve their arms as long as possible, as he still hoped for assistance from France.

While here, the first thing the Camerons did was to hide their effects in the neighbouring woods and caverns, and, expecting that Cumberland's troops would soon deprive them of their cattle, they killed as many of them as they could use, and lived plentifully while they remained at Achnacarry. The Prince was hurriedly passing through the district at the time, and visited his friends at Lochiel's residence, where he was prevailed upon, though the King's troops were advancing, to sit down and partake of the repast at the time on the table, "which was plentifully spread with provisions of all sorts, and wine, and other liquors in abundance, which the Highlanders get at a very cheap rate from France; for their being no officers of excise in those parts, except at Fort-William, where there is a garrison, prodigious quantities of liquors are run upon that coast, in exchange for their cattle, which they slaughter and barrel up for that purpose." After some discussion as to whether they would turn out and give battle to the foe, Lochiel, who opposed this, said—"But since the enemy is so near us, let us live as well as possible in the meantime, lest those come to take up our goods who will give us little or no thanks for them. Meanwhile my clan may be driving their cattle to the securest places, and my servants concealing my most valuable effects." His plate was buried in the ground, and the best part of the furniture was put away in the neighbouring caves and recesses. The clan went into the district of Morvern, and the gentlemen soon after left the house, which, in a few days, was burnt to the ground.

Cumberland, who arrived at Fort-Augustus on the 24th of May, sent out detachments, with orders, to burn the seats of Lochiel, Glengarry, Kinlochmoidart, Keppoch, Cluny, Ardshiel, Glengyle, and others, which they did, and mercilessly plundered the inhabitants. The excesses committed on helpless men, women, and children, are universally admitted to be unparalleled in history. They have made the name of Cumberland and his villainous Lieutenant, Major Lockhart, for ever hateful to the

Highland race. The latter blasphemously declared when remonstrated with for his atrocities, that "not even an order from Heaven should prevent him from executing his orders." One writer declares that "not contented with destroying the country, these bloodhounds either shot the men upon the mountains, or murdered them in cold blood. The women, after witnessing their husbands, fathers, and brothers murdered before their eyes, were subjected to brutal violence, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. A whole family was enclosed in a barn and consumed to ashes. So alert were these ministers of vengeance that in a few days, according to the testimony of a volunteer who served in the expedition, neither house, cottage, man, nor beast was to be seen within a compass of fifty miles; all was ruin, silence, and desolation. Deprived of their cattle and their small stock of provisions by the rapacious soldiery, the hoary-headed matron and sire, the widowed mother and her helpless offspring, were to be seen dying of hunger, stretched upon the bare ground, and within view of the smoking ruins of their dwellings."* Chambers says that, in addition to the burning of the residences of the Chiefs, they plundered and burned those of many inferior gentlemen, and that even the huts of the common people were similarly destroyed. "The cattle, sheep, and provisions of all kinds were carried off to Fort-Augustus. In many instances the women and children were stripped naked and left exposed; in some the females were subjected to even more horrible treatment. A great number of men, unarmed and inoffensive, including some aged beggars, were shot in the fields and on the mountain side, rather in the spirit of wantonness than for any definite object. Many hapless people perished of cold and hunger amongst the hills. Others followed, in abject herds, their departing cattle, and at Fort-Augustus begged for the support of a wretched existence, to get the offal, or even to be allowed to lick up the blood of those which were killed for the use of the army. Before the 10th of June the task of desolation was complete throughout all the western parts of Inverness-shire; and the curse which had been denounced upon Scotland by the religious enthusiasts of the preceding century was at length so certainly fulfilled in this

* *History of the Highland Clans.*

remote region that it would have been literally possible to travel for days through the depopulated glens without seeing a chimney smoke or hearing a cock crow."*

Some time after this, a party from Brigadier Houghton's regiment came to Achnacarry, and finding destruction and desolation reigning supreme, it occurred to them to make a search, expecting to find some of the valuables which were amissing when the castle was destroyed. At first not a soul was to be seen, but by-and-bye they found the gardener, who had been so anxious about his master's effects that he remained lurking about the place. The poor fellow was soon secured, and severely cross-examined, as to the whereabouts of the hidden treasure. He pretended entire ignorance and inability to give any information; whereupon they "tied him to two halberts and lashed him on the naked back with rods, till the smart forced him to discover the place of concealment, where they found the hidden treasure"; and then dismissed the poor fellow, telling him to go and inform his master of what had occurred—what he saw and suffered.

Lochiel managed to elude those in search of him for about two months, among his people in Lochaber, after which he found it expedient to remove to the Braes of Rannoch. Here he had the professional attendance of Sir Stewart Thriepland, an eminent Edinburgh physician, for the cure of his wounds. On the 20th of June, they met with Macpherson of Cluny, who led them to a more secure retreat in Benalder, on his own property. In a miserable hut at Mellanuair, on the side of this mountain, Lochiel and Cluny lived for several weeks, accompanied by Macpherson of Breakachie, Allan Cameron of Callart, and two of Cluny's attendants. The Prince, who had meanwhile been wandering in the Long Island, and afterwards in Lochaber and elsewhere on the mainland, proceeded to visit his friends on Benalder, with Macdonald of Glengarry and Dr Archibald Cameron as guides, with two servants. These visitors were all armed, and, at a distance, Lochiel mistook them for a party of militia, who, he thought, had been sent from a Government camp, a few miles distant, in search of him. From the state of his wounds he was unable to escape, and he decided that there

* *History of the Rebellion*, p. 278.

was no alternative but to fight. In this there did not appear to be much danger, for his party was equal to the strangers in point of numbers, and they had the advantage that they could fire the first volley without being observed ; and, as they had a good stock of fire-arms, they could reload their pieces, and fire the second round before the intruders could reply.

They at once prepared to defend themselves. Twelve firelocks and pistols were prepared ; the Chief and his four companions took up their positions, and levelled each his piece : all was ready for saluting the approaching party with a carefully aimed volley, when Lochiel recognised his friends. Then, hobbling out as well as he could, he received the Prince with an enthusiastic welcome, and attempted to pay him his respects on his knees. This ceremony Charles at once forbade, saying, "My dear Lochiel, you don't know who may be looking from the tops of yonder hills ; if any be there, and if they see such motions, they will conclude that I am here ; which may prove a bad consequence!" Lochiel at once ushered him into his hovel, which, though small, was well furnished with viands and liquors. Young Breakachie had previously provided his friends with a good supply of newly killed mutton, some cured beef sausages, plenty of butter and cheese, a large well cured bacon ham, and an anker of whisky. The Prince, upon his entry, at the request of his friends, took a hearty dram, which he pretty often called for afterwards, to drink his friends' health ; and when some minced collops were dressed for him with butter, in a large saucepan that Lochiel and Cluny carried always about with them, and which was the only cooking utensil they had, he ate heartily and said, with a very cheerful and lively countenance, "Now, gentlemen, I live like a Prince," though he had to eat the collops out of the saucepan, but with a silver spoon. After dinner, he asked Lochiel if he had always lived, during his stay in that place, in such a good way ; to which Lochiel answered, "Yes, sir, I have ; for now near three months I have been here with my cousin Cluny and Breakachie, who has so provided for me that I had plenty of such as you see, and I thank Heaven that your Royal Highness has come safe through so many dangers to take a part." From this bothy they removed, two days after, to another shieling, farther into the recesses of the mountain, called Uisge-chiobair, which turned out "super-

latively bad and smoky." Remaining here for three days, they removed to the "Cage" at Leitir-na-lic, two miles distant, in a more inaccessible part of Benalder, where there was barely room for the seven persons, who now composed the party, "four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking." The history and structure of this remarkable habitation is too well known to require detail here. The party remained in it until about one o'clock on the morning of the 13th of September, when information reached them, by messengers sent from Lochaber by Dr Archibald Cameron and Cluny, who had gone there a few days previously on some private business, that two vessels had arrived at Loch-nan-uagh to carry the Royal fugitive and his friends to France. They started immediately, and on the 16th arrived at Lochiel's seat at Achnacarry, where they remained until night. The accommodation was wretched in the extreme, the house having, as already stated, been burnt to the ground by the Government troops. They left the same night, and, on the morning of the 17th, they picked up Dr Archibald Cameron and Cluny, in a glen at the head of Locharkaig, who killed a cow, on which, with good oaten cakes, they feasted right royally. At daylight on the morning of the 18th, they proceeded on their way, and next day arrived at Loch-nan-uagh, where the Prince, Lochiel, Dr Archibald Cameron, Young Clanranald, John Roy Stuart, Glenaladale, Lochgarry, Macdonald of Dalily, his two brothers, and several others, went aboard the "L' Hereux." In all, twenty-three gentlemen and a hundred and seven men of humbler rank sailed in the two frigates, who, "were seen to weep," as they sailed, most of them for the last time, from their native shore.

Lochiel arrived safely on the coast of Brittany on the 30th of August 1746, and shortly after obtained from the King the command of Albany's French regiment, with power to name his own officers. He was thus enabled, though his estate was forfeited, to live in the style of a gentleman of his position and rank, and at the same time to find suitable employment for many of his unfortunate friends, in a profession congenial to their tastes and recent experiences. His brother Dr Archibald was appointed physician to the regiment.

(To be continued.)

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION (HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS)— AN ANALYSIS.

II.

Fisheries and Communications.

The Report deals next with two subjects of paramount importance, only next in interest to the primary question of the position of the people on the land. The fisheries, and the means of rapid and convenient communication among the Highlanders themselves, and with the commercial centres of the country, are so momentous and so closely allied to each other that they are treated together in one section. Their importance is fully admitted by the Commissioners. "The greater number of the crofters and cottars of the Highlands and Islands," they tell us, "are wholly or largely dependent for their subsistence on their earnings as fishermen." They derive a larger annual income from the sea than from the land. The Commissioners directed their inquiries to the discovery of the best way and means by which this fishing industry could be improved. There are two main branches of fishing, as at present carried on in the majority of the districts covered by the inquiry—the herring fishing and the white fishing; the latter consisting principally of cod and ling. Within recent years the herring fishing on the north-west coasts has greatly extended and developed. Fifty years ago it was prosecuted with satisfactory results in the lochs and bays, but, except in Lochfyne and Lochourn, during certain periods of the year, the herring has practically disappeared from these inland, sheltered places, and that fishing has now to be prosecuted, with success, out at sea. This also applies, to a great extent, to the white fishing, which is found most remunerative on the banks far out in the open sea, off Shetland, and the north and west of Lewis and Barra, though considerable success is occasionally obtained, at some periods of the year, off the west coast of Sutherland, in Gairloch, the Isle of Skye, and Tiree. The open sea fishing requires powerful boats, and these the Highlanders do not possess; and even if they did possess them they would, in

their present position—without any harbour or landing accommodation—be quite useless in most localities, for either the white or herring fishing. The result is, that generally the natives only benefit in so far as they are employed as hired hands in the powerful boats of the east coast that, during a portion of summer, fish in the west, and afterwards on the east and north-east coasts of Scotland.

The Commissioners next describe the class of boats used for the white and lobster fishings, and the terms on which they are occasionally obtained from the curers; the smaller sort being usually the property of the natives themselves, while sometimes they enter into arrangements with the curer to buy the larger boats, paying for them in three years or more. The leading feature of the terms is that they bind themselves "to sell their fish to the curer at a fixed price for the season, and to pay a certain rate of interest for the unpaid portion of the price of the boat and tackle." Often the curer in Shetland and in the Long Island supplies the "white fisherman and his family with such provisions and clothing as they require during the year, it may well be, at prices higher than those which prevail in the open market." In Lochfyne, where each man owns a share of the boat and of the nets, the fishermen have special advantages in being able, early the same morning on which it is caught, to have their fish sold in the Glasgow market to the highest bidder; while they are also able to buy their supplies in the cheapest market.

The Commissioners are of opinion that the fisheries of the northern and western shores "are capable of vast extension and development." The evidence on that point was unanimous. For this purpose, and to improve the condition of the fishing population, it has been represented to them, and they recommend—

"(1) That harbours should be formed in suitable localities, piers and landing places in others; (2) That assistance should be given towards providing suitable boats and tackle for fishermen; (3) That the postal and telegraphic system should be extended to several outlying fishing stations and centres, and means of communication with great markets of consumption improved or created; (4) That certain alleged grievances should be inquired into and removed."

Piers and Harbours.—Having pointed out the numerous

lochs and bays which exist in many places along the west coast of the mainland and in the Isles — forming a series of natural harbours and shelters, which for convenience and safety cannot be surpassed—and, at the same time, that the most productive fishing grounds, both for herring and white fish, are generally off the most inaccessible shores, they recommend that piers or landing places should be erected, in the former, to make them suitable fishing stations, and, in the latter case, in certain suitable localities, and under certain conditions, they propose that Parliament should provide funds for making harbours and for acquiring ground for fishermen's cottages and other necessary equipments of a fishing station—harbours involving any considerable outlay of money to be formed only in localities within reach of the extensive and productive fishing grounds of the open sea. The Commissioners then propose that, in addition to the tidal harbour in course of erection at the port of Ness, in Lewis, another place of shelter should be constructed on the east side of the Island, between Ness and Stornoway, and another on the west side—Bayble, Portnaguirin, Gress, and Shawbost being mentioned as convenient situations, any two of which might be selected. Two similar places of refuge are recommended on the north shore of Sutherland, at Talmine and at Port Skerray; while in Skye, "a harbour is greatly needed on the north-east side, in the neighbourhood of Staffin Bay." The same necessity exists in the Island of Tiree. Hillswick in Shetland, Loch-Inchard in Sutherland, and Loch-Poltiel in Skye, are mentioned as examples of sheltered lochs and bays where piers or landing places might be erected at little cost ; and it is also pointed out that the harbour accommodation is insufficient between the entrance to the Cromarty Firth and Portmahomack. It is proposed that Government should institute a special inquiry, with the view of ascertaining whether boat shelters of the simplest character, in which a landing in rough weather could be effected, might not be excavated or constructed at Foula, Fair Isle, and St Kilda—places whose isolated position and peculiar industries render them, in the opinion of the Commissioners, of exceptional interest.

"It is open to discussion," the Report proceeds, "whether Government aid should be invoked to promote works of local usefulness, such as those to which we last adverted. In cases

where the pier and landing place is chiefly available for the ordinary traffic of the district, it seems natural that it should be undertaken by the proprietor, the people, or the trades chiefly concerned. But in some localities these works would be mainly for the benefit of a branch of imperial industry, for the accommodation of fishermen from all parts of the British shores—men who have only a transitory connection with a place which is indispensable to their labour. In such instances we are of opinion that the co-operation of Government might be legitimately asked for when no other agency is available."

In selecting sites for harbours it is recommended that preference should be given to places where suitable ground for fishermen's houses and gardens would be available, and where the harbour could be best utilised for the convenience of the surrounding districts. A certain amount of land should be acquired by Government to be feued out to persons intending to devote themselves entirely to fishing, in plots from half-an-acre to an acre in extent, the pasture to be held in common, with the right of a cow's grass to each family. It is pointed out that, on the east coast, the fishing ground can be fished with profit, and in Lochfyne with profit and safety, for the greater part of the year, there being, in these localities, harbours and suitable places for mooring boats, making it thus unnecessary for the fishermen to drag their large boats beyond the reach of the tide, while generally they have at the same time a near and ready market for their fish in a fresh condition.

"If these conditions could be realised on the northern and western shores, we are of opinion," the Commissioners say, "that a race of fishermen would spring up, working their own boats with the same skill which they now exhibit as hired hands in the large fishing boats of Peterhead and Fraserburgh," and while, with the facilities recommended for the enlargment of crofts, "fewer will probably devote themselves to fishing in the future, these may be expected to prosecute the calling with greater energy and persistence than is commonly the case at present in many districts of the North-West Highlands and Islands."

Discussing the question, "Whether the present system of combining both occupations"—fishing and crofting—"was of advantage to the people or otherwise," the Commissioners say that—

"It would be difficult to express an opinion upon this question applicable to all cases and circumstances. The system that

might suit one locality might not suit another. When the people of the Northern Highlands were removed from their native glens to the shore, in the hope that they would at once become fishermen, without either boats or harbours, or the knowledge how to make use of such though they had them, they were provided with crofts of sufficient size to support a family with difficulty in a favourable season. The people naturally looked upon themselves still as crofters rather than fishermen ; and they took to the sea only when it was absolutely necessary to supplement the outcome of their stock and crops. After the failure of the potatoes, it became necessary to devote their attention more and more to the fishing, especially as the small crofts were being yearly subdivided, and squatters multiplied among them. But few of the crofters took to fishing except as a subsidiary employment engaged in with reluctance, to enable them to pay their rents and the meal merchant. The fishermen of the north of Lewis, again, have had to prosecute the fishing off an unbroken coast washed by a tempestuous sea. Without harbours of refuge or a safe landing place, these men can only use a craft of sufficiently light draught and weight to enable them to drag it through the surf beyond the reach of the tide wherever they can effect a landing. Even such small boats could fish the banks many days when they cannot be launched through the heavy surf on the beach, and under the most favourable circumstances these exposed fishing grounds can only be reached occasionally in winter. The Lewis fisherman, accordingly, considers it desirable to supplement the earnings of the sea by the produce of the croft. The crofters that skirt the lochs of the mainland and inner isles look to the land and not to the sea for a livelihood. They say, and with a considerable amount of truth, that the inshore fishing of the west coast is precarious in the extreme."

This statement confirms in the most complete form the charges of harshness and cruelty which had been made in this connection against the evicting proprietors of the past, and the only sentence of it to which we have the slightest objection is the one which implies that, when evicted from their inland holdings, the people were provided on the rough and rocky sea-coast "with crofts of sufficient size to support a family with difficulty in a favourable season." Generally the wretched patches allotted to them were quite insufficient in any circumstances, on any conditions, and in the most favourable seasons to support their families. The negative—the "not"—must surely have dropped out of this otherwise faithful description of the hardships then inflicted, especially upon the people of Sutherland.

Boats and Fishing-Gear.—In recent years more powerful, and, consequently, more costly boats have been found necessary for the prosecution of both the herring and white fishing farther out in the ocean, and more nets and lines are also necessary. The boats of the east coast have nearly doubled their tonnage within the last few years. But "the Lewis fishermen cannot increase the size of their boats until they are provided with harbours in which to moor them. The boats at present in use, though for their tonnage exceptionally capable, are far too small and light for fishing the stormy banks off the Butt of Lewis"—an opinion sadly confirmed by the fact, that "during the last thirty-five years not less than 293 Lewis fishermen were drowned at sea." The class of boats required would cost, each, from £200 to £250; the nets, lines, and hooks for herring and white fishing about £180—an amount beyond the means of the vast majority in the West Highlands and Isles. They have, however, been able in many cases to secure boats and nets by an agreement, in terms of which both remain the property of the curer until the whole cost is paid, with interest, the crew being bound to sell him, in the meantime, all their fish. The Commissioners express qualified approval of this arrangement, "But they do not anticipate that in the immediate future all cases can be provided for in this way;" while they "consider it of paramount importance that the fisherman should be allowed to sell his fish to whomsoever he pleases." They, therefore, recommend an arrangement by which money shall be advanced to the fishermen themselves, or some intermediate agency sanctioned for the purpose, for the purchase of boats, on such conditions as the following—

"(1) That the crew to whom the money is advanced be men who habitually maintain themselves by fishing; (2) That the amount of the loan shall in no case exceed the price of the boats, with sails, etc., but exclusive of nets; (3) That the loan, with interest, at 3½ per cent., be paid back in equal annual instalments in seven years; (4) That the boat be fully insured, and that the premium for the ensuing year be paid in advance by the parties benefiting; (5) That the boat be kept in good working order and repair, to the satisfaction of the officer to whom the Government may entrust the duty of inspecting it."

The Commissioners are of opinion that the boat, thus fully insured, may be accepted as security for the money advanced.

A large boat could not be so easily disposed of as live stock, and, even if it were, it could be traced. The revenue officers of the district could receive the annual instalments of the loan and the insurance premiums. The registered numbers of the boats would be furnished to the officers in charge at the various fishing stations, and it would be their duty to report on each boat as to its state of repair and its condition in other respects, as occasion offered, until the loan was paid.

Facilities of Communication.—The importance of improved communication by post, telegraph, roads, steam vessels, and railways, is considered of such great significance and preponderating importance, in connection with the fishing industry, that the Commissioners associate the consideration of the two subjects in one section of the Report. They warmly urge the adoption of a more generous policy on the part of the Post-office authorities than they have hitherto followed.—

"One which would recognise the claims of a population isolated and scattered by natural causes, and the condition of a branch of national industry carried on in sequestered and perilous situations, which requires for its safe and successful prosecution incessant vigilance and warning in regard to the vicissitudes of weather, and every information concerning fluctuations in the market," and they express the hope "that a department of administration which has studied the convenience of the condensed population in the urban districts with so much assiduity, should now use its powers in order to anticipate the wants, and advance the interests and welfare of those who suffer under the discouragements of distance and dispersion. The Post-office monopoly would thus justify its prerogatives and its gains."

The defects of the mail service and the absence of telegraphic communication with important centres, are next pointed out. North Uist, Benbecula, South Uist, and Barra, are supplied by a long circuitous route, part of which is by sailing packet, a distance of 26 miles, (not 13 as printed in the Report), from Dunvegan to Lochmaddy. Fair Isle and Foula, receive letters when the state of the weather permits; St Kilda, when the agents of the proprietor, or tourist steamers, occasionally visit the Island. There is no direct postal communciation between Strome Ferry, on the mainland, and the Lewis.—

"The whole of the west and north of Sutherland from Loch-

inver to Tongue, the west and north of Lewis; Walls, Hillswick, Ollaberry, and several other stations on the west and north of Shetland; South Ronaldshay in Orkney; Barra, a capital resort of the herring fleet from all parts of Scotland and Ireland, are still without telegraphic communication."

The great loss and inconvenience of this neglect are thus forcibly illustrated:—"A letter might be six days, and a telegram three days, in transit, from a place on the mainland to Castle Bay," in Barra. "These delays placed the Barra traders at a great disadvantage when compared with the curers on the east coast," and they are "entitled, in common fairness, to call on the Government to rectify this inequality," the Commissioners most emphatically and justly declare; and they recommend that a comprehensive departmental examination of the neglected districts should be undertaken at once by the proper authorities, but that, meanwhile,

"Improved postal service should be provided for the whole of the Long Island—that the telegraphic wire should be carried at once to Castlebay; to the west and north of Sutherland; and to the west and north of Lewis; to the west and north of Shetland; to South Ronaldshay; and that one or other of the local steamers should be engaged to call off St Kilda once in every two months in summer, and at least once during the winter."

The Commissioners next deal with roads. There are many instances of centres of crofting populations miles away from the public road where the people are compelled to pay road taxes without receiving any immediate or visible benefit in return. One of the cases quoted is at Glens, near Portree, in Skye, where there is a population of about 200, paying road money; they are "without a branch road, or even any tolerable track," though they are four miles from the public highway, and "repeated applications had been made to the local and county trustees, but without effect." Another case is that of Keose, in Lewis, where there are several townships on the south side of Loch-Erisort, containing a population of about 1700 souls. "These people have not a yard of road available for their local use, and they have to go, if they go by land, as best they may, 14 miles round the loch to reach the high road." In Applecross, on the north coast, there is "an inhabited tract extending for twenty miles," possessing no road, though the inhabitants, numbering over 400, are forced to pay road assessments; and these are only specimens

of similar cases brought under the notice of the Commissioners in other parts of the country. To remedy the evil, it is recommended that—

"The Secretary of State might be provided by law with authority, on petition from the ratepayers, to direct inquiry to be made into cases of this nature, and to call on the Road Trust of the county to make branch roads within reasonable periods to such localities; and that he shall be empowered to reduce or suspend the payment of road rates pending the execution of the work prescribed."

It is expected that the extension and improvement of communications by post and telegraph, and the erection of the new harbours and landing places recommended, would eventually induce steamboat companies to increase the number of their ports of call on the north and north-west coast—from Lochinver in Sutherland to Scrabster Roads in Caithness—along which there are several good fishing banks, and in some places a lobster fishing, while occasionally, some of the lochs between these places swarm with herring; but they are almost entirely useless at present for want of any means of communication with the centres of commerce, except by cart or mail gig, which, over the shortest route in Sutherland, has to traverse some sixty miles to the nearest railway station, at Lairg.

Railway communication, which "is the principal requirement of the fishing population of the Western Coast," is considered next. At present there is no communication between the termini of the two existing railways—at Oban and Strome Ferry—and the Outer Hebrides, and consequently no fresh fish can find its way to the southern centres of consumption, from Tiree, Barra, or the Lewis. Special steamers are run from Stornoway to Strome Ferry during the herring fishing in summer, but no white fish from the north and west of the Island can be sent fresh to market, and the fishermen of that coast actually use the finest turbot, in which their fishing banks abound, and which would fetch high prices in the South, as bait for cod and ling, which are chiefly sold as dried fish. As temporary measures, it is recommended that the harbour at Strome Ferry should be better lighted, to obviate the delay of steamers arriving with fish after night-fall. The extension of the Skye Line terminus to Kyleakin, a distance of twelve miles would be still more desirable.

"A terminus at Kyleakin would be at all times accessible to shipping, and would be available for the Skye traffic without any long sea voyage, while a cheap narrow guage line through Skye from the opposite shore of Kyleakin Ferry would minimise any disadvantage under which the people thus lie from their insular position. A similar line from the remoter parts of Lewis to Stornoway, with regular steam communication thence to Kyleakin, would be of equal benefit to the northern part of the Long Island. The southern part of the Long Island, along with Tiree and Coll, should be connected by a daily service with the Oban Railway."

The Commissioners are, however, of opinion that the fishing industry of the Outer Hebrides can never be fully developed until the railway is extended to the sea at some central point on the west coast of Inverness-shire, and daily communication established between the new terminus and the various stations in the outer isles. They are unable to determine what line or scheme should be adopted, or what agency should be employed. The extension from the nearest point on any line at present would involve a branch line of 80 miles. If, however, the railway were brought to Fort-William, as proposed last year, the distance would be reduced to about 40 miles. This line would not, it is stated, pay interest on capital, in the first instance, and if left to the unaided efforts of railway companies, it might be indefinitely postponed, leaving the Highland fishermen, as at present, half idle, and the Lowland artisan imperfectly supplied. In these circumstances the Commissioners are of opinion that—

"Government, acting on the one hand on behalf of a people crippled in their powers by the stubborn features of nature, and, on the other hand, in the interest of an industry of national importance as a source of food supply to the whole community, might step in and grant financial assistance. This might be afforded in the form of subsidy to some existing company, or to some company to be formed hereafter. The possible loss to the Exchequer would be small; the link between the toiler of the sea and the toiler of the town would be profitable to both." The Report then proceeds — "We need not seriously discuss, in principle, the question of Government aid to useful enterprise promoted by motives of general concern. The Highlands have often felt the helpful hand of Government in public works. The military roads in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Parliamentary roads in the Northern Counties of a later date, the Caledonian Canal, were all executed at the charge of Government ;

and in our own day harbours of refuge are being constructed at a vast cost to the Imperial Treasury at various stations on the British coast."

Respecting alleged grievances, brought under their notice, the Commissioners recommend that it should be made illegal to capture or sell lobsters under a certain size, and that the Secretary of State should be empowered to make regulations for the observation of a lobster close-time in the various localities where this industry is prosecuted, and that the Fishery Board of Scotland should have power to enforce the regulations when made. It is also recommended that the officer having the supervision of the fishing ground for the time being, should settle disputes arising between trawl and net herring fishers. The same officer should also be empowered to make inquiry and to settle disputes arising between white fishers, whose lines are often dragged from their places and sometimes cut adrift by the herring fishers, in any manner which may seem to him reasonable and just. In response to the fishermen of Lochfyne, it is recommended that a standard quarter-cran measure should be legalised and supplied to herring buyers, who shall be bound to use it, and also that the law prohibiting fishing on Sunday should be more rigorously enforced in Lochfyne than it appears to have been hitherto, where "to some extent" fishing is carried on on the day of rest, in consequence of which the Monday fishing and the Tuesday market are injured.

We next, in order, proceed to a most important section, dealing with

Education.

The question of education in the Highlands receives large-hearted and intelligent treatment at the hands of the Royal Commissioners, notwithstanding their observation that it was not pressed on their attention so prominently as its importance demanded. They find at the outset, despite the disadvantages incident to the condition of the people of the Highlands, where Gaelic is the only spoken language, and the stringent and burdensome character of the educational machinery brought into operation under the recent Act, that the people "generally appreciate the new order of things in a manner creditable to their intelligence."

The Commissioners, however, in view of the conspicuously adverse circumstances of a social and geographical kind which prevail, recommend certain modifications of the stringency applicable to more favoured and more densely populated localities, and a careful consideration of the difficulties of the case. In this connection the fair and generous spirit manifested throughout the whole Report is evinced in the observation that notwithstanding all the physical and industrial disabilities under which the people suffer, their general character is not behind that displayed in more favoured parts of our country.

"In no part of your Majesty's dominions," says the Commissioners, "are there to be found, among the humbler ranks of society, more intelligence, better manners, purer morals, than in the remotest parts of the Highlands and Islands, from the Mull of Kintyre in Argyllshire to the Skaw of Unst in Shetland."

The full effect of the Education Act of 1872 has not yet reached all parts of the Highlands, but the Commissioners record a very marked improvement in the means of education, as well as an advancement in the attainments of the people. Another gratifying fact, and one eminently creditable, is that a very large proportion of the children attend school notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which they labour. While the percentage of the population receiving education in Scotland as a whole is 19·28, Caithness shows a percentage of 21·91 ; Sutherland, 18·43 ; Ross and Cromarty, 20·43 ; Inverness, 20·97 ; and Argyll, 20·04. It will not be surprising, therefore, that the Commissioners should interpose the remark that—

"Looking to the extraordinary disadvantages under which a great number of the children in these counties labour, especially in the Islands, this fact, with all due deduction from the value of the figures, gives them a strong claim to liberal consideration from the Education Department."

The rise in the remuneration of the teachers as well as the comfort and attractiveness of the school buildings, as compared with the state of matters existing not many years ago, are also features calling for hopeful recognition as affording promise of greater interest being taken in the work of the school on the part of the scholars, as well as a more effective and intelligent style of teaching. The extraordinary rise in the salaries of teachers

"does honour to the ratepayers, who have to bear a great part of the burden. It was a just recognition of the merits of a class of public servants up to that time [the passing of the Education Act] seldom remunerated adequataly, more often miserably." In illustration of this, it is pointed out that in 1865 there were 47 schools in Lewis, with 62 teachers, whose total income was £1555. 7s. 10d., or an average of £33. 1s. 8d. per school; while in 1882 the number receiving the Parliamentary Grant was 36 schools, with salaries to teachers of £3070. 4s. 1d., or an average of £85 per school. In 1865, £169. 10s. was paid by Government Grant; in 1882 the sum amounted to £1999. 3s. 4d. The fees in the former year amounted in the whole Hebrides to £657; in 1882 they amounted to £1183, in addition to the school rates, which were unknown at the earlier date.

In view of the fact that "the essential elements of primary education are being taught and learned more extensively and efficiently, from year to year," the Commissioners do not find that the injury arising from the comparative neglect of the higher branches has been very serious. They recommend, however, that even this characteristic of the old parochial system might be revived and extended by the devising of some "well-framed bursary scheme," or by the equipment of at least one school in every parish, with all facilities for teaching the higher branches, and that "special encouragement in this direction should be given by the Education Department and by School Boards to the masters of such schools."

Only in one instance has any complaint been made as to the religious difficulty. The Commissioners say—

"It has, however, been represented to us as a grievance, on high clerical authority, that of the esteemed Roman Catholic Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, that, under the present administration of the Act in South Uist and Barra, where the majority of the population are Roman Catholics, due regard has not been shown, in the selection of teachers, to the religious principles of the majority of the population. If this contention is well founded, and if the School Boards, as at present constituted, should not hereafter give due consideration to the wishes of their constituents, the remedy," the Commissioners pointedly suggest, "is in the hands of the ratepayers themselves at any ensuing election of the Boards."

This is clearly the best and the most effective cure that could be proposed.

Excessive School Rates.—The Report specially emphasises the grievance of excessive school rates, which impinges so injuriously on the poor people of the Highlands. The rate in some parishes, as compared with other parts of Scotland, is exorbitant, while the ratepayers are usually in very straitened circumstances. Instances of this evil are given, such as in the parish of Barvas in Lewis, where the rate in 1881 reached the ruinous figure of 6s. 8d. in the £. Out of 115 parishes in which the school rate exceeded 9d. per £, 76 were Highland and Island parishes; while in no fewer than 12 insular parishes of Inverness-shire, Ross-shire, and Shetland, it exceeded 2s. in the £. Much of this excessive taxation is due to the erection of new and costly school buildings in localities where the parishes are wide, and the population, though large, very widely scattered. These schools were built "in a style and on a scale often beyond the requirements of the people, and at an expense quite disproportioned to their means." This also is illustrated by the case of Lewis, where school accommodation has been compulsorily provided for a population above 30,000, though the present inhabitants of the island number only 25,487, at a cost, since 1873, of £54,549. 13s 7d., while the whole rental of the island last year was only £24,231. 17s. In Harris, with a population of 4814, and a rental of £6194. 3s. 1d., on ten schools, since 1873, the sum of £14,803 13s. 10d.; and in North Uist, with a population of 4299, and a rental of £5469. 16s. 10d., on nine schools the sum of £9384. 7s 7d. was expended. The rate in some parishes in Lewis has been already stated as high as 6s. 8d. in the £. In Harris it is 2s. 8d.; in North Uist 3s.; and there are many other similar cases in the Hebrides.

The result of this extraordinary expenditure of money, and its consequent and continuous burden upon the ratepayers, has been very injurious to the already straitened conditions of the people and their attitude toward the whole educational system introduced by the Act of 1872. The Commissioners give expression to their regret and disappointment as follows :—

"So far, therefore, as such parishes are concerned, when the outlay on education and the local resources are so painfully dis-

proportioned, the Education Act of 1872, otherwise so beneficial to the nation, has laid a burden on the people quite beyond their strength, with the sad result of rendering that which they are naturally disposed to appreciate highly not only distasteful but grievous. There could be no greater misfortune than so to administer the blessing of education as to make it oppressive to the people."

School revenues suffer largely through loss of Government grants in consequence of irregular attendance, but while the Commissioners do not free the parents from blame in this matter, they are not blind to the obstacles and deterrent influences incident to the surroundings.

"The excuses," they say, "for non-attendance are often trifling; but no humane person can blame those who keep their children at home on days when they could not go a quarter of a mile without being wet to the skin. The number of such days in the Highlands and Islands is considerable, and so is the number of children whose clothing is scanty and poor. They are a hardy race, and have little dread of weather; but in the calculation of the average number of days entitling to a Government grant we think there should be some consideration of the physical facts peculiar to the district."

Under such circumstances, it will not be wondered at that the compulsory clause of the Education Act is practically a dead letter, and the expense of its enforcement such as to make School Boards reluctant to apply the punitive powers which they possess. An attempt to give effect to this part of the Act in the Lewis, by the reprehensible method of adding the grant forfeited by the defaulting child to the rent of the parent—an attempt well calculated to add rebelliousness to discontent—is mentioned in the Report, in the following gentle terms of deprecation :—"This expedient, though well-meant, cannot be recommended, and has been given up on the estate in question."

The smallness of the amount derived from school fees in the northern counties is doubtless very justly ascribed to the poverty of the inhabitants, and not to any want of appreciation of the benefits of education. The Commissioners therefore suggest that the present mode of augmenting the fees through the channel of the Parochial Authority—a mode which is open to the objection of implied pauperisation—should be replaced by one transferring the gratuitous education of the children into the

hands of School Boards, with power to remit fees altogether in certain cases. They think it also

"Advisable that at the close of each quarter or half-year payment of the fees should be summarily enforced, so long as fees are exigible, or that the debt should be there and then wiped out. Nothing has a more deterrent effect on attendance than a burden of debt for fees hanging over the heads of a poor family."

The Report further recommends that greater relief than is provided for under the existing law should be given in parishes where the school rate exceeds one shilling in the pound; and that where a rate of two shillings in the pound is insufficient, with the fees and grants, to meet the educational expenditure of the parish, the deficiency should be made up by a grant from the Treasury. They also recommend that in parishes

"Where the cost of the school buildings and other expenses under the Act have produced a rate exceeding one shilling in the pound on an average of the last five years, that the debt so incurred should be thenceforth cancelled"—a recommendation founded on the extraordinary expense incurred, as already stated, in "the compulsory erection of school buildings on a scale and at a cost disproportioned to the circumstances of the population for whose benefit they were erected."

And they also propose an increase of the teaching staff beyond the requirements of the Code, specially by the employment of a larger number of female teachers.

"They are," gallantly observe the Commissioners, "not less successful than male teachers, up to the measure of their qualifications; they can teach branches of which men know nothing, but which are of great practical importance; they cost less; and they contribute a little more of those civilising influences which women exert, and which cannot be estimated by arithmetic."

Gaelic in Schools.—The place and function of Gaelic in the work of the school is finally but more fully dealt with in the Report than any other department of the education question; and it gives us much pleasure to say that the conclusions of the Commissioners are such as cannot fail to receive the cordial approval of all the friends of the Gaelic language, and, we believe, of all intelligent and competent promoters of Highland education.

It is quite probable the observations and recommendations

of the Commissioners may not accord with the opinions of School Boards, many of whose members belong to a class alien to the country, and whose aim it has always been to repress every sentiment native to the people, and to discourage every agency calculated to prevent its decay. It is also undeniable that many teachers are opposed to the utilisation of the Gaelic language, from a conviction of their own incompetence to make a creditable appearance in the vernacular, among a people who can already cope with them in its appropriate application to the business of every-day life. The same incompetence will also account for the antagonistic attitude of certain inspectors of schools. Nor should we blame teachers if they have a natural disinclination to expend time and labour on the positive teaching of a branch which yields them little or no pecuniary fruit, or if they should shrink from the trouble of elevating, from pure patriotism, into a position of paramount importance in their curriculum, a language which our legislators and the framers of the Education Code of 1878 deemed worthy of no higher recognition than that implied in a place, as the Commissioners archly put it, "in a foot-note along with drill and cookery."

Such, however, is not the place assigned to it in the estimation of the Royal Commissioners themselves. Finding that nearly three-fourths of the people of the Highlands, who still habitually use the language—184,230 of whom belong to the four counties of Argyll, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland—the question they have to do with is, "Whether and how far that fact should be taken into account in considering the provision made for the education of the people." We shall let them supply the answer in their own words—

"For us it is not a question of sentiment nor of comparison between the English and Gaelic language as vehicles of thought and influence, but a practical question in education. The first object of all the educational machinery set agoing in the Highlands at the public expense is to enable every Highland child as soon as possible to speak, read, and write the English language correctly; and the question is, can that be done efficiently in the case of a child who hears and speaks nothing but Gaelic at home, without making any use of the only language the child understands? The answer to that question seems so obvious as to make it matter of wonder that any person claiming to be experts

in education should have answered it in the affirmative. The time-honoured custom of teaching English boys to learn Latin out of a Grammar composed in that language has been generally abandoned. Even when such an absurd practice was followed, explanations were vouchsafed in English. But the poor Highland children have too seldom been allowed the privilege of being addressed in the only language intelligible to them. They have been treated as if endowed with the gift of unknown tongues; and men specially entrusted with the duty of superintending their education have considered this reasonable, for reasons satisfactory to themselves."

In support of this position, they adduce the testimony of both the friends and foes of the Highland people, beginning with Dr Johnson, who, as early as 1773, saw the absurdity of the system, which even then began to show itself—"the native language proscribed in the schools, and the children taught to read 'a language which they may never use or understand.'"

In 1824, the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge took steps to counteract the evils of the system, which had even by that time secured the consent, if not approval, of the illiterate parents of the children who were being operated upon. In 1849, Sir J. P. K. Shuttleworth, secretary of the Privy Council, expressed the opinion of the Committee on the subject, and its interesting and impartial character entitles it to be quoted, if only to show how impervious official *red-tapeism* is to improving impulses from within, as well as to rational urgings from without. He says :—

"The Committee of Council on Education are satisfied that to instruct the children of the Gaelic population with lesson-books written in the English language alone, by means of teachers not familiar with the written and colloquial idiom of the Gaelic language, as well as the English, must fail to give the scholar of the Highland schools a grammatical knowledge of the Gaelic, as well as any useful acquaintance with the English language."

Again the matter was referred to by the Scottish Education Commission of 1865, in the following terms :—

"It may not be essential that a teacher should be able to give instruction in Gaelic, when he is appointed to the charge of a school in which a majority of the children can understand and speak English; but it seems obvious that in districts where Gaelic alone is understood, the teacher should be able to com-

municate with his pupils in a language the meaning of which they can comprehend. It is a mistake to overlook the difficulties of the scholar who is sent to learn what is to him a foreign language, without having first acquired the art of reading his own."

In 1877, on the motion of Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., a Parliamentary return was obtained, from which it appeared that 65 out of 90 School Boards in the Gaelic-speaking districts of the Highlands, which sent in returns, expressed the opinion that the use of Gaelic in the instruction of the children was desirable.

It was not, however, till the year 1878 that any concession was made, and that at the urgent solicitations of the friends of the Highland people, conspicuous among whom, again, was Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P. In the Scottish Education Code for that year it was permitted that "In districts where Gaelic is spoken the intelligence of the children examined under any paragraph of this article may be tested by requiring them to explain in Gaelic the meaning of the passage read," and a foot-note was added stating that "Gaelic may be taught during the ordinary school hours, either by the certificated teacher or by any person specially employed for the purpose." And once more, with a frequency of recurrence to foot-notes on the part of their Lordships of the Privy Council, which seems to us more suggestive of kicks than halfpence, it is graciously conceded that the income of the school "may include part of the salary of an organising teacher, or a teacher of Gaelic, drill, cooking, or any other special subject."

"This concession," says the Report of the Royal Commission, "is good so far as it goes, but something more is required. If it be expedient to use Gaelic in a Gaelic-speaking district to test the intelligence of the children and the efficiency of the instruction they are receiving, by a habitual process of oral translation from the one language to the other, the practice ought to be not merely permitted but enjoined. It has, in point of fact, been used by many of the best teachers, and with the best results; but it has not been sufficiently encouraged by persons in authority. We believe it to be a matter so seriously affecting the intellectual education of Gaelic-speaking children, and thereby affecting the whole condition of the district to which they belong, and the future prospects of its inhabitants, that we have no difficulty in making the subjoined recommendations."

These recommendations, with which this section of the Report concludes, are so eminently wise and so important to the cause of Highland education, and to moral and mental advancement, that we quote them in full :—

"We are of opinion that, in the examination of a school where Gaelic is the habitual language of the inhabitants, the inspector should be required to report specially that in examining the children as to their intelligence, he had satisfied himself that the teacher had during the year made profitable use of their native language in testing their understanding of the English they were being taught. In consideration of the difficulty and disadvantage under which teachers and children in such circumstances labour, we recommend that the grants under Act 19, c. 1 and 2 of the Code should be increased in these districts from 2s per scholar to 4s.

"We are further of opinion that the Gaelic language, in virtue alike of its being the vernacular tongue of so considerable a population, and of its now recognised place among ancient languages, is entitled to something more than permissive recognition, and a place in a footnote along with drill and cookery. It seems to us not less entitled to a place among specific subjects, with special grants allowed for them, than any of the languages so classed. Its literature is of limited quantity, and not to be compared with that of the great nations whose languages are exclusively recognised. But it is and ought to be of great interest to the natives of the country in which it sprung, and a due acquaintance with it ought to be encouraged rather than despised. This has been done in Ireland, where the native language is classed among specific subjects, along with Latin and Greek, and a grant of 10s. is given for passes in any of these languages. We recommend that the same grant as is allowed under the Scottish Code for other languages should be given for Gaelic, where the teacher has proved his ability to give suitable instruction, and the pupil has been presented for examination in English literature.

"We think it very desirable that all children whose mother-tongue is Gaelic should be taught to read that language ; and the rule of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, that Gaelic should be taught first and English afterwards, seems founded on reason. There are practical difficulties in the way at present, such as the want of suitable lesson books, and the want of a sufficient number of teachers for the purpose. We believe, however, that these difficulties are not insurmountable ; and we think that in the meantime pupil teachers duly qualified might be profitably employed in teaching the younger scholars to read their native language ; and that a small additional grant for those so qualified and employed would be a beneficial expenditure.

"We also recommend that teachers should be encouraged by inspectors to submit some Gaelic songs among those to be sung by the children on the examination day, in order to obtain the music grant.

"We think the discouragement and neglect of the native language in the education of Gaelic-speaking children, which have hitherto so largely influenced the system practised in the Highlands, ought to cease, and that a knowledge of that language ought to be considered one of the primary qualifications of every person engaged in the carrying out of the national system of education in Gaelic-speaking districts, whether as school inspectors, teachers, or compulsory officers."

(To be continued.)

BELLE BORNE BROOK.

Rippling sings the burnie sweet
Adown the hawthorn glen,
As tuneful trills the robin's preet
To greet its fleecy train.
The sorel decks its tiny brink,
The wood-fern shades its breast,
As merrily round its bubbles link
To form a snow-white crest.

Tho' meadow-born it runs as clear
As mountain rill in spring,
And laughs to leap the headlong steep,
And round its foam to fling
Upon the land-slide's crumbling sides,
Which oft its bubbles stain,
Until at last it fearless rides
Across the river's main.

Long years ago it turned a mill,
But now it only sings,
Or ripples thro' pine-scented pool,
To which it ever brings
The purity and health its own,
In which the birds may bathe
Their plumage in the early dawn,
Or spray-cooled air may breathe.

Alas! for us its song's asleep
Within its winter's bed,
Till spring awakes its noisy sweep
With melting snows rage-fed.
But soon again we'll hear it sing,
To time the choral lays
Of Spencer Grange, whose woodlands ring
With nature-scented praise.

QUEBEC. J. MURDOCH HARPER.

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

XIV.—Celtic Rites and Worship—*Continued.*

The need-fire and the sunwise-turn, "deiseil," are but the outward embodiments of the great worship of fire and light. The discovery how to make fire at will was a tremendous step in human progress, and has impressed itself on the oldest mythologies in the many myths in regard to the "descent of fire." In India the god is taken down from his hiding place in heaven and given to man, and his sign is the wooden fire-drill, *pramantha.* Prometheus and history represent the Greek equivalent myth. The sun was reverenced by imitation of its course—the "deiseil," though, also as still on the Continent any day, the Gaels at Beltane morn worshipped the rising sun by taking off the caps, and saluting him with "failte" or hail. For distinctive instances of rites we must have recourse to the observances and customs of certain festal days throughout the year.

The year is a solar period, the unit of which is the day, but ancient peoples felt the want of an intermediate reckoner of time, and this was found in the moon and its monthly period. In fact, the moon was the measurer of time *par excellence,* as the words for month in English, Latin, Greek, and Gaelic prove, for they are from the root of "moon." Its four phases give rise to weeks of seven or eight days, eight among the Romans; and the Celts, as well as the Teutons and Greeks, reckoned their time by nights, and not by days. Pliny informs us that the Celtic year and the Celtic months began on the 6th day of the moon. Customs and superstitions in regard to the moon and its waxing and waning still survive in connection with the cutting of wood or turf, the starting of new enterprises or of a journey, and such like. The lunar time does not square with the solar time of revolution, and the ancients were in endless confusion in regard to their calendars. The Celts corrected lunar by solar time every thirty years, which Pliny tells us was their cycle. The month may have been alternately 29 and 30 days, to suit the 29½ days of lunar revolution, and possibly by having 13 lunar months for eleven

years of the thirty, they managed to make the solar fit with the lunar time to within a few days. The year was originally divided into two seasons—summer and winter, *gam* and *sam*, and then spring was added, the name of which differs in root in the two great branches of the Celtic race. The week is most probably non-Celtic in idea, and also in names to a very great extent. The Welsh names of the days of the week are Roman; the Gaelic names are mixed, Roman and Christian. Sunday is Di-domhnuich (dies *dominica);* Monday, Di-luain (dies Lunæ); Tuesday, Di-Mairt (dies Martis); Wednesday, Di-ciadaoin (dies primi *jejunii*, "day of first fast;" for religious people, as Bede tells us, fasted on Wednesdays as well as Fridays), a purely church name; Thursday, Di-ardaoin, or, Irish, Dia-dardaoin, "day between two fasts;" Friday, Di-h-aoine, "day of fast;" and Saturday, Di-Sathuirne (dies Saturni.)

Fire and sun worship, and along with these, the worship of the earth-powers, fell on the four great solar periods, the two solstices and the two equinoxes. Lunar time was made to fit these by holding the feasts on the first full moon, or the 14th of the month, after the equinox or solstice. The great winter feast on December 25th, when the sun just turned on its northward course again, was solemnised in honour of the new birth of the "unconquered sun," dies natalis invicti solis, and was held in Rome in honour of the sun-god Mithra, of Persian origin, whose festival was finally established by Aurelian as national and Roman, about A.D. 273. A hundred years later the Christian Church accepted it, doubtfully and reluctantly, as the natal day of Christ, thus entering on a course which it consistently pursued of christianising all pagan rites, festivals, and even temples. The midsummer solstice was therefore dedicated to St John the Baptist, and so on. The Celtic, or rather Gaelic festivals, of a distinctive kind, are three in number; Bealltuinn (1st May), Lunasduinn (1st August), and Samhuinn (1st November.) Why these festivals should be a month later than the solar periods in each case, is doubtful; but it is clear that these periods suit the climatic changes of the seasons in the North better than the earlier, though truer, solar periods.

The great festival of Beltane occurred on May-day. Cormac's reference to this pagan festival is the first and most im-

portant:—"Belltaine, *i.e.* bil tene, a goodly fire, *i.e.* two fires which Druids used to make through incantations (or with great incantations), and they used to bring the cattle to those fires as a preservative against diseases of each year." Here we have to note that the fire was made by Druidic incantations, which means no more than that it was made by the "tinegin," or need-fire method, and that it was a preservative against disease in cattle. Cormac's derivation has the misfortune of making a wrong division of the syllables of the word, which are beallt-uinn, or belt-ane; not bel-tane. We must reject any derivation that so divides the word, and hold that the latter part of the word has nothing to do with *teine* fire, but is, probably, the *—n* termination of most words of time. Hence derivations which connect the word with the fire of Baal or Bel are out of place, granting that such a god as Bel is Celtic, and not invented for the occasion. Belinus is the Celtic Apollo. Mr Fitzgerald's derivation of Beltane, from bile-tineadh, "fire-tree," is to be rejected on the ground of wrong division of the word, and his instances adduced of the existence in Ireland of usages pointing to a belief in a world-tree of the Norse type appear to be too slight and too little founded on general Celtic, especially Scottish, traditions in regard to the Beltane festival. The world-tree, and consequent may-pole, are not distinctively, if at all, Celtic in this connection. "The first of May," says M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, "was consecrated to Beltene, one of the names of the god of death, the god who gave and took away life," the root in this case being the pre-historic infinitive *beltiu*, to die. Why the festival of the beginning of the summer, the outburst of nature, and the conquest of the death and winter powers should be sacred, not to the god of life and light, but to his opposite, is a thing which this derivation and theory cannot account for. The November feast might well be one where the loss of the sun-god and victory of the god of death were commemorated, but the first of summer is far from appropriate for this. Both in Welsh and Gaelic myth the victory of the light-gods is indicated on the first of May; Gwyn fights for Cordelia, and the Tuath de Danann overcame the Firbolg, the Earth powers, on that day. Grimm hesitatingly hints what appears to be the true derivation:—The Norse sun-god is called Balder, and he suggests that this

is connected with Lithuanian *baltas*, "white." The connection of Beltane with these two words is confirmed by the Gaelic saying of "la buidhe Bealltuinn," "yellow May-day," which may be a reminiscence of the primary meaning of Beltane.

We have numerous accounts of the Beltane rites, all pointing to fire and sun worship—phases of purification, sacrifice, and divination. One of the best accounts is given in the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Callander. "Upon the first of May," it says, "which is called Beltan or Bàl-tein, all the boys in a township or hamlet meet on the moors. They cut a table in the green sod, of a round figure, by casting a trench in the ground of such circumference as to hold the whole company. They kindle a fire and dress a repast of eggs and milk in the consistence of a custard. They knead a cake of oatmeal which is toasted at the embers against a stone. After the custard is eaten up, they divide the cake into so many portions, as similar as possible to one another in size and shape, as there are persons in the company. They daub one of these portions all over with charcoal until it be perfectly black. They put all the bits of the cake into a bonnet. Every one, blindfold, draws out a portion. He who holds the bonnet is entitled to the last bit. Whoever draws the black bit, is the devoted person who is to be sacrificed to Baal, whose favour they implore in rendering the year productive of the sustenance of man and beast. There is little doubt of these inhuman sacrifices having been once offered in this country, as well as in the East, although they now pass from the act of sacrificing, and only compel the *devoted* person to leap three times through the flames; with which the ceremonies of the festival are closed." To this sensible account and its inferences, all but the reference to Baal, we agree fully. Most authorities hold, with Cormac, that there were two fires, between which and through which they passed their cattle and even their children. Criminals were made to stand between the two fires, and hence the proverb, in regard to a person in extreme danger, as the Rev. D Macqueen gives it, "He is betwixt two Beltein fires." Pennant adds some interesting facts: the rites began with spilling some caudle on the ground by way of libation; whereupon "everyone takes a cake of oatmeal upon which are raised nine square knobs, each one dedicated to some particular being, the supposed preserver of their

flocks and herds, or to some particular animal, the real destroyer of them. Each person then turns his face to the fire, breaks off a knob, and flinging it over his shoulders, says, 'This I give to thee, preserve thou my horses; this to thee, preserve thou my sheep,' and so on. After that, they use the same ceremony to the noxious animals: 'This I give to thee, O fox! spare thou my lambs: this to thee, O hooded crow! this to thee, O eagle.'" Shaw, the historian of Moray, tells us that the fires were kindled with a flint; the "Druidic incantations" of Cormac and the "tinegin" were not used within the last century at least for lighting the Beltane fire; their use seems latterly to have been restricted to raising the need-fire during cattle plagues.

The midsummer festival, christianised into St John's Eve and Day, for the celebration of the summer solstice, is not a specially Celtic, as it is a Teutonic, feast. The wheels of wood, wrapped round with straw, set on fire, and sent rolling from a hillock summit, to end their course in some river or water, which thus typified the descending course of the sun onward till next solstice, is represented on Celtic ground by the occasional use of a wheel for producing the *tinegin*, but more especially by the custom in some districts of rolling the Beltane bannocks from the hill summit down its side. Shaw remarks—"They made the Deas-sail [at Midsummer] about their fields of corn with burning torches of wood in their hands, to obtain a blessing on their corn. This I have often seen, *more, indeed, in the Lowlands* than in the Highlands. On Midsummer Eve, they kindle fires near their cornfields, and walk round them with burning torches." In Cornwall last century they used to perambulate the villages carrying lighted torches, and in Ireland the Eve of Midsummer was honoured with bonfires *round which they carried torches.*

The specially Celtic feast or "Feill" was held some five weeks later, on the 1st August, Lammas Day. It is called in Scottish Gaelic "Lunasduinn," in Irish "Lunasd," old Irish "Lugnasad," the fair of Lug. The legend says that Luga of the Long Arms, the Tuatha De Danann king, instituted this fair in honour of his foster-mother Tailtiu, queen of the Firbolgs. Hence the place where it was held was called Tailtiu after her, and is the modern Teltown. The fair was held, however, in all the capitals of ancient Ireland on that day. Games and manly sports char-

acterised the assemblies. Luga, it may be noted, is the sun-god, who thus institutes the festival, and it is remarkable that at ancient Lyons, in France, called of old Lug-dunum, a festival was held on this very day, which was famous over all Gaul.

Equal to Beltane in importance was the solemnity of Hallowe'en, known in Gaelic as *Samhuinn* or "summerend." Like Beltan it was sacred to the gods of light and of earth; Ceres, Apollo, and Dis also, must have been the deities whose worship was honoured. The earth goddess was celebrated for the ingathering of the fruits; Apollo or Belinus Proserpine were bewailed for their disappearing from earth, and Dis, who was god of death and winter's cold, and who was especially worshipped by the Celts, as Cæsar says, was implored for mercy, and his subjects, the manes of the dead, had special worship directed to them. It was, indeed, a great festival—the festival of fire, fruits, and death. The features that still remain in popular customs in regard to Hallowe'en clearly show its connection with the gods of fire and fate; bonfires and divination are its characteristics. The Statistical Account, already quoted, says of Hallowe'en:—"On All-Saint's Even they set up bonfires in every village. When the bonfire is consumed, the ashes are carefully collected in the form of a circle. There is a stone put in, near the circumference, for every person of the several families interested in the bonfire, and whatever stone is moved out of its place or injured before next morning, the person represented by that stone is devoted or *fey*, and is supposed not to live twelve months from that day." A somewhat similar custom is recorded by Pennant as existing in North Wales, where every family made a great bonfire in the most conspicuous place near the house, and when the fire was extinguished, every one threw a white stone into the ashes, having first marked it. If next morning any of these stones is found wanting, they have a notion that the person who threw it in will die before next Hallowe'en. We can only refer to the various laughable and serious methods of divination resorted to on Hallowe'en night to read into the future; our national poet Burns has left us a graphic picture of the night and its ceremonies in "Halloween." It may be remarked that the mystic apple plays an important part in these ceremonies, as it also does in so many Celtic fairy tales. The custom in various parts of keeping a heap

of cakes, called *soul-cakes*, to give away to all-comers, and more especially to the poor, clearly commemorates the ancient offering to the dead of food on this night. What was dedicated in Pagan times to the manes of the dead, is in modern times converted into doles of bread to the poor, as Mr Tylor points out.

Martin records a religious rite of the Lews people that must not be passed over here. "The inhabitants of this island had an ancient custom to sacrifice to a sea-god called Shony, at Hallo-tide, in the following manner:—The inhabitants round the island came to the Church of St Malvey, having each man his provision along with him; every family furnished a peck of malt, and this was brewed into ale; one of their number was picked out to wade into the sea up to the middle, and carrying a cup of ale in his hand, standing still in that posture, cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'Shony, I give you this cup of ale, hoping that you'll be so kind as to send us plenty of sea-ware for enriching our ground for the ensuing year'; and so threw the cup of ale into the sea. This was performed in the night-time. At his return to land they all went to church, where there was a candle burning upon the altar; and then standing silent for some time, one of them gave a signal, at which the candle was put out, and immediately all of them went to the fields, where they fell a-drinking their ale and spent the remainder of the night in dancing, singing, etc." This they believed to be a powerful means to procure a plentiful crop. This superstition is but lately dead, though the sacrifice had been repressed, for they proceeded in spring to the end of a long reef and invoked "Briannuil" to send a strong north wind to drive plenty sea-ware ashore. There are other instances of sacrifice within the last two hundred years in the Highlands. An annual sacrifice on the 25th August to St Mourie in Applecross and Gairloch troubled the Dingwall Presbytery in the 17th century. These rites consisted in immolating bulls, pouring of milk on hills as oblations, visiting ruined chapels and "circulating" them, divining by putting the head into a hole in a stone, and the worshipping of wells and stones. The bulls were sacrificed "in ane heathenish manner" for the recovery of man and beast from disease. A Morayshire farmer some thirty years ago, in the case of a murrain, lighted the need-fire with all due ceremony, then dug a pit and sacrificed an ox to the "unknown" spirit. Sacrifice

of cocks for epilepsy have not been infrequent in modern times; this is done by burying them alive.

Other festival days retain a spice of heathen Celticism about them yet. The last night of the year the fire must not be allowed to go out, and there is a particular dislike at this time to give a neighbour a "kindling" or even light for a pipe, a feeling which in some degree exists at Beltane and Hallowe'en. Candlemas day is known as La Fheill-Brighde, St Brigit's day, who is really the canonised fire-goddess, the Vesta of the heathen Gaels. Some customs in regard to her worship were mentioned already, and Martin relates an interesting custom in the Western Isles on Candlemas, showing St Brigit clearly on the aspect of Vesta, the hearth and home goddess. The mistress and servants of each family take a sheaf of oats and dress it up in women's apparel, put it in a large basket and lay a wooden club by it, and this they call Briid's-bed, and then they cry thrice, "Briid is come, Briid is welcome." Next morning they look in the ashes to see the impression of Briid's club there, and if they do they reckon it a true presage of a good crop and prosperous year, and the contrary they regard an ill omen. Shrove Tuesday was a great day in the Highlands for cock-fighting: then each scholar brought cocks to fight and decide who should be king and queen of the school for the ensuing year. It was also a noted day for ball-playing. Its popularity for nut-burning and marriage-divination by putting symbolic articles into brose or cakes is yet great.

(To be continued.)

THE QUEEN'S NEW BOOK IN GAELIC.—The volume recently issued by the Queen has been entrusted to Mrs Mary Mackellar, the well known Gaelic poetess, for translation into Gaelic—a fact upon which we warmly congratulate Mrs Mackellar and all Gaelic-speaking Highlanders, of whom her Majesty has always written and spoken so kindly. We are quite sure that the poetess will do the work the most complete justice. We are not, however, surprised to find, after the mess made of the work by the translator of the previous volume, that special precautions should have been taken in this case to secure a competent Gaelic scholar for the task. For this purpose, we understand that, some time ago, Sir Theodore Martin requested Mrs Mackellar to translate about twenty pages of the book. The specimen duly finished was returned, after which it was submitted to the ripe and scholarly judgment of J. F. Campbell of Islay, who gave his opinion of the translation in the most favourable terms, with the result that the poetess has been entrusted with the delicate and difficult task. As to the final result we have no doubt whatever, and we hope some day to see a correct translation, as well, of the first volume issued by her Majesty.

GAELIC IN SCHOOLS.

A MOST interesting Memorandum, by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, in reply to a Memorial from the Gaelic Union, is published in No. 15 of the *Gaelic Journal*, issued by the Union. The Memorial which called it forth had asked for a fuller recognition of the Irish language as part of the legitimate curriculum of the national schools. It was accompanied by a letter of inquiry from the Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, and it is to him that the Memorandum before us is addressed. In reply to a similar memorial presented in 1878, the Irish Education Department resolved to place the Irish language on the list of Extra Branches, or, as they are called in our Code, "Special Subjects," with a results fee of 10s. attachable. The conclusion which the Commissioners now state, on a consideration of the whole question, is as follows:—"The Commissioners have now, in conclusion, only to add that, reviewing the statistical and other representations contained in this Memorandum, they are confident that they have reached a limit to the steps which, in the public interest, could wisely be taken in respect to the cultivation of the Irish Language in the Primary Schools."

It will be interesting to Scottish Highlanders to recall the fact that the admission of Gaelic to the list of Special Subjects, for which they have been petitioning in vain in Scotland, has been conceded several years ago to their Irish brethren, and they can urge the circumstance to give force to the renewed demand, which ought to be made without delay, in terms of the valuable and important recommendations of the Crofters' Royal Commission. There is some encouragement also to be derived from the fact that, notwithstanding the apparently conclusive *non possumus* of the Irish Commissioners, they have since made a further concession by the adoption of the First, Second, and Third Irish Books, prepared by certain members of the Gaelic Union, and the placing of them on the list of text-books to be used in conveying instruction in the Irish language.

In view of the exceptional advantages granted to the Irish, and the liberal remuneration given to their teachers, in connection

with the teaching of the vernacular, the question will very naturally interpose itself, How comes it that so little has been done for Gaelic in Highland schools? A variety of answers might be given to the question, such as the apathy of the people and of most of the societies which profess to represent popular sentiment. There is no doubt, however, that a good deal of blame lies at the door of the Inspectors of Schools for the Highlands, on account of the lukewarm, and even antagonistic and unpatriotic attitude taken by them, alike in their public reports, and in private communications to the Education Department. It is due to Mr Jolly, H.M. Inspector of Schools, formerly of Inverness, and now of Glasgow, to say that, though himself a Lowlander, he strongly advocated the use of Gaelic in the schools of the North, and it will afford him special gratification now to find that the lines of conduct so long ago recommended by him and by us, have met with such cordial approval at the hands of the Crofters' Royal Commission, as the result of the most careful examination of the circumstances, rights, and requirements of the Highland people.

Among much interesting matter in the Irish Memorandum, we have opinions elicited by the Irish Education Department, from two Scotch Inspectors in 1878, on the question of the use of Gaelic in the public schools. The first is by Mr J. Macleod; and we hope he is better able to express his sentiments in Gaelic than he seems to be in English, judging from the following enigmatical deliverance. He says—

"It is not ten days since an active school manager had mentioned to me that he never found School A (in a Gaelic-speaking district) so well taught as when under the charge of a non-Gaelic-speaking teacher. Were it not for my experience of the uselessness or needlessness of this Gaelic instruction, I fear I should be on the side of those who go in for its indispensableness."

The other extract in the Memorandum is from an opinion elicited from our old friend, the late Mr Donald Ross, Inspector of Schools. He says—

"Gaelic is becoming unpopular amongst the Gaelic population. who are regularly lectured by apostles of localism and patriots—both in the *Highlander* newspaper and on the platform—for their apostacy and disgraceful conduct in forgetting the language and the ways of their fathers; and, henceforth, any Gaelic teaching that is to be, shall virtually be thrust upon the population by outsiders. The people know that English is necessary to success in life, and really such demand for Gaelic teaching as there is, is not the genuine expression of the wish of the Gaelic population.

"It is quite possible that in localities where some local magnate or some local society gives a prize for Gaelic reading, the Gaelic Bible may be read, but that is for the sake of the prizes, and not of the Gaelic. . . . . The best teachers confine their instructions to English, allow no Gaelic to be spoken in school, and are thus not only more popular, but succeed better in stimulating intelligence. . . . . Gaelic literature is very meagre, consisting chiefly of translations of a few popular religious books, of the Bible, and of a Scotch history, together with a little collection of very indifferent Gaelic poets. Fingalianism apart (and even Fingalianism is not equal to the Arthurianism of South-west Britain) the best thing that could be done with Gaelic literature is to forget it. I say this after having analysed the most of it."

In this connection it may be interesting to quote Mr Ross's opinion in his report to the Education Department for 1881, as we find it in the Blue Book for 1881-82. He says, "I have always advocated the placing of Gaelic amongst the *Special Subjects* if there should be a genuine demand for its adoption; and occasionally the language may be of service in explaining their lessons to the younger children." We are somewhat at a loss to reconcile this opinion with that which Mr Ross vouchsafed privately to the Irish Commissioners, that "*the best teachers allow no Gaelic to be spoken in school.*" Mr Ross did not seem to see that his sneers at "patriots," his antagonism to "localism," and his depreciation of the merits and utility of the Gaelic language and its literature, written and oral, were themselves part and parcel of the snobbery to which people are only too prone, and which he and those who acted on the lines which he so strongly approved, did their best to instil and develope in the minds alike of the Celts of Ireland and Scotland, with the express purpose of alienating their affections from everything native and local, and educating them into an admiration of the fine feathers of far-away birds. It were no difficult task to explain and refute what Mr Ross and his coadjutors have been writing in deprecation of the use of the native Gaelic, and to explain the prejudices which have grown up among the people themselves. Those who arrange our Codes, however, must not be guided by the foibles and whims of an easily swayed and simple people, but by an intelligent consideration of the *rationale* of the matter. That they are guided by the opinions of their Inspectors is, however, too true, and it is therefore the more necessary that the people should be made to move in the matter, and assert their right to get their education, where necessary, through the medium which lies to their hand, and which reason suggests as the best. That there is hope of good

results from the pressure of public opinion we see from the fact that the Irish Commissioners have set aside the opinions of the Inspectors, and acted in deference to the wishes of the people. They say that "neither the Rule of the English and Scotch Education Departments, nor the remarks of Her Majesty's Inspectors upon the Welsh and the Gaelic languages, nor the communications from the Ministry of Education in France upon the Breton, nor the information at their command, derived from their own Inspectors, afforded argument or encouragement to place the Irish language upon the list of Extra Branches. In deference, however, to the Memorialists of 1878, they did resolve to place the Irish language in this favourable position."

Now that the Highlanders have got the intelligent and emphatic declarations of the Crofters' Royal Commission to support them, and the example of the Irish Commissioners to encourage them to press their claims, no time should be lost for a movement among our Highland societies and communities in favour of placing positive instruction in Gaelic among the *Special Subjects*, and using it in the routine of the school in the conveyance of ordinary instruction.

So pertinent to this question is the opinion which Sir Patrick Keenan gave with reference to the wrong-headed policy of our Government in the Island of Malta, and which is appended to the Memorandum of the Irish Commissioners, that our readers will be glad to have it at length. It is as follows :—

The Commissioners, at your desire, have requested me to append to their reply to your letter of the 1st of January, a Memorandum in reference to my report upon the teaching of Maltese to the children of Malta, more than once adverted to in the Memorial of the Gaelic Union. I accordingly have the pleasure of doing so.

It was in my autumn holiday of 1878, I inquired, at the request of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, into the Educational Institutions of Malta. As stated in my Report, I found that the whole native population, from the noble to the peasant, spoke the Maltese. The language of their homes, of their catechisms, of their books of devotion, of the sermons delivered in their pulpits, and of their markets, was the Maltese. In the Manoel Theatre at Valetta, vernacular representations were given very frequently. Maltese, in short, was not the language of a mere section of the people; it was, as I have said, the language of all the natives.

But the system of education adopted by the Government was to ignore the Maltese Language, which everybody knew, and to make Italian and English, which very few knew, the language of the schools. The result was that education was in a most disastrous condition. In the country districts of Malta, and in the Island of Gozo, out of 83,776 people, only two per cent. could speak English, after three-

quarters of a century of English rule; and only five per cent., after centuries of efforts to establish the Italian Language, could speak Italian.

I asked myself, as stated in my Report, this question:—

If the children of the National Schools of England were required to learn German and French, and their native English were treated as the Maltese language is treated in Malta, what would be thought of such a policy?

My course was very plain. It was not the first time I had to resolve such a problem. I recommended that every child should be taught to read the language he knew—his native Maltese; in point of fact, that in the Maltese the foundation of his education should be laid, and that through the medium of the Maltese he should afterwards, for reasons very elaborately stated in my Report, be taught English.

More than a quarter of a century ago, I found vast districts in the Celtic parts of the County Donegal very much in the condition in which I afterwards found Malta. The children universally spoke the vernacular, and very few of them knew English. The Irish Language, however, was so completely ignored in their education, that teachers and managers, as I stated in my Reports, thought it contrary to the public policy even to use an Irish word in elucidation of an English one. The bilingual class—at that time not strong in their English—were also treated equally irrationally. I very emphatically deprecated such a system, and recommended the measures quoted from my Reports by the Gaelic Union. Unfortunately, public opinion was not with me. The next best thing, however, happened. The unqualified right and incumbent duty of the teachers to use the vernacular freely, whenever they themselves understood it, as an aid to the education of the children in English, was established by my personal representations to managers and teachers, as well as by my own system of examination of the pupils, and by my published Reports. This has produced salutary results. The Donegal of to-day is entirely different from the Donegal of 1855. There is now no parallel between Malta and any of the districts of Donegal, or, indeed, of any part of Ireland.

W.

ROYAL REASONS FOR ADOPTING THE CATHOLIC RELIGION.

THE following is a true copy of a Duplicate of the Protestation made by James II., when he was Duke of York and Albany, for renouncing the Protestant and embracing the Catholic Religion; Dated 20th August 1670:—

"Whereas I have beene ever from my infancy bred up in ye English Protestant religion and have had very able persons to instruct me in ye grounds thereof; and I doubt not but I am exposed to ye censure of an infinite number of persons, that are astonisht at my quitting of it to embrace ye religion of ye Romane Catholiques from which I have ever professed a great aversion. And therefore I have thought fitt to give some satis-

faction to my friends by declaring unto them ye reason uppon which I have beene moved to doe it, without engaging myself in long and unprofitable disputes touching that matter.

"I protest therefore before God that since my comming into England no person either man or woman hath at any time perswaded me to alter my religion, or hath used any discourse to me uppon that subject.

"It hath beene onely a particular favour from God who hath beene gratiously pleased to heare ye prayers I daily made unto him, both in France and Flanders whilst I was there, that he would vouchsafe to bring me into ye true Church before I dyed, in case I was not in ye right. And it was ye devotion I observed in ye Catholiques there which induced me to make ye prayer, though my owne devotion during all that time was very slendour. I did notwithstanding during all ye time I was in those countreys believe I was in ye true religion, neither had I ye least scruple of it untill November last, at which time reading Doctor Hoyline's History of ye Reformation which had beene highly recommended unto me, I was so farre from finding ye satisfaction I expected, I found nothing but sacriledges. And looking over ye reason there sett downe which had caused ye separation of the Church of England from that of Rome, I reade Three there which to me seeme great impietyes. The first was that King Henry ye 8th had cast of ye Popish authority because he would not permitt him to quitt his wife and marry another. The 2nd that during ye minority of Edward 6th his uncle, ye Duke of Somersett, who then governed all and was ye Principall in that alteration, did greatly enrich himselfe with the goods of ye Church which he ingrossed. And ye third consisted in this, that Queene Elizabeth not being richtfull Heyre to ye Crowne could not keep it but by renouncing a Church which would never have allowed of such injustice.

"I could not be perswaded that ye Holy Ghost would ever had made use of such motives as these were to change religion, and was astonished that ye Bishoppes if they had no other intention but to establish ye doctrine of ye Primitive Church had not attempted it before ye schisme of Henry ye 8th, which was grounded upon such unjustifyable pretence.

"Being troubled with these scruples I began to make some

reflections uppon these points of doctrine wherein we differ'd from the Catholiques, and to that purpose had recourse to the holy Scripture, and though I pretended not to be able perfectly to understand it, I found notwithstanding severall points which to me seemed very plaine and I cannot but wonder that I remained so long time without taking notice of them. Among these were ye reall presence of our Saviour in ye Sacrament,—ye Infallibility of ye Church Confession and Prayer for ye dead. I treated of these particulars severally with two of the most learned Bishoppes of England, and discoursyng uppon these subjects as they both tould me that it was to be wished that ye Church of England had retained severall things it hath altered, for example Confession, which without doubt is of Divine Institution. They tould me also that prayer for ye dead had beene used in ye Primitive Church during ye first centuryes ; and that they themselves did daily observe these thinges, though they desired not publiquely to own those doctrines, and having presst something earnestly, one of them touching these thinges, he frankly told me that if he had beene bred up in ye Catholique religion he should not have left it. But being now a member of ye Church of England all ye Articles necessary to Salvation, he thought he should doe ill to quitt it, because he was beholding to ye Church for his Baptisme and he should thereby give great occasion of scandall to others.

"All these discourses were a means to increas ye desire I had to embrace ye Romane Catholique religion and added much to ye inward trouble of my mind. But ye feare I had to be hasty in a matter of such importance made me act warily withall precautione in such a Case. I pray'd incessantly to God he would be pleased to informe me in ye trueth concerning these points whereof I doubted. Uppon Christmas day going to receav ye Sacrament at ye Kings Chappel I found myselfe in a greater trouble than ever I had beene in. Neither was it possible for me to be quiet untill I had discover'd myselfe to a certaine Catholique who privately brought me a priest. He was the first of them with whom I ever convers'd. And ye more I convers'd with him, ye more I found myselfe confirmed in ye resolution I had taken. It was I thought impossible to doubt of these words This is my body. And I am verily perswaded our Saviour who is Treuth

it selfe, and hath promised to continue with his Church untill the world's end would never suffer these Holy Mysteryes to be communicated to ye Laiety onely under one kind, if it were inconsistent with his Institution of that Sacrament. I am not able to dispute touching those points with any body; But if I were I would not goe about to doe it. But I content myselfe to write this to instruct ye change I have made of my religion and call God to witnesse. I had not done it had I believed I could have beene Saved in that Church whereof till then I was a member.

"I protest seriously I have not beene induced to this by any worldly interest or motives. Neither can ye treuth of this my Protestation be rationally doubted, since it was evident that thereby I lost all my friends and prejudiced my reputation. But having seriously considered with myselfe whether I am not to renounce my portion in ye other world to enjoy the advantage of my present being here, I assure you I found no difficulty at all to resolve ye contrary for which I render humble thanks to God who is ye Author of all goodness.

"My onely prayer to Him is, that ye poore Catholiques of this Kingdome may not be persecuted uppon my account. And I beseech God to grant me patience in my owne affliction and that what tribulation so ever His goodness hath appointed for me I may so goe thorough with them as that I may hereafter I may enjoy a happyness for all eternity.

"Given at St James', this 20th of August 1670."

THE LAST OF THE MACMARTIN CAMERONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—As you are now drawing to a close with the "History of the Camerons," I wish you to let me say a few words about the MacMartin Camerons of Letterfinlay. Who represents that family at present? I heard it stated repeatedly in Inverness that the family is extinct; a statement which, in my opinion, is not correct. We had in Strathglass a respectable family of the name of MacMartin, of the Camerons of Letterfinlay. The traditions of the district state that they occupied the same farm for six generations. The founder of the Strathglass Camerons was *Eoghann Beag MacMhartainn*. I heard old men saying that *Eoghann Beag* was a faithful servant of The Chisholm, who, on one occasion, told Ewen that his chief, Lochiel, was in trouble from an enemy. Instanter, Ewen asked and received permission to go to his aid. He joined Lochiel's men on the day of battle. They wanted to ford an intervening river to attack the enemy on his own ground; but, to their confusion and dismay, they

observed the enemy ready to receive them on the opposite bank. The opinion of the leaders was that the first party attempting to cross the river would be annihilated.

In this predicament they watched each other anxiously for most of the day. This sort of warfare was quite contrary to what little Ewen MacMartin expected to see when he left Strathglass. Walking some sixty miles, to show his loyalty to his Chief, he meant business; and to break the monotony of the day, he deliberately walked alone out of Lochiel's ranks, a short distance towards the river, and shouted out at the top of his voice, "An dean fear agaibh malairt saighde rium?" "Will any of you exchange an arrow with me?" "Directly," was the reply. An archer stepped out of the enemy's ranks, and shot an arrow across, which fell harmless behind Ewen, who took it up, and asked his antagonist, "Co dhiu is fhearr leat do phlaigh fhein no plaigh fir eile," Whether do you prefer your own or another man's arrow? "Little man," said the adversary, "send back my own if you can." Ewen not only sent it back, but sent it through his body. The archer fell, and rolled down into the river. Ewen called out, "Save the man or he will be drowned." Another from the enemy's camp ran down to save him; but Ewen sent an arrow into his body also, and both fell into the river.

After a long pause, Lochiel called Ewen up, and said they did not know who he was or where he came from. When informed on these and other points, Lochiel said —"My little man and great hero, if you stay with us in Lochaber I will give you a choice farm on my estate." Ewen thanked his Chief, but said that he could not wish for a better master than The Chisholm, and, therefore, he would return to him. At that moment the enemy moved off the field, and Lochiel exclaimed—"Brave man, you fought the battle single-handed." On his return Ewen delivered a letter of thanks from Lochiel to The Chisholm, urging him to befriend the little archer. Soon afterwards *Eoghann Beag MacMhartainn* was placed in the fertile and arable farm of Baile-na-bruich, Strathglass. His descendants continued in that farm for generations. I well remember seeing the last members of the family evicted from the farm. Their names were Rory, Ewen, and David. Another brother of theirs was a soldier, who fought in the American War, and did not live to return home. Rory was also a soldier, first in the Glengarry Fencibles, and afterwards in the regular army; fighting in the Peninsular War. He was married, and left one son, Hugh Cameron, now in his 85th year, and living quite alone in one small room at 36 King Street, Inverness. Hugh had an only son, also a soldier, who fought in the Sepoy War. The last letter he wrote to his father was on the fall of Lucknow. Poor Hugh Cameron, now half blind, confined to his room for months back, nothing is left of him but the mere remains of respectability. He is very generally believed to be the only living male representative of the ancient MacMartin Camerons of Letterfinlay. The publication of this letter in the *Celtic Magazine* may help to soften his remaining sojourn here, which cannot now, in the natural course of things, be very prolonged.—Faithfully yours,

June 18, 1884. COLIN CHISHOLM.

THE DANCE OF "SEANN TRIUBHAIS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CELTIC SOCIETY OF DUNFERMLINE,
ST MARGARET'S HALL, DUNFERMLINE, 22nd May 1884.

SIR,—Mr J. G. Mackay, in his second article on the Highland Dress, says:—"We have to this day an instance of the contempt in which the breeches were held

in the dance, 'Seann Triubhais,' which is a burlesque on the awkward restraint of the Lowland garb."

Surely this statement is hard to believe, and it is due from the author of it that he should produce the grounds of his assertion.

The "Trews" is an article of Highland dress of much older date than 1745, as Mr Mackay will find by reference to Logan's "Scottish Gael;" and in the Scottish Highlands, as well as in Ireland, it has had its legitimate place for centuries.

Ancient stone sculptures prove "the trews" to be of equal antiquity with the kilt, at least so far as existing representations of these habits show.

Then as to the dance of "Seann Triubhais," Mr Mackay is surely not serious when he speaks of its "awkward restraint."

On the contrary, its six steps—although little known, and but seldom seen—are universally admitted among both amateur and professional dancers to be at once graceful and easy.

It is a fact that the late Lord Elgin, of Eastern fame, once danced the "Seann Triubhais" at a ball in this city with the greatest éclât.

The dance is well known in this Society, and in this country side, and we strongly object to the disparaging remarks of Mr Mackay upon our ancient Celtic treasure.—I am, &c., KENNETH MATHESON, Junior, Secretary.

THE *GREENOCK TELEGRAPH* ON MACKENZIE'S "ANALYSIS OF REPORT OF CROFTER ROYAL COMMISSION."—"The most of us resemble the Home Secretary in at least one respect—we have not yet found time to read the whole of the ponderous tomes that contain the Report of the Crofter Commission. And the number is comparatively small that have any reasonable prospect of ever achieving a task so great. The vast majority of readers must be content to trust to a conspectus of the voluminous document. This they will find in a sixpenny pamphlet which has been prepared by the man who, of all men, is best fitted for the execution of such a task. We refer to Mr Alexander Mackenzie, F.S.A. Scot., the editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, who was the first to suggest that a Royal Commission should be appointed, and who, after his proposal had been agreed to by the Government, wrought with patriotic enthusiasm to make the Commission a reality. It has pleased the so-called political economists of Edinburgh to subject Mr Mackenzie to very harsh criticism, as if he were animated by motives as selfish as their own; but the Highland crofters know better, and so does every unprejudiced onlooker. By producing a digest of the Report he has added another to the many valuable services he has rendered to a good cause. It is a searching commentary as well as a careful conspectus. The compiler frankly gives credit to the Commissioners for doing better than he expected; at the same time he points out the illogical and contradictory character of some of their conclusions. The summary has been drawn up with conspicuous fairness, most admirable temper, and in a manner to which no one can take the slightest exception. It is appropriately prefaced with a portrait of Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., the only pronounced friend of the crofters who had a seat on the Commission, and who proved his fidelity by the manner in which he enraged the Duke of Argyll. We are glad to see his honest face prefixed to a document which he did so much to make the complete thing that it is. We hope that Mr Mackenzie's pamphlet will be circulated in thousands all over the land. The more it is read the more resolute and widespread will the demand be for immediate legislation to relieve the oppressed and downtrodden population of the Highlands."

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

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REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION (HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS)— AN ANALYSIS.

III.

JUSTICE IN THE HIGHLANDS.

THE recommendations of the Commissioners on the administration of Local Justice in the Highlands, will meet with universal approval outside official and interested circles. They state that, in Sutherlandshire, Lewis, the Long Island district of Inverness-shire, and in the Isle of Skye, containing a population of close upon 84,000 souls, and having three local sheriff-substitutes there are only nine procurators, or law-agents. Two of these are in Skye, one being the procurator-fiscal, while the other is, practically, factor for the whole Island, depute-clerk of the peace, bank agent, distributor of stamps, collector of taxes, collector for road assessments, member of five, and clerk and treasurer of all, the School Boards in Skye, with, according to his own evidence, "a number of minor offices" besides. The difficulty which the poor thus "experience in securing professional advice is to be deplored." This, however, "can scarcely be removed by legislation," but it is recommended that small debt summonses, "the cost of which is always quite disproportionate to the amount sued for," should be served by registered letters. The Secretary of State is directed

to consider the propriety of courts being held more frequently in a greater number of populous centres, in those remote districts, to meet the convenience of the inhabitants, for which ample statutory powers already exist.

The office of sheriff-substitute, in the Highlands, is not always considered a desirable one. This has the effect of limiting the selection to a comparatively inferior class of practitioners, and "the choice of the responsible authorities may often, and do fall on parties altogether unacquainted with the peculiar condition of life in the districts referred to, and ignorant of the habitual language of the people." It is suggested that in making selections for this office, Government would more frequently appoint local practitioners, and that both the sheriff and procurator-fiscal, in places where the offices are least coveted, should have a recognised claim to more desirable appointments afterwards. The "important qualification of a knowlege of Gaelic" should not be lost sight of in the appointment of sheriffs and procurators-fiscal. These officials "are placed under many disadvantages with reference to society and residence," and it is delicately insinuated, "that there might possibly be in some cases an unconscious admission of external influences; and, in other cases, the existence of such influences might be suspected where it does not operate;" so, to secure "the perfect independence of the local sheriff, he should be relieved as far as possible of all embarrassment and obligations in his social relations, and be provided with an official residence by Government." We shall leave the Commissioners themselves to say the rest, in their own words :—

"There is a natural tendency in the poor and remote localities, to which we are adverting, towards a concentration of offices, partly consequent on the inadequate remuneration of public functionaries, partly on the paucity of qualified persons, and partly, it may be, on the desire of local power, which is attached to the cumulative possession of positions of this nature. The clerkship to the School Board, the collectorship of rates, the office of distributor of stamps, the clerkship of harbour trusts, the local bank agency, the factorate for private estates, and others, may be, and are in some measures, united in the hands of a single individual, while other persons, perhaps equally deserving, hold no offices at all. This, when carried to excess, is a state of things to be deprecated, but Crown offices alone can be controlled by

authority, and those which are principally open to our remarks, are the offices of procurator-fiscal and sheriff-clerk. We are of opinion that these functionaries, so closely identified with the administration of the law, should be prohibited from doing any professional work or any business for profit, other than their proper business respectively, either by themselves, or their partners, deputes, or others, and that this restriction should contemplate functions performed in other counties, as well as the counties in which they hold their appointments. If regulations of this nature should, in some cases, involve the neccessity of higher salaries being appropriated to the offices in question, the number of the offices might be reduced by consolidation, but even if the aggregate charge to the Treasury were slightly augmented, it may be hoped that Government would not decline a concession recommended by the interests of justice."

Lochiel dissents from these recommendations, except as regards the proposal to serve small debt summonses by registered letters, and the desirability of a knowledge of Gaelic, on the part of candidates, for future appointments of procurator-fiscal in the Highlands. The latter he holds to be essential. He agrees, in principle, that this official ought to be confined to his special duties as public prosecutor, but opposes it, in practice, on the ground that, where his work is light, his salary would have to be very considerably increased, and provision would have to be made for a pension after a certain number of years' service; and further, that, from having, in most cases, so little to do, he would be idle, and would consequently deteriorate in efficiency; or, on the other hand, he would expend his energies in making work for himself, to the great annoyance of his neighbours. Lochiel objects still stronger to confine sheriff-clerks to the exclusive performance of their official duties—a fact for which he will, no doubt, receive the warm acknowledgments of one of these officials at least, the Sheriff-Clerk for the County of Ross, who is at the same time the Conservative agent for the County of Inverness, and paid Secretary for the Tory Newspaper Printing and Publishing Company in the Capital of the Highlands. This official is, apparently, specially referred to in the Report under the proposed restriction which should "contemplate functions performed in other counties," as well as the counties in which they [sheriff-clerks] hold their appointments.

Deer Forests and Game.

The Commissioners, in the consideration of this part of their subject, have gone beyond the effect of deer forests and game on crofters and cottars, and have entered fully into the social and economic aspect of both. The principal objections to deer forests presented during the inquiry were—

1. That they were created to a great extent by the eviction or removal of the people, and had been the cause of depopulation.
2. That land now cleared for deer might be made available for profitable occupation by crofters.
3. That it might at all events be occupied by sheep farmers, and that a great loss of mutton and wool to the nation might thus be avoided.
4. That in some places, where deer forests are contiguous to arable land in the occupation of crofters, damage is done to the crop of the latter by the deer.
5. That deer deteriorate the pasture ; and
6. That the temporary employment of gillies and others in connection with deer forests has a demoralising effect.

First.—There was not much difficulty in coming to the conclusion that generally it was sheep and sheep farmers who were removed to make room for deer forests, just as the former had previously secured the eviction of the people to make room for themselves. No one who knew the country and the facts ever had any other opinion on the subject; and it was not the friends of the people or those who took up their cause, but the sheep farmers and their friends, who raised the cry of depopulation against the forests when righteous retribution came upon themselves for having driven out the inhabitants by being driven out themselves in turn. Few will grudge them and those landlords who encouraged them in their cruel work the misfortunes which are now fast overtaking both. Deer forests within reasonable limits are, in our opinion, much the lesser evil, though we trust the day is not remote when, in many cases, deer will again give place to man, as sheep and sheep farmers are now giving place to deer. The Commissioners only found one clearly established case of removal of crofters, "for the purpose of adding to an existing

forest, though other cases might be cited of the diminution of crofting area for the same purpose, and on further examination examples of the transfer might probably be discovered." The particular case referred to, is the deer forest of Sconsar, in the Isle of Skye, the property of Lord Macdonald," where eighteen small crofters were removed," about thirty years ago. Particulars of another glaring case are given in the Appendix to the Report—which the Commissioners must have overlooked—where the Rev. Angus Macrae states that, "about the year 1867, the whole township of Balmacaan, where there were over twenty families, who were living pretty comfortably," were turned out in a body, "as the place was added to the forest." Again, sixteen tenants disappeared from Shewglie, the most of the pasture having been added to the same deer forest.* Further, the eviction of the old inhabitants from Guisachan is so notorious that it is difficult to understand the object of the statement in the Report. Mr Colin Chisholm brought these evictions, to make room for deer, or add to the amenities of a deer forest, prominently before the Commissioners. There were sixteen tenants and eight cottars removed. In his examination at Kingussie, Lord Tweedmouth stated, "I at once say that Mr Chisholm was entirely correct in stating I, when I took possession of Guisachan in 1855, found sixteen tenants." The fact that, according to his Lordship, most of these died in the district, after they were removed from their holdings, does not affect the fact that these families, and others in the place, numbering 227 souls, had every one of them, been removed from their holdings, which they had held on leases of 19 years, for the extension and "improvement" of the amenities of a deer forest, and that those who are in their place now are mere day-labourers, depending on day's wages. Other cases might be cited, and it is a pity they are not named in the Report.

As to the number employed on sheep farms and deer forests, the latter have, on the whole, the best of it; the pay is also far better, and the work much more agreeable than on sheep farms.

Second.—The Commissioners come to the conclusion that not much of the land now under deer could be made available for profitable occupation by crofters, "except as shielings or summer grazing for cattle and sheep."

* Both these places are on the Seafield Estates, in the County of Inverness.

"It is of course true that there are few deer forests where an occasional spot of hard green land might not be found which would be available for a crofter's residence and cultivation; but, looking to the small proportion of arable pasture land in such places, it may fairly be assumed that almost insuperable difficulties would be offered to the settlement of crofters in these deer forests, as they would find it impossible to defray the expense of purchasing the large sheep stock which the ground is competent to carry, even though they would not in this case be obliged to take over the stock on the ground at valuation."

Compare this with the facts submitted by Mr Colin Chisholm in the case of Glencannich, one of Mr Winan's forests, in Strathglass. Many other similar instances could be given. Mr Chisholm gives the names of the following military officers and clergymen born and bred of comfortable parents, who lived on small holdings in the very heart of this one Glen, now a perfect desolation :— Colonel James Chisholm, Lieutenant Archibald Chisholm, born at Lietrie; Major James MacLean, Captain Rory MacLean, born at Carrie; Ensign Duncan MacLean, Ensign Colin MacRae, and Angus MacRae, born at Carrie; Colonel Alexander Chisholm, Colonel James Chisholm, Governor of the Gold Coast of Africa; Captain Valentine Chisholm, Lieutenant Angus Chisholm, and Ensign John Chisholm, born at Mucrack; Lieutenant Christopher MacRae, Lieutenant Theodore MacRae, Ensign Finlay MacRae, Ensign William MacRae, and Lieutenant John and James Chisholm, born at Invercannich. Mr Chisholm gives the name of the following Glencannich Catholic clergymen, whom he himself remembers :—Bishop William Fraser, Rev. William Fraser, and Rev. Archibald Chisholm, born at Craskie; Rev. Duncan MacKenzie, Rev. Angus MacKenzie, Rev. Archibald Chisholm, Very Rev. Hugh Chisholm, Dean of Paisley; and the Rev. James Chisholm, born at Lietrie; and the Rev. Finlay MacRae, born at Carrie. "In my humble opinion," says Mr Chisholm, "this list will show that they were abreast of their neighbours in social position and in general intelligence. However, the crude management of factors and former proprietors cleared out every one of the forty-five families, whom I have seen formerly in Glencannich."

It is a pity that the Commissioners did not themselves visit some of these deer forests, under the guidance of people who

could have given them occular demonstration of the large amount of excellent arable land which has been appropriated in some of them, and which undoubtedly could now be profitably used for agricultural purposes.

Third—The sheepish allegation against deer forests—that if they were occupied as sheep farms a great loss of mutton and wool to the nation would be avoided—is very ably discussed and pretty completely disposed of. This was another of the allegations of interested and selfish sheep farmers, with which we never had the slightest sympathy. The Commissioners have taken four sets of figures, compiled from as many sources, by four different persons, all independent of each other, with different objects and interests. The number of sheep displaced to make room for deer are, according to these authorities, respectively 400,000, 320,000, 335,000, and 395,000; the latter brought out as the result of a calculation of the acreage made by the Secretary of the Commission, who gives the total area under deer forests in Scotland at 1,975,210 acres, a larger area even than that stated by the advocates of sheep.

"It may thus be assumed," the Report says, "in the absence of any contradictory evidence, that the figure 395,000 fairly represents the number of sheep which might be grazed on land now occupied by deer forests. Before calculating the quantity of mutton which would thus annually be lost to the country, further deductions might be made which would no doubt be legitimate, but which need not be here taken into consideration. Suffice it to say, that as sheep in the Highlands do not come into the market until they are three years old, and making no allowance for losses, there would be an additional annual supply of about 132,000 if all deer forests were fully stocked with sheep. It is thus abundantly evident that in view of the sheep in the United Kingdom amounting to 27½ millions, besides all the beef grown at home, and all the beef and mutton imported, both dead and alive, from abroad, the loss to the community is not only insignificant but almost unappreciable; while, owing to the large importation of wool from abroad, the additional supply of home-grown would be altogether unimportant if the area now occupied by deer were devoted to sheep."

In this calculation no notice has been taken of the amount of venison raised in the forests, which is said to equal about one-fifth of all the mutton displaced to make room for deer.

Fourth.—The next complaint is that arable land in possession of crofters in the vicinity of deer forests is liable to be ravaged by the deer, "in which case the cultivator is exposed to a double prejudice—substantial injury and the hardship of night watching." To remedy this, the Commissioners propose that when the forest belongs to the same landlord, "the proprietor should be bound to erect a sufficient deer fence round the arable land of the township, or the individual crofter's holding, in so far as it is requisite for the complete protection of the party or parties injured. This fence should be maintained by the proprietor in regard to skilled labour, transport, and purchased materials, the crofters being held to afford unskilled labour on the ground."

In the case of deer coming from lands belonging to any proprietor other than the landlord of the ground trespassed upon, the Commissioners recommend the effectual and natural remedy of killing the intruder. They say—

"Under such circumstances the only practical solution might be to grant an inalienable right to the crofter to kill the deer on his arable land when found injuring his crop."

This, of course, must mean that the deer is to be killed, independently of where he may come from, provided the animal is on the ground and injuring the crop of the tenant, whether there is a deer fence or not. The landlord should be held to maintain the fence in a state of repair suitable for its purpose, or suffer the consequence of his neglect by the killing of his deer.

Fifth.—On the question of the deterioration of the land under sheep or deer, the Commissioners do not give a definite opinion, but they say that if this takes place more in the case of a deer forest than on land under sheep, the "deterioration is obviously of a remediable nature;" that this can be done by the burning of grass of a ranker character than is usually left on sheep grazings, and "so afford the only practicable mode of conveying to the tops and steep sides of mountains that artificial manure in the shape of ash of which by universal consent they stand so much in need;" and, "whatever be the relative merits in this respect of sheep and deer, there is a general concurrence in favour of reverting to an admixture of black cattle as a means of restoring the fertility of the soil."

Sixth.—As regards the alleged demoralising effect of sporting employment on the character of the keepers and gillies engaged in it, we have always held that, except in so far as this occupation could be said to be of an unproductive character, the charge otherwise was most unfounded ; and we quite agree with the finding of the Commissioners, on this point, "that the allegation is not consistent with experience."

The Report next discusses whether deer forests are of substantial benefits to the various classes which compose the community in the Highlands, and the Commissioners at once reply that "there can be no doubt, that in the case of landowners this is so," and this "advantage is especially felt at the present moment, when sheep farms are difficult to let"; that is when the landlords are reaping the whirlwind. Having stated the high price of sheep, low price of wool, and high valuations and other reasons in explanation of the unwillingness of new tenants to offer now for sheep farms, we are told, quite accurately, that—

"On the other hand, when the tenant of a large pastoral farm comes to the end of his lease, and finds exceptionally high prices going for sheep, there is a strong temptation to take advantage of the opportunity and quit the farm. The proprietor thus finds himself with a large sheep farm thrown on his hands, which he does not want, and to enter upon which he has to provide many thousands of pounds ; without much prospect of making such profit as will pay him both his rent and a fair interest on his capital."

Will any one be particularly sorry for this result? These gentlemen, or their predecessors, have been gambling, with heavy stakes, and it is now their turn to lose. Can they complain? In ordinary gambling, the players themselves and their backers are the only losers, but the Highland landlords have gambled away the people whose ancestors secured their estates for them —the inhabitants of those very districts—to win higher rents from sheep introduced in their place, and they are now reaping the righteous reward of that cruel and short-sighted policy; and yet we are told in the Report "that it can hardly be a matter of surprise, that in these circumstances, he"—the landlord, in continuation and aggravation of the old policy—"tries to let his land as a deer forest, and secure a good rent, besides relieving

himself of what must involve great expense and a heavy responsibility;" and that, were it not for deer forests, "much of the land in the Highlands might be temporarily unoccupied, or occupied on terms ruinous to the proprietors!"

It is urged that the difference between the sporting and agricultural rents would make a difference of about 17 per cent. on local taxation, quite overlooking the fact that people, having the land under cultivation, in decent, comfortable homes, would not only largely increase the present agricultural value of the land—in many cases four or five fold—but that they would be far better able to bear higher assessments, even should that be necessary, than in their present miserable condition, when such a large proportion of them is driven to the poor's roll, as the direct consequence of this vicious system of deer forests and sheep farms Under a proper system of land tenure the ever-increasing assessment for the poor would soon be so much reduced as to be practically unappreciable, as under the old system before the clearances and the advent of sheep.

Considerable, indeed large expenditure has been made in many places in consequence of the existence of deer forests, which necessarily benefited the people for the time; but this outlay will not in all cases prove of permanent advantage either to the country or people; but to compare the advantages of sheep farms with forests in this respect would be simply ludicrous, even though by far the greater part of the money expended on the latter is paid for imported labour from the towns—such as masons, joiners, plasterers, plumbers, slaters, and other like tradesmen.

The comparison has hitherto been made, however, only as between deer forests and sheep farms; not between deer forests or sheep farms, and a numerous thriving tenantry with mixed herds of black cattle and sheep as in the past, and such as the Report recommends in future as the best means for restoring the fertility of the soil. The force of this is felt by the Commissioners, for they fully admit that the formation of deer forests are calculated, in an altered form, to perpetuate an admited evil—"the absence of a graduated local representation of the various orders of society." This is specially felt in the case of the large pastoral farm, and it "is not much mitigated by the change of the farm to forest;" the "area, consolidated in a single hand, is greater still

the gulf between the labouring people and the leaders of social life is as wide as ever, the leaders are less concerned in local interests, and intermediate social positions are blotted out." This has been quoted at greater length already, but it is necessary to repeat it, at least in substance, here; in fact, it cannot be repeated too often.

The Commissioners conclude the portion of the Report dealing with deer forests and game in the following terms :—

"Having said this much on the origin of existing deer forests, and their effects on the various interests connected with them, and by which they are surrounded, we cannot close this branch of our Report without some reference to the results which might attend an unjustifiable extension of the area thus employed. It has been stated to us in evidence, that most of the land specially adapted by its natural features, and by the habits of the deer, for this purpose, and which can, without substantial injustice to other interests, be thus applied, is now appropriated, and that the formation of other forests, to any great extent, is not likely to take place. This may be the case, if we regard the practice of the sport over large areas, with the maximum amount of skill and exertion, such as the best class of stalkers desire to use, but we are not satisfied that, under the temptation of pecuniary inducements, especially at the present time, the afforestment of the country might not be expanded with sufficient opportunities for sport at lower altitudes, on better land, in a better climate, nearer to or within the zone of profitable cultivation and pasture, especially within those limits which might afford a suitable situation for the establishment of small holdings, and the extension of crofting cultivation. These considerations render it obligatory on us to guard ourselves distinctly against certain inferences which might be deduced from statements and admissions embodied in our preceding remarks. We have considered it our duty to record unequivocally the opinion that the dedication of large areas exclusively to the purposes of sport, as at present practised in the Highlands, does not involve a substantial diminution of food supply to the nation, and we have amply recognised the various benefits which are in many cases associated with the sporting system, where it is exercised in a liberal and judicious spirit. In doing this, our design has been to qualify and correct erroneous impressions which are prevalent in many quarters on this subject. We would not, however, have it thought that the views which we have here expressed, imply an approval of the present appropriation of land in all cases to unproductive uses, far less an indiscriminating application of additional tracts to a similar purpose in future."

Having referred to the areas available for the supply of the British markets, the means of transport, the powers of purchase and of consumption, the Commissioners hold that "as long as the sea is open, additional and more fruitful lands in our country might still be sterilised, without any available effect on the quantity or price of provisions accessible to the industrial classes."

"Yet," they ask, "who would admit that Scotland should be made a wilderness, even if the inhabitants were provided with better lands and more lucrative occupations elsewhere? No one could contemplate the conversion of the whole extent of good pasture land, and of possible arable land, at a moderate elevation in the Highlands into forests, without alarm and reprobation, and it is scarcely necessary to say that any serious movement towards such an issue would be arrested by the force of public opinion, attended with an amount of irritation much to be deprecated. We do not anticipate with any degree of certainty that the contingency to which we have adverted would arise, but considering the divergency of opinion expressed, the possibility of unfortunate results, and the prevailing excitement in connection with this question, we may well consider whether your Majesty's Government and Parliament may not contemplate such legislative restrictions as would restrain the progressive and immoderate afforestment of land, and allay the apprehensions which are widely felt upon this subject."

The Commissioners then proceed to indicate the lines on which legislation might proceed. Provisions should be framed by which the crofting class would be protected against further curtailment of their present arable or pasture lands—as well as of areas which might hereafter be found suitable for expanding cultivation and small holdings—for the purposes of deer forests. No land should be withdrawn from the crofting class for this purpose in any circumstances, "except in exchange for other lands of like value and convenience, and with the free consent of the occupiers." The Report continues—

"The appropriation of land to the purposes of deer forests might be prohibited below a prescribed contour line of elevation, so drawn as to mark in a general but effective way the limit of profitable root and cereal cultivation, of artificial pasture, and of pasture adapted for wintering live stock—a line which, on the east side of Scotland, in a high latitude, might be approximately fixed at an altitude of 1000 feet above the sea level, and on the western seaboard, at a lower level than 1000 feet, making

allowance locally for the convenience of the march. The advantage attached to this system would be, that the area of land which could possibly be devoted to sport would be circumscribed once for all, and all indefinite apprehensions, whether on the part of the farmer, the crofter, or the public at large, would be set at rest. The disadvantage attached to the hard and fast boundary would, on the other hand, be that the line might in some cases include for the purposes of sport exceptional spots available for profitable use, and might in others, especially on the West Coast, exclude rugged and precipitous tracts, extending to the very verge of the salt water, of little use to the crofter or farmer, from situation or quality, but yet well suited for deer."

An alternative proposal is made that, before any land is withdrawn from arable or pastoral occupancy, a Government officer should inspect and report upon it, and that any portions of it suitable for cultivation or for wintering sheep should be reserved, while the remainder could be used by the proprietor at his discretion. In the case of the formation of a new deer forest, or of the addition of new land to an existing one, at whatever elevation, it is proposed that "The proprietor should be bound to expend a certain sum, say not less than three years' agricultural rental of the area so applied, in forming plantations or in the construction of buildings, fences, roads, and other permanent works." Lands "exclusively devoted to deer," not let or proposed to be let to a sporting tenant, but reserved intentionally for the use of the proprietor," should be assessed "on the basis of the sporting rent, and not on the basis of the agricultural value as is at present the case."

The Commissioners decline to recommend the adoption of a proposal "frequently submitted" to them, "namely, that a special rate of assessment should be imposed on the annual value of lands used for the purpose of deer-stalking alone"; for their object is to control the abuse of forests—"not to punish or impoverish the landlord"; and they do not think that an additional tax would go far to prevent afforestment, thought it might raise the rent to the lessee, and diminish the return to the proprietor, while it would act indiscriminately in all cases, whether the appropriation of the land was harmless or injurious.

But, as already stated, a curious, inexplicable, and most inequitable finding follows these recommendations. It must be given entire, in the words of the Commissioners. Here it is—

"The preceding remarks are not intended to apply to existing forests. We would not think it equitable that these areas should be subjected to exceptional legislation, other than that which may be made applicable to agricultural or pastoral lands, even at the termination of current leases. Existing forests here have been cleared of sheep, consolidated, arranged for a specific use, and furnished with appropriate buildings, roads, fences, and other ameliorations, often at considerable expense, under the sanction of existing laws. Valuable interests have thus grown up, which could not be set aside without imposing on the proprietor greater sacrifices than he could be justly required to undergo."

Criticising the township proposals of the majority of the Commissioners, especially the proposal for the establishment of new townships, Lochiel declares that to entertain the hope that any proprietor will knowingly add to the crofting population on his estate emigrants from other districts, is to assume that men are governed by benevolent considerations to the total exclusion of all motives of self interest, a theory in which he is "unable to concur." We have already quoted Sir Kenneth Mackenzie where he contrasts the landlords' "pecuniary interests" with philanthropic schemes for increasing the number of agricultural occupiers, and says that "while human nature remains what it is, I fear philanthropy will be the weaker of these two motives." No better illustration of this weakness and this view of personal interests could be found than those exhibited by the excellent proposals made by the Commissioners respecting *future* deer forests; but which they recommend should not be applied to existing forests. Oh no! Lochiel's forests cover an area of 56,260 acres, and Sir Kenneth Mackenzie's 45,540 acres, and from these they draw large revenues, not to mention that weakness of human nature which always stands up for the existing interests of a privileged class. On no principle whatever, which excludes the consideration of the weaknesses of human nature, can the distinction made in the recommendation of the Commissioners between existing and future deer forests be explained!

Game.—The Report fully admits "the ravages of ground game, and the mischief done to corn in stook by flying game.' As to the latter they recommend that compensation should

"Be awarded to the sufferer in a manner more summary than has hitherto been used, by means of valuation made on the

spot by two arbiters, with an oversman to be appointed by the Sheriff, whose decision should be final as to the amount in which the adjacent proprietor is liable."

Referring to the loss inflicted on the tenant by hares and rabbits, the Commissioners say—

"There appears to be some ignorance prevailing among the small tenants as to the tenor and intention of the Act, and an impression in some places that they cannot exercise their statutory rights, with regard to the destruction of game on their holdings, for fear of incurring the displeasure of their landlord. Nor can we affirm," they say, "that this impression is entirely without foundation. We have, indeed, met with no instance in which a tenant has been disturbed on account of exerting his lawful powers, but we have met with two factors who, when interrogated on the subject, were not able to state unequivocally that the tenants were at perfect liberty to act as they pleased in this respect without any fear of bad consequences ensuing."

These two factors are, our old friend Mr Alexander Macdonald, of Isle of Skye proportions, and Mr Adam Hoon, factor for Mr Hebden of Eday, in Orkney. Having heard the evidence of the one and read that of the other, we are much surprised at the extreme sensitiveness displayed by the Commissioners in the Report by the negative form in which the refusal, and, indeed, the whole paragraph, is put; while the fact is notorious throughout the whole Highlands that no tenant-at-will dare exercise his statutory rights of killing a rabbit destroying his crop, without endangering his position in his holding, on the great majority of Highland estates. The Commissioners, however, very emphatically declare that—

"It is very desirable that proprietors should make it clearly known to the small tenants-at-will, who are imperfectly informed and in a precarious position, that they can freely and safely use their rights in the destruction of ground game."

It is to be hoped that this recommendation will be at once given effect to; but it requires a stronger faith than we possess to believe that proprietors, generally or largely, will do anything of the kind. When it is done we shall be very glad to publish the fact in each case, if requested to do so, free of charge.

(To be continued.)

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

XV.—Celtic Burial Rites.

The customs at burial and the disposal of the dead among the early Celts can only be discovered in a general way. The earlier Aryan races evidently burned the bodies of the dead, preserved the bones in urns, and raised over them a circular mound. The poems of Homer present us with what may be regarded as typical examples of early Greek and Celtic burials. A pyre of wood was constructed, and on the top of it the body was laid. Sheep and oxen were slain, their fat was placed about and upon the body, and their carcases were heaped around it. Jars of honey and oil were placed on the pile. Horses, favourite dogs, and captives were slain and cast on the pyre, and the whole set on fire. A wail was raised and the dead addressed by name. When the fire burned low, it was finally extinguished with wine, the bones were collected—"the whitened bones," as the poet says—and placed in an urn of gold. Then they dug a grave, and raised over it a mound. In historic times, in Greece and Republican Rome, the burning of the dead was the exception, not the rule; but in Imperial Rome the custom revived, and became the rule, while inhumation, at least of the better classes, was the exception. Christianity, however, finally stopped the burning of the dead. The old mounds had also developed into the elegance of built tombs, vaults, and monuments with inscriptions and other accessories of civilisation Among the Celts of Gaul in Cæsar's time, evidently the Homeric age of burial was still prevalent; all the classical writers of that and the succeeding century testify to the burning of the bodies among the Gauls, but they are silent as to the character of the tombs. "Their funerals," Cæsar says, "are magnificent and costly, considering their civilisation; and all that they think was dear to them when alive they put in the fire, even animals; and shortly before this generation the slaves and dependants that they were considered to have loved, were burned along with them in the regular performance of funeral rites." Mela confirms this fully: "They burn and bury along with the dead whatever is of use to

them when alive, and there were some who, of their own free will, cast themselves on the funeral piles of their relatives, expecting to live along with them." Thus, we have not merely the burning of the bodies, but also the burning of things useful in this life, and more especially of slaves and relatives; the latter practice having become, previous to historic times, obsolete. No trace of the remembrance of a time when the dead were burnt can be found in the earliest histories and myths of Ireland or Britain, although abundance of instances occur where personal and other property has been *buried* along with the dead; and even the immolation of captives is not unknown, as when the Munster hostages were buried alive around the grave of Fiachra, about the end of the fourth century of our era. Sacrifice of animals is referred to in the story of Etain, the fairy queen of Eochaid Airem, who was left to "dig the *Fert* (grave), to raise the wail, and slay the quadrupeds," for Ailill the king's brother. Burial of arms is mentioned more than once; an old "Druidic" poem celebrates the fall of Mog-Neid, King of Munster in the second century of our era; it says—

> "The grave of Mog-Neid is on Magh Tualaing,
> With his lance at his shoulder,
> With his club, so rapid in action,
> With his helmet, with his sword."

The Scottish Gaelic "Lay of Dargo" presents us with a much more touching and important instance of devotion than any of these. Dargo's wife expressed her love for her husband when the concocted story of his death was brought to her, the effects of which killed her, in these words—

> "Chi mi 'n seobhag, chi mi 'n cù
> Leis an d'roinn mo rùn an t-sealg,
> 'S o na b'ionmhuinn leis an triuir,
> Càirear sinn 'san ùir le Dearg."
>
> I see the hawk, I see the hound,
> With which my love performed the chase,
> And as the three to him were bound,
> Let us in earth with Dearg have place.

What kind of tomb was erected over them? In answer to this question, we are at once referred to the numerous barrows and tumuli scattered over the country, and more especially in Ireland, where the remarkable mounds on the Boyne could not fail to attract the attention of all ages. "The traditions and

history of the mound-raising period have in other countries passed away," says Standish O'Grady very truly; "but in Ireland they have been all preserved in their original fulness and vigour, hardly a hue has faded, hardly a minute circumstance has been suffered to decay." A proud claim is this, and one which for the very uniqueness among the nations that it postulates for Ireland, invites criticism and suspicion. The Euhemerist historians and scribes of Ireland have woven an intimate chain of connection between every event of their modest (!) four thousand years' chronology and the topography of their country; be it the fortunes of Cesair before the Flood, or of Partolan immediately after, or of Brian Boromh a generation or two before the writer's time, yet every event is chronicled with a minuteness of genealogy, detail, and localisation that is quite oblivious of the perspective of time, the long roll of ages with their change of customs, and the uncertainty as to the far distant past. We saw that the Irish gods were changed to kings; nay, more, their tombs can still be seen on the banks of the Boyne! There are the barrows of the Dagda and his heroes, and there, too, Cuchulain rests beneath his mound. But just about his time Eochaid Airem had introduced the practice of simple burial beneath the earth, and had abolished the old custom of burying the dead "by raising great heaps of stones over their bodies." These barrows are, mythologically considered, pre-Celtic; they are beyond the ken of Irish history and myth, just as much as the Cromlechs are, which popular archæology accounts for as the "Beds of Diarmat and Grainne" or "Granna's Beds"—the beds occupied by this pair in their flight before Finn. Considered, again archæologically, they belong also to the races that preceded the Celts, as the character of the interments and of the accompanying articles proves. We have, however, continued reference in the myths and tales to the burial of early Christian times—the grave, the stone over it, and the inscription. How little the Irish writers understood the change of customs wrought by time is seen in the description by an Irish writer of the 12th century of the burial of Patroclus at Troy; Achilles "built his tomb, and he set up his stone and wrote his name." Homer's account has already been given. The Irishman described the custom of his own time as existing in the time of the Trojan War.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XIX.

THE 'FORTY-FIVE—*(Continued.)*

SIR WALTER SCOTT, speaking of Lochiel's character, says that he was one of the most honourable and well-intentioned persons in whom the patriarchal power was ever lodged. "Far from encouraging the rapine which had been, for a long time, objected to the men of Lochaber, he made the most anxious exertions to put a stop to it by severe punishment; and while he protected his own people and his allies, he would not permit them to inflict any injury upon others. He encouraged among them such kinds of industry as they could be made to apply themselves to, and in general united the high spirit of a Highland Chief with the sense of a well-educated English gentleman of fortune. Although possessed of an estate, of which the income hardly amounted to seven hundred a-year, this celebrated Chief brought fourteen hundred men into the Rebellion, and he was honourably distinguished by his endeavours on all occasions to mitigate the severities of war, and deter the insurgents from acts of vindictive violence."* The same writer says, referring to the Chief's generous decision to join the Prince at the outset, against his own better judgment:—"Thus was Lochiel's sagacity overpowered by his sense of what he esteemed honour and loyalty, which induced him to front the prospect of ruin with a disinterested devotion, not unworthy the best days of chivalry. His decision was the signal for the commencement of the rebellion; for it was generally understood that there was not a Chief in the Highlands who would have risen had Lochiel maintained his pacific purpose," and he adds that, as an example to the rest of his followers, he went the length of ordering one of his men to be shot. After passing the Forth, on the march from Perth to Edinburgh, abuses were committed by the army—taking sheep in the neighbourhood, and shooting them against orders. It has been stated that he actually shot this man by his own hand, but the statement is not

* *Tales of a Grandfather.*

credible. It is, no doubt, founded on Dougal Graham's *Metrical History of the Rebellion.* The Glasgow Bellman, who appears to have been present, says :—

Here for a space they took a rest,
And had refreshment of the best
The country round could then afford,
Though many found but empty board,
As sheep and cattle were drove away,
Yet hungry men sought for their prey ;
Took milk and butter, kirn and cheese,
Of all kinds of eatables they seize ;
And he who could not get a share,
Sprang to the hills like dogs for hare ;
There shot the sheep and made them fall,
Whirled off the skin, and that was all ;
Struck up fire and boiled the flesh,
With salt and pepper did not fash ;
They did enrage the Cameron Chief,
To see his men so play the thief ;
And finding one into the act,
He fired and shot him through the back ;
Then to the rest himself addressed :
"This is your lot, I do protest—
Whoe'er amongst you wrongs a man :
Pay what you get, I tell you plain ;
For yet we know not friend or foe,
Nor how all things may chance to go."

Referring to the part Dr Archibald Cameron took in improving the habits of the people of Lochaber, before Culloden, the author of the Historical Account of his Life says, after describing the former habits of the people, "that the whole Clan, by means of his and his brother's instructions and regulations, were greatly reformed in their morals; honesty and industry increased everywhere by the encouragement given by their patrons, who took all imaginable pains to instruct them in the principles of justice and religion, and to civilise their manners by teaching them to behave like rational and sociable creatures." The same writer records the change which came over them under these influences, before the battle of Culloden :—"At the breaking out of the Rebellion," he says, "the clan was judged to consist of about 800 fighting men, fit to bear arms, bold, stout fellows, and trained up in the exercise of arms; but what was most to their praise, they were not so addicted to pilfering and robbing their neighbours, which most of the other clans in the Highlands were

notorious for, particularly the Macdonalds; for young Lochiel being a man of honour and probity himself, took abundance of pains, nor was his brother the Doctor less assiduous in reforming the people of his clan and to infuse into them true notions of justice and honesty, and as Lochiel was the Chief Magistrate amongst them, he punished their excesses with a becoming severity, and at the same time endeavoured to inculcate into them better principles, and juster notions of right and wrong than they had hitherto learned. So that though he was both beloved and feared by great numbers of them, yet there were many who hated both him and his brother, because they would not suffer them to spoil and plunder their neighbours, which was allowed by most of the other chiefs of the clans; but Lochiel little regarded their clamour on that account. He knew his authority was sufficient to keep them in subjection, and he gave himself no trouble about anything they should report against his administration."

Lochiel kept up a regular correspondence, both with the Chevalier and the Prince during his residence in France. Many of these letters are printed in the *Stuart Papers*, and they help to illustrate several incidents in Lochiel's latter days not generally known. They will especially show how urgently he advocated another expedition to the Highlands, to regain the British Crown for the Stuarts, and how his services had been appreciated by the Chevalier and Prince Charles; how a patent of peerage was made out in his favour, though his father was still alive; and various other facts in connection with himself, his family, and friends. Several of these letters are given at length in the now completed History of the Camerons, about being issued in a separate volume.

In one of these the Chevalier de St George, writing to Prince Charles, from Albano, on the 7th November 1747, says :—

I have received my dearest Carluccio's of the 16th October, and am very glad Lochiel has at last got a regiment. I remark, and take well of you, that you do not directly ask of me to declare Lochiel's title, for after what I already wrote to you on such matters, you could not but be sensible that these were things I could not do at this time, were I not to declare all the latent patents (which are in great number), and which it would be highly improper to do. I should please but one, and disgust a great many other deserving people, and in Lochiel's case I should particularly disoblige the other clans, who have all warrants as well as he. Neither is Lord Lismore's case a precedent for others, since his title had not been declared without he

had come to be about me in the way he is. Lochiel's interest and reputation in his own country, and his being at the head of a regiment in France, will make him more considered there than any empty title I could give him; and as he knows the justice both you and I do his merits and services, I am sure he is too reasonable to take amiss my not doing now what would be of no use to him, and would be very improper and inconvenient for us.

Donald Cameron was "a man of good parts, great probity, of an amiable disposition, universally esteemed, and was at great pains to soften and polish the manners of his clan."* He married Anne, daughter of Sir James Campbell, fifth Baronet of Auchinbreck, with issue—

1. John, his heir and successor, born in 1732.

2. James, a man "of great hopes and spirit," a Captain in the Royal Regiment of Scots, in the service of France, commanded by Lord Lewis Drummond. He died, unmarried, in 1759.

3. Charles, who succeeded his brother John as Chief of the clan.

4. Isabel, who married Colonel Mores of the French service.

5. Janet, who died a nun in the Carmelite Convent, Paris.

6. Henriet, who married Captain Portin of the French service, without surviving issue.

7. Donalda, who died unmarried.

The "Gentle Lochiel" died on the 26th of October 1748, at Borgue, of inflammation in the head, having been Chief for less than a year, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

XX. JOHN CAMERON, described as "a man of extraordinary merits, who inherited all the virtues of his worthy ancestors, and was esteemed by all who knew him." When his father died he was only sixteen years old. He held the rank of Captain in his father's regiment, and afterwards in the Royal Scots. His position in France will appear from the following correspondence, which will also throw additional light on the events surrounding the death of his father, and conclusively establish the esteem in which Lochiel and his family were held by the ex-king and his son.

On the 4th of November 1748, Drummond of Balhaldy, under the signature of "Malloch," wrote from Paris to the Chevalier de St George :—

* *Douglas's Baronage.*

It is so long since the situation of affairs I had any concern in, permitted my troubling your Majesty directly with accounts from this place, that it becomes cruel in me now to be obliged to begin to inform you of the loss your Majesty has of the most faithful and zealously devoted subject ever served any Prince, in the person of Donald Cameron of Lochiel. He died the 26th of last month of an inflammation within his head at Borgue, where he had been for some time with his regiment, and where I had the melancholy satisfaction to see all means used for his preservation, but to no valuable effect. There is no great moment to be made of the death of people who continue in their duty to your Majesty, having no temptation to swerve from it, or of others who have an affectation of zeal and duty to procure themselves subsistence, nor even those whose distresses, when personal, or flowing from oppressive tyranny, determine to be freed of the load by all reasonable means. Lochiel was not in any of their cases. He had all the temptations laid in his way that government could. The late Duke of Argyll, Duncan Forbes, the President, and the Justice Clerk, never gave over laying baits for him, though they knew his mind was as immovable as a mountain on that article, and since he came here he has not been left at ease. The Duke of Cumberland caused information that, if he applied in the simplest manner to him, he would never quit his father's knees, until he had obtained his pardon and favour: this he disdained, or rather had a horror at. I need say no more; his own services and the voice of your Majesty's enemies, speak loudly the loss. The Prince has very graciously interested himself in procuring the regiment Lochiel had for his eldest son, which his Royal Highness has charged Mr Lally to solicit for along with other officers. It is very unhappy that this Lally has been for some time heartily hated by the Minister. I am afraid his appearance will hurt the youth as well as the other affair he is charged with, but there is no help for it. The Prince was positive, and would not allow Sullivan to be employed in it, notwithstanding he had all along agented with the Court as the public affairs Lochiel had since his arrival here. All I can do is to go to Fountainbleau privately, and give what assistance I can for the support of that numerous afflicted family. Had I had the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of that Regiment, as your Majesty graciously inclined I should, and my deceased cousin [Lochiel] wished, above everything on this side of the water; this nomination could have met with no difficulty, because the king and the minister of war would have confided in me for conducting the regiment until Lochiel was of age to do it himself; but my being named to that or any other thing while his Royal Highness continues here and keeps Mr Kelly to advise him, is inconsistent with the duty and respect both Lochiel and I owed him, and either of us would have suffered anything rather than oppose his will in what regarded ourselves. . . . I am afraid that I shall not be able to continue the connexion and correspondence Lochiel and I had with the Highlands; what was easy for us to have done while he lived and had a regiment, without putting your Majesty to any expense.

To this letter the Chevalier replied from Rome, on the 3rd of December 1748, as follows:—

I received last week yours of the 4th November, I had already heard of Lochiel's death: it is a loss to the cause, and I am truly concerned for it; if my recommendation to the Court of France comes in time and has its effect, young Lochiel will have his father's regiment, and on this and all other occasions I shall be always glad to shew him the great sense I retain of the merits of that family. . . . . I desire

Lochiel's lady, his brother, and his son, may find here my condolence on their late loss, which I sincerely share with them.

On the 16th of December 1748, Dr Archibald Cameron wrote to the Chevalier de St George, from Paris :—

I, upon having the honour, for the first time of troubling your Majesty with a letter, or rather an apology for not writing sooner, to acquaint your Majesty that my brother Lochiel died on the 26th of October last of ten days' sickness, at a time the most fatal and unlucky for his family and his clan it could have happened, having just completed his regiment at great expense and considerable exertions and upon the way of reaping the benefits of it towards the maintaining his wife and six children, and providing for some of his friends and dependents, who lost comfortable living to join him in the late desperate and unsuccessful struggle we had in behalf of His Royal Highness in Scotland, and for a little time in England ; but now, by his death, they are reduced to the miserable situation they were in before the King of France was pleased, through the application of His Royal Highness, to grant the regiment. Next day after my brother's death I brought my nephew, of sixteen years of age, in order to lay him flat at His Majesty's feet ; then, by His Majesty's approbation, to present him to the King of France. Accordingly His Highness made application, and on the 7th of November gave in a memorial asking the Regiment for my nephew, and if thought too young, that I, being at present Captain of Grenadiers, Commandant (in absence of the Lieutenant-Colonel), and his uncle, would manage the Regiment till he was of age, as I am resolved to attend and serve my brother's children and my own, especially as that of Spain does not answer. I would have forwarded a letter I wrote more regular and more fully on the 12th of November, designed for your Majesty ; but rather than add in the least to your Majesty's uneasiness by subjects of this kind, and thinking that the Court of France would determine the fate of the Regiment long ere now, I kept it from being sent, knowing His Royal Highness would be so good as acquaint your Majesty before the present situation of affairs would induce His Highness to leave Paris. All our corps, and all the remains of Lochiel's family, are unanimously inclined to have my nephew, and Regiment if obtained, under my directions at present, as is my nephew himself. I beg your Majesty will give assistance towards it.

On the 23rd of the same month, Dr Cameron wrote him again, urging similar reasons to those stated in his letter of the 16th as above.

On the 23rd of December 1748, John Cameron himself wrote to the Chevalier de St George in the following terms :—

Mr Macgregor of Balhaldy was so good as to show me a paragraph of a letter from your Majesty this day. It gives me the greatest pleasure to find your Majesty has such a sense of the sufferings of the family I now represent and the death of my father, and could anything add to my loyalty and attachment to your Majesty's royal cause, your seasonable interposition to the Court of France in my favour requires it. In principles of loyalty to your august family I was educated from my tenderest years, and in the same (through God's assistance), I steadfastly purpose to live. And as my nonage doth make me incapable of rendering your Majesty's service all the assistance that could be expected from me and my family, I have appointed Archibald, my uncle, curator and sole manager in all my affairs. I beg leave to inform your

Majesty the motives that induced me to this step, which are: he is my full uncle, so that I believe his sincerity to be unexceptionable. He also, from the Prince's going to Scotland, was equally concerned with my father, and then got so much the heart of the clan I represent, that the cruelties committed on them by their barbarous enemies, would not deter them from cheerfully engaging in the royal cause at any time, if, during my minority, they should be commanded by him; to this step I have the unanimous consent of all my friends from Scotland, by express, upon hearing of my father's death, and the officers of the Regiment.

The Chevalier replied to these letters from Rome on the 14th of January 1749, addressed to Dr Cameron :—

I received, some days ago, your letters of the 16th December, and, since, that of the 23rd, with one from your nephew, Lochiel, of the same date. It is true I took a very particular share in the great loss you have lately made, being well acquainted with your brothers, and your family's merit with me, and truly sensible of the many marks they have given us of it, as I now am of the sentiments expressed in your letters. By what I lately heard I am afraid Lochiel's regiment will be reformed, but in that case I understand that the officers will be still taken care of, and your nephew and his mother have pensions. I should be very sorry for this reform, neither do I see what I can well do to prevent it, after the very strong recommendation I had already made that the said regiment might be given to your nephew; but you may be sure that nothing that can depend upon me will ever be neglected which may tend to the advantage of your family, and of so many brave and honest gentlemen. This would be a very improper time to mention you to the Court of Spain, but some months hence I shall be able to recommend you to that Court, and in such a manner as I hope may succeed, if they are any wise disposed to favour you. The Duke [of York] takes very kindly of you the compliments you made him, and I have often heard him speak of you with much esteem and in the manner you deserve. I don't write in particular to your nephew, since I could but repeat what I have here said, and to which I have nothing to add, but to assure you both of my constant regard and kindness.

On the 27th of April 1753, John Cameron of Lochiel wrote to the Chevalier de St George, from Paris :—

As your Majesty's enemies have taken possession of my estate in Scotland, and since I have nothing to depend upon in that country till it pleases God to restore the Royal family, I have now no resource but to push my fortune in the French service. I have been a Captain since the year 1747, and am told, that, upon proper application, I might obtain a Colonel's Brevet, especially as the recommendation His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, gave my father, has made our family and their sufferings known to them. If your Majesty would be graciously pleased to write in my favour, I am hopeful it will have the desired effect.

In 1759, John returned to Scotland, where his affable and obliging manner made him universally regarded and beloved. He died of a lingering illness at Edinburgh, in October 1762, unmarried. His next brother, James, having died before him, in 1759, John was succeeded, as representative of the family, by his next surviving brother,

XXI. CHARLES CAMERON, third son of the "Gentle Lochiel." He had a commission in the Old 71st, or Fraser Highlanders, when it was first embodied, on which occasion he raised a Company, numbering 120, of his clansmen. He obtained leases of parts of the forfeited family estates on easy terms from the Crown. When his regiment was ordered on foreign service, in 1776, he was lying dangerously ill in London, but hearing that his clansmen objected to embark in Glasgow, where they were quartered, without him, he hastened north; but on his arrival in that city he was pleased to find that the persuasive eloquence of Colonel Simon Fraser of Lovat, commander of the regiment, had the desired effect upon his men, in getting them to return to their duty, especially as Captain Charles Cameron of Fassiefern had been appointed to command them; but the exertion put forth on the journey from London to Glasgow was too much for his then delicate state of health, and he died a few weeks after, universally respected and lamented. He was received in Glasgow, on his arrival, with great demonstration and enthusiasm, where it was generally believed that it was his father who prevented the city from being burnt and plundered in 1746, by the followers of Prince Charles, on their return to the Highlands. Lochiel, in 1767, married Miss Marshall, with issue:—

1. Charles, born in 1768, and died young.
2. Donald, his father's successor, born in 1769.
3. John, born in 1771.
4. Archibald, born in 1774.
5. Charles, born in 1776.
6. Anne, born in 1773, and married Vaughan Foster, a Major in the army, with issue—a son, Charles Foster, married, with issue.

Charles died in 1776, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

XXII. DONALD CAMERON, a minor, seven years old, to whom the estates, previously vested in the Crown by Act of Parliament, were restored subject to a fine of £3432, under the Act of General Indemnity, passed in 1784. This Lochiel built the Mansion-House of Achnacarry, early in the present century, after a design by Mr Gillespie, a distinguished architect. In *Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands*, by the late Joseph Mitchell,

C.E., Inverness, we find a description of a visit to Achnacarry in 1837, in which he says:—"We went through the rooms. The house had been built some thirty-five years previously, and was all but finished when Lochiel's father became disgusted with the place, left it, and never returned. We found that the plaster ornaments of the ceiling lay all that time on the floor ready to be fixed, and the doors of the rooms, of beautiful Highland pine, grown brown with age, leaned against the wall ready to be screwed on. They had remained in this position for thirty-five years. The present year [1837] Lochiel arranged to have the house completed, which has been done, and it is now a handsome residence worthy of the Chief. With his French training and education (he was then 54 or 55 years old) and his want of acquaintance with the old clan, and the customs of the country, it can easily be imagined how distasteful a Highland life must have been to him."

He married, on the 23rd of April 1795, Anne eldest daughter of the famous General, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Baronet, of Tullibody. She died on the 17th of September 1844. By her Lochiel had issue—

1. Donald, his heir, born on the 25th of September 1796.

2. Rev. Alexander Cameron, born in 1806, and educated in Edinburgh and Oxford Universities. He graduated B.A., in 1834, and, in the same year, was ordained clerk in Holy Orders. He married on the 1st September 1835, Charlotte, daughter of the Hon. and Very Reverend Edward Rice, D.D., Dean of Gloucester. She was raised to the rank of a Peer's daughter on the succession of her brother, the Rev. Francis William Rice, in 1869, to the title of Baron Dynevor. Mr Cameron died in 1873, and his widow, the Hon. Charlotte Cameron, in 1882, leaving issue—(1) Ralph Abercrombie, who was born in 1839, and married in 1869, Charlotte Anne H. Yea, daughter of the Rev. Henry Thompson, and grand-daughter of the late Sir William Walter Yea, Bart. of Pyrland Hall, Somerset, with issue—Archibald Rice, born in 1870; John Ewen, born in 1874; Ralph Abercrombie, born in 1877; Eleonora Yea; and Christina Charlotte. (2) Edward Alexander, C.E., who, born in 1843, married in 1873, Emma, daughter of the late Rev. Edward Bankes, of Soughton Hall, Flintshire, Canon of Gloucester and

Bristol, and of the Hon. Maria Bankes, sister of the late Baron Dynevor, without issue. (3) Anne Emily; (4) Catherine Charlotte.

3. Mary Anne, who, on the 22nd of September 1864, married Lord John Hay, Rear-Admiral, R.N., C.B., third son of James, seventh Marquis of Tweeddale, without issue. She died on the 30th of November 1850; and he on the 27th of August 1851.

4. Matilda.

Lochiel died in 1832, when he was succeeded by his eldest son.

XXIII. DONALD CAMERON, a Captain in the Grenadier Guards. He was present at Waterloo; and he retired from the army in 1832. Of him Mr Mitchell says, that "unfortunately he was equally ignorant of the habits of Lochaber and its people" with his father, and that he "was obliged from ill-health to reside in England, and the administration of his estates was entrusted to his relative, Sir Duncan Cameron, under whom Mr Andrew Belford, a writer in Inverness, acted as factor, Sir Duncan placing implicit confidence in his management. With a view to increasing the rental, Mr Belford followed the then prevalent custom of removing the people and converting the hill-sides of Loch-Arkaig into sheep-farms." This Belford afterwards purchased the estate of Glenfintaig. "From time immemorial eight or nine families had lived on this estate. They were a remarkably fine race, distinguished for good dispositions, great size, and athletic frames. 'The Dochenassie men,' as they were called, were the beau-ideal of magnificent Highlanders. They had their cottages and arable crofts on the low ground near Loch-Lochy, and their sheep-farm was in common divided into nine parts, of which Mr Belford, when he purchased the estate, acquired one part. He granted these men leases of nine years, by which, according to the first Reform Act, he acquired nine votes in the County, and expected, no doubt, that the tenants would vote for him. Unfortunately at the first election the votes were found to be of no value, as Mr Belford, from his economical habits, omitted to have the leases stamped. By having a share of the sheep farm Mr Belford discovered that it was a very profitable concern, yielding about £100 per annum to each tenant, or £900 in all, which he thought he might as well secure to himself. Accordingly at the termination of their leases, all these men got notice to remove, and were cleared off." He retained the farm in his own hands, and in the

first winter of his occupancy, in 1852, he lost not less than 600 of his sheep in a severe snow-storm.

On the 31st of July 1832, Lochiel married Lady Vere Catherine Louisa Hobart, daughter of the Hon. George Vere Hobart, sister of Augustus Edward sixth and present Earl of Buckinghamshire, and grand-daughter of Alexander MacLean, XIV., of Coll, by his wife Catharine, eldest daughter of Cameron of Glendesseray. By this lady Lochiel had issue—

1. Donald, now of Lochiel, born on the 5th of April 1835.

2. George Hampden, born October 1840; died on the 23rd of June 1874, unmarried.

3. Anne Louisa, who died, unmarried, on the 24th of June 1864.

4. Julia Vere, who married, on the 14th of June 1870, Colonel Hugh Mackenzie, Commandant, Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, with issue—a son and daughter.

5. Sibella Matilda, born in 1838, and married the Rev. Henry George John Veitch, eldest son of the Rev. William Douglas Veitch, of Eliock, Dumfries-shire, with issue—George Douglas, Vere Matilda Lisette, and Sybil Eleanor.

6. Albinia Mary, born 1840, and died in 1861.

Lochiel died on the 4th of January 1859, when he was succeeded by his eldest son.

XXIV. DONALD CAMERON, now of Lochiel, and M.P. for the County of Inverness since 1868. In 1883-84, he was a member of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Grievances of the Highland Crofters. He was educated at Harrow, and was subsequently in the Diplomatic Service, first as Attache to Lord Elgin's Mission to China, in 1857, and afterwards to the Embassy at Berlin. From 1874 to 1880, he was Groom-in-waiting to the Queen. He is D.L. and J.P. for the County of Inverness, and D.L. for the County of Argyll. On the 9th of December 1875, he married Lady Margaret Elizabeth, second daughter of Walter, 5th Duke of Buccleuch, and 7th of Queensferry, K.G., with issue—

1. Donald Walter, his heir, born in 1876.
2. Ewen Charles, born in 1878.
3. Allan George, born in 1880.

[The families of Glenevis, Callart, Erracht, Worcester, Fassifern, and their offshoots, will be treated of at length in the separate work now being finished. An account of Dr Archibald Cameron, of the Forty-five, and his descendants, will be given here, as well as in the separate work.]

THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

ON the evening of Thursday, 10th of July, the first day of the Inverness Sheep and Wool Fair, the Thirteenth Annual Assembly of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, was held in the Music Hall, Union Street—Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Baronet, presiding, in the unavoidable absence of the Chief, Donald Cameron, Esq. of Lochiel, M.P., who was suffering from a severe attack of gout. The attendance of ladies and gentlemen was large, and the enthusiasm displayed show that the Gaelic cause is making rapid progress. The well known Gaelic poetess, Mrs Mary Mackellar, Bard of the Society, came all the way from Edinburgh to attend the meeting, and occupied a prominent place on the platform. Miss Watt acquitted herself with her usual success, and Miss Hutcheson did her part well. Mr Paul Fraser was fairly successful with "Mnathan a' Ghlinne" and other Gaelic songs, while Mr Hugh Fraser was scarcely up to his usual standard, there being more display than harmony in his performances. Nothing need be said of the others, but it may be stated generally, that there is much room for improvement in the Gaelic song department of future meetings. The disappearance of the Choir from recent Assemblies is a decided defect, and we trust to see it re-introduced on future occasions. There are many good Gaelic singers in our midst, if only they had sufficient confidence to present themselves, and every effort should be made to induce them to do so, and thus keep up the character of the annual entertainments of the Society.

Captain Macra Chisholm of Glassburn, moved that, in the unavoidable absence of Lochiel, Chief of the Society, Sir Kenneth Mackenzie should take the chair, a proposal which was received with applause. The Chairman was supported on the platform by Mrs Mary Mackellar; Captain Chisholm of Glassburn; Mr Reginald Macleod, younger of Macleod; Rev. Gavin Lang, West Parish Church, Inverness; Rev. A. C. Macdonald, Queen Street Free Church, Inverness; Bailie Macbean; Alexander Mackenzie, editor of the *Celtic Magazine*; Mr Kenneth Macdonald, Town-Clerk; Mr Chisholm, Kingston, Canada; Captain Burgess, Gairloch; Mr H. G. Cameron Corbett, London; Mr Colin Chisholm, Namur Cottage, Inverness; Mr James Barron, editor of the *Inverness Courier*; Mr A. C. Mackenzie, Maryburgh; Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., rector, Raining's School; Mr Donald Davidson, solicitor; Mr Hugh Rose, do.; Mr Wm. Mackenzie, secretary to the Society, etc. While the audience was assembling,

excellent bagpipe music was supplied by a large band of pipers, composed of Pipe-Major Maclennan, of the 2nd Battalion the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders; Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie, of the 3rd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders; Pipe-Major D. Ferguson, Inverness Highland Rifle Volunteers, and other pipers from each of the three regiments. The platform was nicely decorated, two magnificent Scottish thistles being placed on either side of the entrance to it. The Chairman first asked Mr William Mackenzie, the Secretary, to read the letters of apology.

Mr Mackenzie said he had yesterday a letter from Lochiel, stating that he was suffering from gout, and that it was possible he could not come North; but that he would make a special effort. On Wednesday night he had a telegram, intimating that Lochiel was worse, and that same afternoon he had received the following letter:—

"Montague House, Whitehall, July 9, 1884.

"DEAR SIR,—The hope which I expressed in my letter of yesterday has, I regret to say, not been realised, and this morning my foot is so painful that I can hardly put it to the ground; much less ought I to attempt to travel. You cannot on my behalf express too forcibly the extreme disappointment which my enforced absence from the anniversary meeting of the Gaelic Society causes me, while, if it be not presumptuous to say so, the belief that this disappointment will be shared in by others, sensibly aggravates my own regret. It is certainly most unfortunate that of all weeks in the year I should be a prisoner during the present one, when business engagements, as well as the duty which I owe to the Gaelic Society, demanded my presence in Inverness. Trusting that my enforced absence may interfere as little as possible with the success of your meeting, I am, yours very faithfully, DONALD CAMERON."

Mr Mackenzie, continuing, said—On learning this, the Council of the Society instructed him to communicate, by telegram, with Sir Kenneth Mackenzie—(Applause) and he had put the Society under another debt of gratitude to him by acceding to the request. (Applause.) Another gentleman, whom they hoped to be present, was Lord Dunmore; but he, like Lochiel, was also suffering from gout—(Laughter)—and unable to move freely about. Mr Macdonald of Skaebost was also intended to be present, but he telegraphed from Edinburgh as follows:—"Sorry I cannot be with you to-night, as I am laid up with gout. (Loud laughter.) I wish you a most pleasant evening, which I am sure you will have with such a chief as Lochiel." (Applause.)

Letters of apology were also received from Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P.; Cluny Macpherson of Cluny, C.B.; Sheriff Nicolson; Mr A. R. Mackenzie, yr. of Kintail; Professor Mackinnon, Rev. Roderick Morison, Kintail; Rev. A. D. Mackenzie, Kilmorack; Rev. L. Maclachlan, Glasgow; Mr Duncan Forbes of Culloden; Mr Angus Mackintosh of Holme; Mr John Mackay, C.E., Hereford; Captain D. P. Macdonald, of Fort-William; Mr Clunas, Nairn; and Captain O'Sullivan, Inverness.

Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, who, on rising, was received with applause, said—Ladies and gentlemen,—You will see from the programme that the first item is an address by the Chief. Unfortunately, as you have heard, the Chief is not able to be present, and I am not able to give you an address. (Laughter.) But there is one thing that you will notice, and that is that the leading members of this Association belong to a highly respectable class, for they are all afflicted with a highly respectable complaint. (Laughter.) That complaint, however, though very respectable, is, I am afraid, a very painful one, and one that is excessively exasperating under all circumstances, and particularly so when it prevents people from fulfilling engagements of a social nature,

such as that of this evening is. And as Lochiel cannot be here to-night, I am sure you will sympathise with him in his unfortunate position, and will give expression to that feeling at the close of the programme. (Applause.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have been summoned here to-night by telegraph, but I must confess I have nothing particular to say. Politics are properly forbidden. It does seem rather hard on one who reads the papers, and sees nothing in them but politics, to find that he is not permitted to touch upon what he sees and hears daily. (Laughter.) But this is altogether a literary society, though I am afraid the literary duties are being mostly deputed to Mr Mackenzie, and I think we are very fortunate in having so energetic and able a secretary as he has proved himself to be. (Applause.) I think the Society recognises that the greater part of the papers in our Transactions comes from his pen. I remember when I had the honour of presiding at the annual dinner a year and a half ago, I made certain suggestions to the members of this Association as to subjects which they might take up or read papers upon for our Transactions. I confess myself that I felt incompetent, or had sufficient excuse to do nothing myself, but I was anxious that some one else should do something. I suggested that somebody might read an account of how our Highland regiments were raised. Since that time very nteresting evidence came out during the Crofter Commission as to how our Highland regiments were raised, and we were also told in that connection that Highland proprietors were then more tyrannical than those of the present day, even objectionable as proprietors to-day are supposed to be. (Laughter.) Another subject has lately occurred to me. I think it would be very interesting if any member of this Association, and there are a great many here to-night from all parts of the country, would take up and publish a treatise upon Highland surnames. There are a number of curious English names in the West which do not correspond with the Gaelic names. For instance, there is the name of Livingstone, which is translated as *Mac-an-leigh*. I cannot myself understand what the connection between these two names is. There are a great many similar translations. We have the surnames of Brown, Smith, and Grey. I am told Brown is called *Mac-'ille-dhuinn*, and Grey *Mac-'ille-ghlais*. This is an interesting subject, and I think it would be very desirable that some facts regarding it should be put on record. (Applause.) Now, the efforts of this Association have always been directed to get Gaelic introduced into our Highland schools, and those of you who have taken an interest in the report of the Crofter Commission will have seen that the Commissioners have recommended legislation pretty much on the lines suggested by this Society. (Applause.) Whether anything will come of it, I cannot say. But I think there is one way in which the Society might still do a great deal of good with reference to this question of teaching Gaelic in schools. There is undoubtedly great difficulty in getting Gaelic-speaking teachers for our Highland schools. Gaelic-speaking teachers are ambitious like other teachers. The best men go where the best salaries are to be got, and the best salaries are not always to be found on the West Coast. At all events it would require an unusual amoun of public spirit to give salaries on the West Coast which would enable them to secure the services of the best men. At the same time, it is eminently desirable that the best Gaelic-speaking teachers should hold positions in Gaelic-speaking districts : and I think that this Society should bring its influence to bear on Highland School Boards in this respect. (Applause.) It is surely ridiculous to suppose that a man who cannot understand the children, and whom the children cannot understand, could be able to impart anything like a real education to these children. (Applause.) I do not mean to say that there are not high class men who have not a knowledge of Gaelic and who are able to do wonders; but there are teachers who discover that the children

are stupid, because they do not understand the children, and the children do not understand them. It seems to me that, in these circumstances, it is not at all remarkable that the teacher should think that he found the children stupid. (Applause.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am not here prepared with an address, and I feel somewhat in the position of that unfortunate minister who did not know much Gaelic, and of whom our friend, the Rev. Mr Mackenzie, of Kilmorack, told us a story at the meeting when this Society was inaugurated. That unfortunate clergyman had great difficulty in getting up his sermon, and when it was got up it was not very edifying to the people. (Laughter.) His Gaelic was limited, and after preaching a quarter-of-an-hour, he wound up by saying—"Tha mi cinnteach gu bheil sibhse sgith dhiomsa, agus tha mise seachd sgith dhibhse." "I am sure you are tired of me, and I am seven times tired of you." (Laughter and applause.) As this meeting is one for amusement, and as there is an entertainment before you, I will say no more, but I hope that any weariness you may have felt during the last few minutes will speedily pass away. (Loud applause.)

The first part of the programme having been finished, Captain Chisholm of Glassburn, entertained the audience during the usual interval by excellent Highland airs on the bagpipes, after which

Mr Colin Chisholm introduced the second part of the programme, in a short Gaelic address, well received, as follows:—A Phriomh a' chomuinn so, a bhaintigh-earnan, agus a dhaoin-uaisle, is duilich leam innseadh dhuibh nach 'eil e air chomas do'n phears-eaglais a bha dol a thoirt oraid Ghaidhlig dhuinn a bhi an so an nochd. Na 'm biodh e air tighinn bu chinnteach dhuinn toileachdainn agus soillearachdainn fhaighinn. An coimeas do'n duine urramach sin cha'n 'eil mise ach mar dhamh an ceo, no mar fhear na aonar ann am bata air bharr nan tonn agus e gun stiuir, gun seol, gun ramh, gun taoman. A bharrachd air so, cha d'fhuair mi ach fios piobaire ; agus air an aobhar sin na gabhaibh iongantas ged nach 'eil mo chruit air dheagh ghleusadh, oir cha robh duil agam ri mo bheul fhosgladh aig a' choinneamh so. Coma co dhiubh, eadar dheoin a's ain-deoin, dh'aontaich mi. Ach, aon ni, cha chum mi fada sibh. Ma bheir sibh eisdeachd fad naoi no deich a mhionaidean domh, innsidh mi mo bheachd dhuibh air na comhairlean baigheil priseil a thug Ard-theachdairean na Ban-righ dhuinn mu sgoilean Gaidhealtachd agus Eileanan na h-Alba. Anns a' chiad dol sios tha na daoine glice, coguiseach so a' sealtainn air an trom dhlighe a tha ri phaidheadh ann an cuid de na sgoilean Gaidhealach mar eallach a tha tuileadh's trom ri ghiulan. Ann an cuid de 'n Eilean Leoghasach tha cain agus cis nan sgoilean a' tighinn gu sia tasdain agus ochd sgillinn 's a' phunnd Shasunnach. Anns na h-Earradh tha a' chis da thasdan agus ochd sgillinn, agus ann an Uidhist-a chinna-tuath tri tasdain 's a' phunnd Shasunnach. Agus cha 'n ann is na h-eileanan uile tha an t-olc ; tha da sgire dheug eadar tir-mor Siorrachd Inbhirnis, Siorrachd Rois, agus Eilean Shealtainn anns am beil dlighe nan sgoilean a' dol thairis air da thasdan 's a' phunnd Shasunnach. Tha a leithid so de dh-ana-caitheamh nàr—tha e buileach nàr, an uair a chuimhnicheas sinn gur ann aig daoine nach 'eil ro chomasach tha a' chuid mhor dheth ri phaidheadh. Tha Ard-theachdairean na Ban-righ (ma tha Gaidhlig air *Commissioners* cha chuala mise i) tha iad a' faicinn mar an ceudna nach 'eil aig cloinn luchd-labhairt na Gaidhlig ach fior dhroch ceartas anns na sgoilean air son am beil iad a paidheadh cho daor. Air an aobhar sin tha iad a' toirt am barrail gu saor, soilleir dhuinn air gach seol agus gach doigh a bu choir a leantuinn a so suas gu lan cheartas a bhuileachadh air sgoilearan na Gaidhlig. Am meas nam ficheadan de dhoighean caomhail anns am bheil iad a soillearachdainn an durachd do'n sgoilear Ghaidhlig tha iad gun agadh, gun fhiaradh, a' comhairleachadh gu'm biodh e air a chur air an aon ruith ri

sgoilear na Greugais agus na Laidinn. Tha a nis os cionn ceud bliadhna bho'n thug sgoilear ainmeil aig nach robh mor bhaigh ris a' Ghaidhealtachd a bharail mu'n amaideachd a bha ann a bhi a' sparradh na Beurla nach robh iad a' tuigsinn, a dheoin no dh-ain-deoin, air an oigridh Ghaidhealaich. Mar tha fios agaibh tha cuid de na sgoilearan so a' cosnadh suim mhaith airgid 's a' bhliadhna air son chanainean coigreach, mar tha Fraingis agus Greugais; agus c'arson nach biodh a' cheart chothrom air a thoirt do'n Ghaidhlig? Agus so gu seachd sonraichte an uair a chi sinn gu'n do dh-fhaisg na h-Eirionnaich an t-sochair so as a' Pharlamaid air an son fhein. Agus tha fhios againn gu bheil a' Ghaidhlig airidh air. Nach d'thuirt fear de ard luchd-teagaisg Abar-eadhain o chionn ghoirid gu'n robh a' Ghaidhlig na cainnt sgriobhte deich linntean m' an deachaidh facal Beurla a chur riamh air paipear. Is e coire sluagh na duthcha a bhios ann, ma ta, mur cruadhaich iad air a' Pharlamaid gu lan cheartas fhaighinn dha'n sliochd. A dh'aon fhacal, ged bhiodh muinntir na Gaidhealtachd a' taghadh riaghailtean gu sgoilearan math a dheanamh dhe'n cuid cloinne cha b'urrainn daibh raghainn na b'fhearr a dheanamh na bhi lan leigte ri deagh chomhairlean Ard-theachdairean na Ban-righ. Mar is luaithe a chuirear an gniomh iad is ann is cliuitiche a bhitheas e do'n Ghaidhealtachd agus is buannachd-aile dha 'n Rioghachd gu leir. Mr Chisholm concluded amid loud cheering.

The programme was gone through as follows:—

PART I.—Address, the Chairman. Oran Gailig, "Mo run gach là," Mr Hugh Fraser. Scotch Song, "The Cameron Men," Miss Watt. Oran Gailig, "Mnathan a' Ghlinne" (by request), Mr Paul Fraser. Oran Gailig, "Mo run geal dileas, "Miss Hutcheson. Scotch song, "My Nannie's awa'," Mr C. C. Macdonald. Dance, "Highland Fling," Oganaich Ghaidhealach.

PART II.—Gaelic address, Mr Colin Chisholm. Song, "The Old Brigade," Mr Paul Fraser. Oran Gailig, "Thug mi gaol do'n Fhear Bhan," Miss Hutcheson. Dance, "Gillie Callum," Oganach Gaidhealach. Scotch song, "Tam Glen," Miss Watt. Oran Gailig, "Theid i leam," Mr Paul Fraser. Dance, "Reel o' Tulloch," Oganaich Ghaidhealach. Oran Gailig, "Na 'm Bithinn na m' Bhard," Mr Hugh Fraser. Votes of thanks to the Chairman and performers, Reginald Macleod, younger of Macleod.

In moving the vote of thanks, Mr Reginald Macleod, who was received with applause, said—I am very sorry to have to appear in the place of your old and most esteemed member, Mr Lachlan Macdonald of Skaebost. (Cheers.) I am afraid we received the news of his illness with more merriment than was right or becoming, but since the malady is more unpleasant than dangerous, we were affected with something like amusement on hearing that Lochiel, Lord Dunmore, and Mr Macdonald of Skaebost were all ill with the gout. I am sure we are all equally sorry that they are unable to be present to-night, and we earnestly wish for their speedy recovery from their temporary illness. I myself am not sorry that Mr Macdonald is absent, because it enables me to move a vote of thanks to Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, who has occupied the chair with so much satisfaction. (Applause.) I suppose Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and I will have the honour of addressing a good many audiences within the next twelve months, and I hope that we shall have a great many votes of thanks, but I am equally certain we shall not have the opportunity of giving a vote of thanks to one another. Therefore, I take this opportunity, as the only one that is likely to occur, and I hope we shall often meet in future, and always be friends in whatever kind of meeting we may happen to find ourselves. (Applause.) I believe such a meeting as this cannot possibly fail to have a very effective and favourable result upon the objects of this

Society. It has been a large and enthusiastic meeting, and every Highlander must desire that this grand old language, which I most unhappily must confess not having been taught so thoroughly to understand as I should like—that this language should live, and live with an increased interest among our people. I believe, if we take care simply that nothing is done in our schools or otherwise to make the use of our Gaelic language awkward or inconvenient, it will never die, because it is the language of home, the language of the affections, and the language of childhood, and therefore it must remain with us. I hope all in the Highlands who use English will put it on as they put on their greatcoats (Laughter)—that when they go to the markets to do business, or go to the South, they may then talk English. I am very anxious that the Gaelic language should remain with our Highland people—the language which will be their daily possession and their daily interest, and in which they exchange their daily thoughts. (Hear, hear, and applause.) If a people lose their language, they lose one of the greatest and most important bonds of union, and I am sure that in the case of a great people like the Gaelic race, if they lose their language, we shall lose from the world one of the most interesting and one of the most competent languages which ever existed in this island. (Applause.) I trust, however, that that will never be—that each and all of us will do our utmost to encourage the teaching of the language both in our elementary schools and otherwise, so that there will always be people competent to teach our youth. (Applause.) He concluded by moving a vote of thanks to Sir Kenneth and the performers. (Applause.)

Sir Kenneth, who was received with cheers, said—On the part of the performers and myself I beg to return you my best thanks for the kind reception you have given us. In the early part of the evening there were one or two things which I ought to have referred to. With reference to the appeal made by Mr Colin Chisholm as to a grant of 10s. being paid in Ireland to those children who are properly taught the native language, I may say that attention was directed to this subject in the Report of the Crofter Commission. I am told that Mr Fraser-Mackintosh has given notice that he will next Monday night ask Mr Mundella in the House of Commons whether the privilege granted in Ireland will be granted to the Highlands of Scotland.* (Applause.) I ought also to have referred to the Gaelic literature, which is every year spreading—for we are constantly receiving fresh publications in Gaelic. The other day I received a volume of Gaelic poems by Mr John Campbell, Ledaig, which, I

* The following is the notice given by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., in the House of Commons, and referred to by Sir Kenneth Mackenzie :—

To ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council, with reference to his statement that the Department was not bound to teach Gaelic, thereby directly traversing the Report of the Crofters' Commissioners on the point, whether it is the case that, in the national schools in Ireland, the Irish language has been placed on the list of special subjects, or, as it is termed, extra branches, with a results fee of 10s attached; and if so, why a different rule is presently followed, and apparently meant to be perpetuated, in those parts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland where Gaelic is the mother tongue.

To this question Mr Mundella replied—I do not know to what statement the hon. gentleman refers, but it is true that the Irish National Board gives a grant for the teaching of the Irish language, but no grant has ever been made under the English or Scotch Codes for the teaching of Gaelic or Welsh. But the Irish Board admits that all the evidence is against placing the teaching on the list of extra subjects, and I have been making inquiries as to the best means of familiarising the Gaelic-speaking population with English. As to the desirability of providing teachers who can speak Gaelic, with the object of the better instructing in English of the Gaelic-speaking children, the question will be fully considered before the new Code is issued. (Hear, hear.)

regret to say, I have not yet been able to go into, but the very publication of which is n itself a subject of interest. It is quite unpardonable that I should have omitted to mention that the Bard of this Society, Mrs Mary Mackellar, has been chosen by her Majesty to translate into Gaelic the last volume of her journal in the Highlands. (Loud applause.) It is said that the Highlanders are not generally great readers of books; but I am sure this volume will be read with the greatest interest and avidity. If there is one thing more remarkable than another that came under my notice as a member of the Commission, it was the simple faith that the West Highlanders seemed to put in the Queen. They seemed to think of the Queen both as a noble lady of great private worth and as a lady who had great sympathy for her Highland subjects. If she had the land, they believed all their wrongs would be redressed. They have the most implicit confidence in her, and I have no doubt that they will take the greatest possible interest in this book when it is published in their own language. (Applause.) In conclusion, Sir Kenneth asked the audience to testify their appreciation of Lochiel's desire to attend the gathering. (Loud applause.)

The proceedings then terminated.

Miss Watt's rendering of "The March of the Cameron Men," was deservedly received with enthusiasm, and she was very heartily encored. The Highland dancing and the bagpipe music was a characteristic feature of the gathering, all the performers being first prizemen or gold medalists. Miss J. B. Mackenzie, Church Street, ably presided at the pianoforte.

It may be mentioned that the grand pianoforte used on the occasion was supplied from Messrs Marr & Co.'s Music Saloons, Bridge Street; that the magnificent thistles which decorated the platform were kindly sent by Councillor Alexander Ross; and that the tartan plaids which decked the platform were supplied by Messrs A. Macbean & Sons, Union Street.

In this connection it will be appropriate to give the following Gaelic song, composed by Mrs Mary Mackellar to Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch, Baronet :—

ORAN

DO'N RIDIRE COINNEACH MAC-COINNICH, TRIATH GHEARRLOCH.

LE MAIRI NIC-EALAIR.

So deoch slaint' a' Ghaidheil ghasda,
Do 'm bu dualach a bhi gaisgeil,
Ard cheann-feadhna de Shiol Eachuinn,
Leis 'm bu chleachdadh a bhi mòr.

Mile failte air an uasal
Do 'm math a thig feile cuaiche,
Sporran a bhios tric ga fhuasgladh,
Leis an laimh nach cruaidh mu 'n or.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Gaidheal uasal de Shiol Choinnich,
Fine d' am bu dual bhi loinneil;
Chuidicheadh an Righ 's gach oidhirp,
'S cha bhiodh coir' aca le 'n deoin.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Nàile 's mo run an t-armunn,
Sliochd nan sonn d' an dual bhi'n Gearrloch,
Sealgairean nam fuar-bheann arda,
Rachadh dan air damh na croic'.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Cridhe fialaidh 'n com na feile,
A shiubhladh an fhrith gu h-eutrom ;
'S binne na na h eoin 's a' cheitein
Uirghioll speiseil do bheoil.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Cairid islean, cairid uaislean,
Cairid dileas thu do'n tuath-cheath'rn ;
Ris an diobrach cha bhiodh gruaim ort,
'S tha thu suairce anns gach doigh.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Tha thu carthannach a's caoimhneil,
Tha do shuilean mar na daoimein ;
Do ghuth ciuin mar bhinn-ghuth maighdinn,
Bheireadh aoibhneas le a ceol.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Baintighearn' aillidh tha ri d' ghualainn,
Liomh an t-sioda air a cuailean,
Bian mar eiteag gheal nan cuaintean,
'S a da ghruaidh air dhath an rois.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Dorsan ibhri 'n cuirtean sirist,
Bho 'n tigeadh am manran milis ;
'S aoibhneach mi gur leat na bilean
Bho 'm faigh thu gun sireadh pog.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Slat an coill i, 's cha b' i chrionach,
'S i 's gach doigh d' a fine dileas,
Sliochd nan Caimbeulach neo-chiosnaicht'
A bha 'n " Ile ghlas an fheoir."
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Saoghal fada 'm beatha shuaimhnich,
Guidhidh mi do 'n armunn uasal,
'S gu 'm bu fada beo ri 'ghualainn
Baintighearna a' chuailein oir !

So deoch slaint' a' Ghaidheil ghasda,
Do 'm bu dualach a bhi gaisgeil,
Ard cheann-feadhna de Shiol Eachuinn,
Leis 'm bu chleachdadh a bhi mòr.

THE PROFESSOR BLACKIE TESTIMONIAL.

As our readers are aware, a proposal, originated in the *Celtic Magazine*, to present Professor Blackie with a Testimonial in recognition of his services to Highlanders, and to the country generally, in the establishment of the Celtic Chair, is now before the country; and we have pleasure in giving in this issue a first list of subscribers to the fund. The Celtic Chair, through the untiring zeal of Professor Blackie, is an accomplished fact, and for some time back its learned occupant, Professor Mackinnon, has been discharging the duties of his office. The Chair will be a valuable institution; and the services of its founder deserve to be specially acknowledged by lovers of our native land generally, but especially by Highlanders. We would respectfully urge all Highlanders and friends of the Celts, their language and literature, to intimate their subscriptions without delay to

The Honorary Treasurer of the fund, Mr CHARLES FRASER-MACKINTOSH, M.P., Lochardill House, Inverness, or to Mr William Mackenzie (Secretary of the Gaelic Society of Inverness), 5 Drummond Street, Inverness, Secretary to the Committee.

All subscriptions will be acknowledged in the *Celtic Magazine*. The following is a list of subscriptions already intimated:—

Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, Esq. of Drummond, M.P.	£10	10	0
John Mackay, Esq., C.E., Hereford	10	10	0
Lachlan Macdonald, Esq. of Skaebost	10	0	0
G. J. Campbell, Esq., solicitor, Inverness	5	5	0
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Mr Thomas Ross, Woodside, Aberdeen	0	2	6

HISTORIC SCENES IN GLENDOCHART.

By Coir-an-t-Sith.

About twelve months ago I was on a visit to Strathfillan, and while being conveyed to Auchtertyre by Mr Currie of the Tyndrum Hotel, he pointed out a small field on the Achariach side of the river and remarked, "That field is called Dail-nan-Geoichein." I felt intensely interested in the name, which sounded so like that of the two brothers who attacked King Robert Bruce when he lost the famous brooch of Lorn, and I resolved to have the place examined. John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, in his History, calls the men "Macthoiks," and Dr Marshall, of Coupar-Angus, in his "Historic Scenes of Perthshire," calls them "Mac-Keoch," but adds that the conflict took place on the side of Loch-Dochart.

Examination of the locality has strongly convinced me that the conflict could not have taken place at the side of Loch-Dochart, because Loch-Dochart is seven miles east of Dail-nan-Geoichein, and the retreat of Bruce from Dail-Righ, the King's Field, can be traced up the Glen of Achariach or Glenducharig, and down Glen-Falloch to Loch-Lomond; whereas, had the King and his party been driven so far down Glen-Dochart he would then have been within the territory of another enemy, the Macnab; and to return in the face of Lorn and his forces to the Glen of Achariach was an impossibility.

Modern historians may not have found any other "lochan" in Glen-Dochart to correspond with the description given by

Barbour; but the "lochan" is there nevertheless, and its situation is in perfect keeping with the description given by the ancient historian.

My belief that the name, Dail-nan-Geoichein, was given to the field in memory of the "men" who there fell in conflict with Bruce, has been confirmed by a comparison of the place with the description given by Barbour. He relates that Bruce was defending the rear of his retreating army when he was attacked, "in a narrow place between the loch-side and the brae." The Loch—Lochan-nan-arm—has a very steep brae on the south side, and is only two or three hundred yards from Dail-nan-Geoichein. The name of the Loch itself goes far to prove that the field took its name from the event. It is recorded that Bruce with his small party was retreating from Dail-Righ, and that *up* the hill. Tradition says that, to enable them to be more fleet of foot, and to prevent their arms falling into the hands of the enemy, they threw them into the Loch; hence the name Lochan-nan-arm, the Lake of the Arms. This lake is situated at so high an elevation that very little labour would be required to drain it dry. If this were done, and even a portion of the arms recovered, they would form an interesting treasure for the Museum of the Antiquarian Society.

If it was the case that the heroes who attacked Bruce fell at the spot indicated, and that the Lord of Lorn himself was an eye-witness to the scene, it is by no means likely that he would have allowed their bodies to be put into a moss bink; he would rather have given orders to have them carried away and laid in such soil as our ancestors invariably selected for the repose of their departed friends; moreover, he would also have given instructions for the erection of a memorial stone or stones to mark the spot.

And this is no mere conjecture. Being recently in conversation with Mr Duncan Maclean, a native of Glenlochy, now a citizen of Glasgow, he informed me that when a boy he was at school at Clachan, and afterwards shepherd on the farm of Achariach. He well remembers that at that time there stood in the field of Dail-nan-Geoichein obelisks, one of which was as tall as a man, the others not high above the ground. About forty-five years ago the farm of Achariach was tenanted by a Hugh Christie. In making improvements, it seems, he removed the

obelisks and put them in the bank of the river to prevent its encroaching on the field. The field, my informant said, was laid out in five or six divisions, and the obelisks were near the top, at the part farthest from the river, and in a line with the gate, westward. The existence of these obelisks at that time ought to be made known to Lord Breadalbane. Their removal by Hugh Christie must have taken place before the late Glenfalloch became proprietor; and it is not by any means likely that the present Lord Breadalbane ever heard of their having been so recently in the field.

Being desirous of completely establishing the truth of my friend's statement, I recently paid a personal visit to Strathfillan along with Mr Duncan Maclean. We were joined by an aged native, Mr John Macintyre from Achadh-nan-Tuiridhean (the Field of Lamentations), and by Mr Angus Fletcher. We proceeded to examine the field, and were shown the spot where the monuments had stood. Thereafter we examined the river bank where we found two of these old monumental stones, which were identified by Mr Duncan Maclean, but the largest of the three could not be seen; it may have been broken up in removal. We next visited the Lake, Lochan-nan-arm, and having with us Barbour's history of King Robert the Bruce, we were quite satisfied that the description of the scene given by the historian is in perfect keeping with the appearance of the place, as well as confirmed by the ancient nomenclature. The ford in the river, a short way down, has also its legend, viz.:—That on the retreat of Bruce's party from the battle-field (Dail-Righ), and while they were crossing the River Dochart, the piper was killed in the ford by an arrow from one of Lorn's men, and the ford, Ath-Chonachar (Conachar's-ford) perpetuates his memory—Conachar being the name of the unfortunate piper.

Some very peculiar marks are still visible on the steep sides of a number of knolls in the vicinity of Lochan-nan-arm, all of them facing the east, as if they had been used as some kind of trench or breast-work for defence. It would be interesting to have the opinion of an experienced military officer on this point, who could indicate the probable position of both parties before and after the conflict.

This is altogether an interesting district of the Highlands for

the antiquary, as the old names still identify the places, and preserve in the language of the Celtic race the most astonishing and unmistakable traces of the career of King Robert the Bruce after the lapse of 578 years.

There is, for example, the old priory of St Fillan, and the graveyard in which, on one of the tombstones, the marks of the bell of St Fillan were distinctly visible, it having stood in the same position for this long period of time. On this stone, a few years ago, a tracing of the shape of a bell could be seen, but the stone has now unfortunately been removed. This bell, like the crozier, has its history. It was taken to Scone to be used at the crowning of King James the Fourth, in the year 1488. There is still an entry in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts of 18s. having been made "till a man who brought St Fillan's bell at the king's commands."

We inquired for the Clachan (the Stones), a circle of standing stones once used by the Druids as a place of worship, but we failed to find it. We were, however, shown the ruins of a circular building near the bridge which crosses the stream that divides the lands of Clachan from Auchtertyre. This circular ruin (or mòd), is believed to be the seat of a court of justice, as we read in the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society," vol xii, page 157—"The record of the court of Glendochart, held at Kindrochat (bridge-end), 9th February, 1468, when Lady Glenorchy demanded from John M'Molcalum M'Gregor the rents of Corrheynan, to which John replied, that he held his lands from Deor de-Messer, and was not liable for rents to her ladyship." This circle if it was not the court referred to, is in sight and within a short distance of the Gallow-hill where, on my first visit to Strathfillan, I saw the remains of the old gallows—a block of mountain pine that was then much decayed, but it has now entirely disappeared.

There is no district in the Highlands that I have visited of which the scenery is so intensely interesting as the historic scenery of Strathfillan. While standing on a heathery knowe close by Lochan-nan-arm, the spectator is within a few yards of the spot where King Robert delivered himself from the grasp of "those fellows-faes three," as they are called by Barbour the historian; men who were sworn to slay the king or perish in the attempt;

and close by is the spot where these men are supposed to have been laid in the earth. Near at hand is also the knoll where stood the Lord of Lorn when he rebuked the Baron Macnaughton for expressing his admiration of the king when laying his "fellows-faes" prostrate on the heath. A short way eastward is the ford where fell the piper of King Robert. This ford was at a more recent period used by the renowned Rob Roy, when in the garb of a beggar he carried across a party of Englishmen, for which he received a few coins, and acted as a guide to them on their way to Crianlarich, where they were stripped of their arms by the "dreadnought" Clan Gregor. Full in view, and within the distance of one mile, is the ruin of the Priory of Strathfillan, once an extensive pile of buildings where the Gospel of Truth was first taught to the native races by the venerable Saint Fillan, who left his blessing on the waters of the river, at a spot which pilgrims from distant parts continued for a thousand years to visit, to get bathed in the holy pools for the cure of some real or supposed ailments. Nearer still is the battle-field of Dail-Righ, to the east of which are the knolls on which were posted the sentinels of King Robert the night before the battle. The name of these knolls still commemorates the event, viz.:—Uchd-an-Righ-fhaire, or the Knoll of the King's watchers.

Within a few yards of these can be seen the circle, supposed to be the seat of the Court, where the claims of Lady Glenorchy and John Malcolm Macgregor to the lands of Coryhenan were settled, February 9th, 1468.

Close to the holy pools, on the lands of Auchariach, may be seen the place of execution, where criminals stood in full view of the gallows, while on their trial at the court or *mòd* of by-gone days. About one mile to the west is Ari-Mhòr, where, according to tradition, the King's party passed the first night after the defeat of Dail-Righ, and the King slept in a goat-hut without the luxury of either bed or bedclothes.* To the east, rises the massy crest of Benmore, towering above its neighbour

* On getting up the following morning, the King was so pleased and surprised at finding his dress none the worse, nor requiring the use of the brush, he proclaimed that goats would have for ever free pasture. In the recollection of men still living there were large flocks of goats in Glen-Dochart, which were never charged for pasturing, even if straying on a neighbour's lands, while sheep and cattle were always driven away if they crossed the march boundary.

mountains ; and to the west is the still higher Benluie, with its chasms full of the winter's snow, bidding defiance alike to torrents of rain, and to summer sunshine.

To the north, and full in view, as if threatening to invade cloud-land, towers majestically the never-to-be-forgotten Beinn-dorain, rendered classic by the poetry of the celebrated Donnacha-Ban-Macintyre, whose song in praise of the Beinn must continue to be a gem of the poetic gift while a remnant remains of the native race, and so long as our indestructible Gaelic continues to be the language of song.

A LEGEND OF ARDNAMURCHAN.

SEVERAL hundred years ago a wild and licentious Norwegian Prince, named Muchdragan, took possession of the district of Ardnamurchan, in Argyllshire, and very soon made himself a terror to all the inhabitants. He brought along with him many strange and barbarous customs of his own land, which the unfortunate natives were forced for a time to endure in silence. One of the latter was a man known as "Eoghainn Cleireach," who had lately married a very beautiful young woman. Unfortunately for them, she had attracted the notice of Muchdragan. Accordingly, one day Eoghainn received notice that the Prince was coming at an early date to visit his house, and such a message usually implied a warning to the husband to be out of the way. Eoghainn at once understood the terrible meaning of the message, and apprised his wife of their danger. She soon set her mind to work to find some means of escape from the dishonour which threatened them. At last she unfolded a plan to her husband, which promised not only escape but revenge, and no time was lost in putting it into execution. Eoghainn procured a cassock or long shirt, which his wife cut up into several pieces, and sewed together again in such a loose manner as only to retain the proper shape of the garment. Early on the morning of the day which Muchdragan had appointed for his visit,

Eoghainn donned his cassock, and conveyed his wife and child in a boat to the south side of Benheand, where he bade them remain until his return. He then set off to meet Muchdragan, armed only with a huge battle-axe. When he had reached the north side of Benheand, he caught sight of the Norseman and his followers resting at the base of the hill. Creeping cautiously towards them, he launched his battle-axe with unerring aim at Muchdragan's head, and instantly fled up a hollow in the face of the hill, closely pursued by the murdered Prince's followers. About half-way up, the foremost of his pursuers overtook him; but here his cassock stood him in good stead, for the Norseman, seizing hold of the tail of the garment, the piece came away in his hand, and the unlucky fellow rolled helplessly to the bottom of the hill. Several more shared the same fate, and as Eoghainn reached the summit of the hill and sped down the southern slope the last of his pursuers were floundering down the opposite side holding on to the final remnant of Eoghainn's cassock. Eoghainn reached the bottom of the hill in safety, and leaping into the boat with his wife and child, he sailed away without casting anchor until he reached Islay, where he received protection.

The hollow in the hill up which Eoghainn fled is still known as "Glac-na-toiridh," the "hollow of the pursuit"; and the hill itself is known as "Beinn-na-hurchrach," the Hill of the cast or throw. A cairn marks the spot where the Norse Prince fell, and is still called "Carn Mhucdragain."

H. R. M.

"THE HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES."

MR HENRY GEORGE, in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, makes minced meat of the article which appeared in a recent number of the same publication, from the pen of the Duke of Argyll, entitled "The Prophet of San Francisco." The completeness of the reply will, no doubt, account for the fact that, while the milk and water production of his Grace was reproduced in whole or in

part by the Scottish press, the reply has been almost entirely ignored. Mr George, in concluding his lucid and powerful paper, makes the following reference to Mackenzie's *History of the Highland Clearances* :—

"Besides the essays and journals referred to by the Duke of Argyll, there is another publication which any one wishing to be informed on the subject may read with advantage, though not with pleasure. It is entitled *Highland Clearances*, and is published in Inverness by A. Mackenzie [A. & W. Mackenzie.] There is nothing in savage life more cold-bloodedly atrocious than the warfare here recorded as carried on against the clansmen of those who were their hereditary proprietors. The burning of houses, the ejection of old and young, the tearing down of shelters put up to protect women with child and tender infants from the bitter night blast, the threats of similar treatment against all who should give them hospitality, the forcing of poor helpless creatures into emigrant ships, which carried them to strange lands and among a strange people of whose tongue they were utterly ignorant, to die, in many cases, like rotten sheep or to be reduced to utter degradation. An animating scene, truly! Great districts once peopled with a race—rude, it may be, and slavish to their chiefs—but still a race of manly virtues, brave, kind, and hospitable—now tenanted by sheep or cattle, by grouse or deer! No one can read of the atrocities perpetrated upon the Scottish people, during what is called the 'improvement of the Highlands,' without feeling something like utter contempt for men who, like lions abroad, were such sheep at home that they suffered these outrages without striking a blow, even if an ineffectual one. But the explanation of this recalls a lower depth in the 'seduction to iniquity.' The reason of the tame submission of the Highland people to outrages which should have moved the most timid is to be found in the prostitution of their religion. The Highland people are a deeply religious people, and during these evictions their preachers preached to them that their trials were the visitations of the Almighty, and must be submitted to under the penalty of eternal damnation."

BOYD'S VISITORS' GUIDE TO OBAN, BY "STRAVAIGER."—Visitors to Oban should not neglect to furnish themselves with this useful little book. It contains pleasantly written descriptions of seven walks in the vicinity of the town, any of which can be easily accomplished in one day. The walks are carefully described, and the visitor who is guided by this book can hardly go astray. Its pages are agreeably varied with scraps of poetry and legend, enlivened now and then by touches of humour. The tables of local church and train services, and post-office arrangements at the end will be found exceedingly useful. It is published in a cheap and handy form, and ought to be possessed by every one who visits or intends to visit Oban.

ANECDOTES OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

Drilling the Macdonalds.

While the Highlanders were being marshalled to arms for the defence of our common country, companies of them might be seen here and there at drill, or as they called it themselves *aig an ekercy!* English then was not so common as it is now, and the Gaelic instructions in the use of arms have formed the theme of many a ludicrous story since. Here is a specimen of calling the roll. The company consisted almost entirely of Macdonalds, and there was some difficulty in distinguishing the different men from each other. They were thus known by certain cognomens. No doubt the recorded version is exaggerated; but it is not improbable, and it is curious :—

Serjeant (bawling at the top of his voice)—"Donald Macdonald, Mor? (No answer, the man being absent.) I see you're there, so you're right not to speak to nobody in the ranks. Donald Macdonald, Ruadh?" "Here." "Ay, you're always here when nobody wants you. Donald Macdonald, Fada? (No answer.) Oh, decent, modest lad, you're always here, though like a good sodger, as you are, you seldom say nothing about it. Donald Macdonald, Cluasan mora? (No answer.) I hear you, but you might speak a little louder for all that. Donald Macdonald, Ordag?" "Here." "If you're here this morning, it's no likely you'll be here to-morrow morning; I'll shust mark you down absent; so let that stand for that. Donald Macdonald, Casan mora?" "Here." "Oh, tamorst! you said that yesterday; but wha saw't you? You're always here if we take your own word for it. Donald Macdonald, Odhar? "Here" (in a loud voice). "If you was not known for a big liar, I would believe you; but you've a bad habit, my lad, of always crying 'Here' whether you're here or no, and till you give up your bad habit I'll shust always mark you down absent for your impudence. It's all for your own good, so you need not cast down your brows, but shust be thankful that I don't stop your loaf too, and then you wad maybe have to thank your own souple tongue for a sair back and a toom belly. Attention, noo, lads, and let every man turn his eyes to the Serjeant."

The Old Fraser Highlanders.

Simon Lord Lovat lost his head for his conduct in the '45, and his son Simon was exiled, and the estates forfeited. In 1757 Pitt, however, induced George II. to grant a commission to young Lovat to raise a regiment among his clan on his forfeited estates in Inverness-shire. In no time he found himself at the head of 800 men from the Lovat estate, and 600

more from the neighbouring gentlemen's estates, whose sons received commissions. They were forthwith sent to America, with young Simon Fraser as their Colonel. On the voyage across they were being daily drilled on board the vessel. Before their landing an incident occurred which deserves to be rehearsed. One of those who had enlisted was Iain Buidhe Mòr, from Innsemhuilt in Glenstrath-farrar, a noted deer-stalker, and a crack shot of his time. As the vessel was nearing land, some on board observed a Frenchman, and, believing him to be a spy, exclaimed, "Seall ris an t-slaoightire!" Iain Buidhe Mòr, who was at hand, replied, "Oh, mac an Diabhuil, ciod e 'n gnothach a th'aige bhi 'gabhail beachd oirnne," and no sooner did he utter these words than he raised his "Brown Bess," and, aiming deliberately, fired, and the poor Frenchman was in an instant rolling down the face of the hill a lifeless corpse. General Fraser, on hearing the shot, was at once at hand to see what was wrong, and, having ascertained the fact, addressed the Innsemhuilt man in a paternal sort of a way, "O, Iain, Iain, cuimhnich *t'ekercy*. Na dean a leithid gu brath." "An Diabhul *ekercy* no *ekercy* ach *ekercy* an fheidh," replied Iain Buidhe Mòr, "far am faic mise fear de na biastan bidh mo pheilear troimh chorp." At the close of the American war, then in progress, this regiment was disbanded, and many of its officers were allowed to settle in Canada. These officers and men were the progenitors of the Frasers in Canada, who have now formed themselves into what is called the new clan Fraser, and elected one John Fraser de Berry to be their chief. This new chief, I am informed, is such an enthusiastic *seanachaidh* that he traces his own family history back to a period 216 years before the birth of Christ!—*William Mackenzie in the "Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness."*

POEMS. By JOHN CAMPBELL, Ledaig. Edinburgh: Maclachan & Stewart. 1884.

ANY one who has seen what the hand of Nature has done for Ledaig, and what Mr John Campbell has done to improve and beautify his own corner of it, will not wonder that such a lovely environment should conduce to the development of the faculty of poetry and song. Mr John Campbell has been favourably known as a successful writer of Gaelic songs for many years, and the present tasteful little volume is a collection of a number of his most popular effusions. Mr Campbell has a copious vocabulary of very choice Gaelic, and the gift of rhythmical and musical expression. The reader will recognise several well-known songs in the volume, which have been rendered popular alike by their intrinsic excellence, and by being honoured with the touch of the deft hand of Professor Blackie, who early recognised the talent and unceasing industry of the Ledaig bard, and translated some of his productions into his own racy English. Among the best songs in the volume are "Is toigh leam a' Ghaidhealtachd," "Naile, 's i mo ghaolsa 'n Ribhinn," "Gille mo luaidh," and "Tuireadh Seana Mhaighdinn." While the letterpress and binding of the book are all that the most fastidious could wish, we are sorry to remark that the pleasure of its perusal will be seriously marred by the carelessness of the proof-correctors; nor do we consider the portrait of the poet, which forms the frontispiece, at all a good likeness or a creditable work of art. In spite, however, of these blemishes, the book will be enjoyed very cordially by lovers of Highland song, and will be cherished as a pleasing *souvenir* of one of the best and warmest-hearted of Highlanders.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XX.

DR ARCHIBALD CAMERON OF LOCHIEL.

DR ARCHIBALD CAMERON was the fourth son of John Cameron, eighteenth of Lochiel, the grandson of Sir Ewen Dubh, and brother of the "Gentle Lochiel" of 1745. He was born in 1707, and was originally educated for the Bar, but "observing that in order to be properly qualified for an advocate he must be master of all the quirks and sophistical reasonings that are usually made use of to puzzle a cause and hoodwink the understanding with factitious arguments," he applied himself to the study of a science "more agreeable to his natural genius and bent of mind"—the medical profession, which was finally chosen by him. He studied anatomy under Dr Alexander Munro, then a distinguished professor, like his father before him, in the University of Edinburgh; while he studied physic under Dr Sinclair, one of the most eminent professors of his day. He afterwards travelled abroad, and studied for some time in Paris. Having thus fully qualified himself for the practice of his profession, he returned to Lochaber, where he married and settled among his own people. According to one authority, his services were much required morally, as well as physically. The author of *The Life of Dr*

Archibald Cameron, published in London in 1753, says that he "who might have made a considerable figure even in a Court, or a populous and well-cultivated city, contents himself with exercising his talents among a people whose manners and fierceness resembled them very much to the wild beasts of a forest; yet by his gentle and humane carriage among them, many were taught to follow a more honest course of life than is generally ascribed to the Highlanders, especially the Camerons, who have been reckoned the most infamous of all the clans for their thefts and plunderings. The Doctor therefore took as much pains in cultivating the minds of these poor ignorant wretches as he did of their bodies in prescribing them proper remedies in all their illnesses. So that the whole clan, by means of his, and his brother's instructions, were greatly reformed in their morals. Honesty and industry increased everywhere by the encouragement given by their patrons, who took all imaginable pains to instruct them in the principles of justice and religion, and to civilise their manners, by teaching them to behave like rational and sociable creatures." The author of the booklet from which we quote is not known; but it is beyond question that he was as woefully ignorant of the character of the Highland people as he undoubtedly was of the history of that family to whom Dr Cameron belonged. Considering how severely the author writes against the Highlanders generally, and the Camerons in particular, it is agreeable to find him writing so favourably of Dr Cameron, who, he informs us, "was a man of no ambition but of a quiet and easy temper," whom the reader must not expect to find "engaged in any notable exploits, his only or chief business in the army" of Prince Charles "being to attend his brother Lochiel, and to assist him with his skill if any disaster should happen to befal him in battle." The same writer also informs us that "the doctor could not for a good while be prevailed upon to join" Prince Charles, and that he strongly urged upon his brother Donald to keep out of the rebellion. "He remonstrated in the strongest terms upon the unsurmountable obstacles that he foresaw would attend the undertaking, and the terrible consequences of a miscarriage. Lochiel, however, would take no denial, telling him, that he did not want the assistance of his sword or his valour, but only desired he would attend him as his companion,

that he might always have the advantage of his advice and skill, in case the fortune of war should render either of them necessary. The doctor, how ill-soever he thought of the cause, yet his affection for his brother, and the many signal obligations he lay under to him, at length prevailed over all other considerations, and he submitted to share his brother's fate whatever it should be. But though the doctor was, with great reluctance, and, in a manner, forced to join his brother's measures, yet he absolutely refused to accept any commission in the army ; neither did he act there, as ever I could learn, in any other capacity than as a physician.* He was perfectly unacquainted with the military art, and therefore wholly unqualified to give his advice, or even his vote in council, upon any operations that were proposed by the chiefs or general officers. Yet as he was always among them, it is supposed, at least in the eye of the law that he countenanced, encouraged, and, as much as it was in his power, assisted the rebels, in all their outrages against the Government. Dr Cameron was of so humane a disposition that, if credit be given to general report, when any wounded prisoners were brought to him, he was as assiduous in his care of them, as if they had fought in the cause he espoused; and it is affirmed that he never refused his assistance to anyone that asked it, whether friend or foe." This appears to be a very fair estimate of Dr Cameron's character.

At Falkirk, Lochiel in the heat of the action was wounded by a musket-ball in the heel, "which being observed by his brother, the doctor, who always kept near his person, he begged him to retire to have it dressed, which he did accordingly ; but as the doctor was lending him his assistance he himself received a slight wound." Lochiel's wound was, however, slight, for we have seen that he was able to lead his men into Falkirk after the battle.

We have also seen that Lochiel was severely wounded at Culloden, in both ankles, when he was carried off the field by his two henchmen, assisted by the doctor, who dressed his wounds with every possible care, and followed him in his wanderings for some months after, doing everything that filial affection and medical skill could suggest to affect a speedy cure of his wounds.

* The writer is clearly wrong here, as will be seen hereafter.

Dr Cameron finally escaped with Prince Charles, Lochiel, and others, on the 18th of September, to France, where he received an appointment as physician and captain in Albany's regiment—to which his brother had been appointed Colonel—in which position he remained until Lochiel's death in 1748, when Dr Cameron was transferred to a similar position in Lord Ogilvy's regiment, in the same service. We have already given some of Dr Cameron's letters, referring to the death of his brother Lochiel, and to the position in which his family and friends were left, in consequence of that event. In a letter to the Chevalier de St George, dated Paris, 23rd of December 1748, he says, referring to a previous one of the 16th of the same month, and already given in full :—

Upon my laying my nephew at his Royal Highness's feet, his Highness was so good as to recommend to the Minister of War, Comte D'Argenson, the giving the regiment to my nephew, in lieu of his family sufferings, upon which I, by the advice of general officers of the army, and at the unanimous desire of all the captains of the Albany Regiment, I gave in a memoir to the Minister, asking the regiment for my nephew ; but if thought too young to command it, I would take charge of it in his name during his minority, as his uncle, captain of Grenadiers, and commandant of the Regiment of Albany, now upon the peace being concluded, I would undertake to recruit the regiment of our numerous, though much reduced, clan, and other Scotch we have interest with. Though the Comte has not given their answer as yet, in relation to the regiment, yet as they all are well known to the merit and readiness to serve of my brother and family when your Majesty's cause is in hands, and his suffering upon the misgiving of the late attempt in Scotland ; also they are sensible of my share in it, and of my having a wife and throng family of children to maintain. I plainly understand they have compassion for us, which will give my nephew the better chance for the regiment—which I attribute to your Majesty's being so good as to recommend my nephew to them, of which I was advised this day by a letter from my wife, from Graveline's, being told so by Major Ogilvie of our regiment, as also by our cousin, Balhaldy, who acquainted me with your Majesty's sympathy in our loss through the death of my brother, which gives us, the remaining part of Lochiel's family, great pleasure to think that any assistance or little services our family was ready to offer towards the royal cause should have such a grateful impression on your Majesty ; but as there is no return in my power, for your Majesty's constant care of us, but what in my duty I, as well as others, at all times will promise, which is my readiness to serve your Majesty, the sincerity of which your Majesty cannot have proofs of except the royal standard was displayed in British fields—but if that was the case, I hope I will have the loyalty and courage to draw my sword—whereas, on this side of Dover, I can be of no use, rather a trouble to your Majesty. As that of the Cabinet is above my capacity and ambition, I never attempt dabbling in State affairs ; my whole study, while abroad, is to keep as free as possible from being a burden on your Majesty, but sorry to be obliged to trouble your Majesty in recommending the maintenance of me, my wife, and family to this Court, to whom I am much obliged for my support, having got no pay, nor no appearance of it as yet, from the Court of Spain : and the reason I

was not named lieutenant-colonel of my brother's regiment, as his Highness and my brother intended long before the regiment was obtained, was, that at the time the regiment was granted, it was thought my pay in Spain would punctually answer, though I even all that time had not absolute faith in its being paid duly, which my family would require. However, how soon Clunie was named upon the supposition of my being provided for in Spain, both in obedience to his Royal Highness, and the regard I had for Clunie, as a worthy, honest, and brave man, who suffered by the common misfortunes, I not only succumbed but approved, and does still, of Clunie's enjoying it—especially as it is reported that he will be over this winter; but if either he do not come over, or if the Court, despairing of him, will propose to name another lieutenant-colonel, it's allowed by everybody as well as by all our corps that I have the best title to expect it, especially as my nephew puts his whole confidence in me, in relation to the management of his affairs during his minority.

On the 16th of January 1750, Alexander Macdonald, younger of Glengarry, writing from Boulogne-sur-Mer to Mr Edgar, referring to his recent visit to Scotland, says: "It is with regret I find myself obliged to acquaint you, in order that you inform his Majesty, of the conduct of Dr Archibald Cameron, brother to the late Lochiel, whose behaviour, when lately in the Highlands, has greatly hurt his Majesty's interest by acquainting all he conversed with that now they must shift for themselves, for his Majesty and Royal Highness had given up all thoughts of ever being restored. I have prevented the bad consequences that might ensue from such notions; but one thing I could not prevent, was his taking 6000 Louis-d'ors of the money left in the country by his Royal Highness, which he did without any opposition, as he was privy to where the money was laid, only Cluny Macpherson obliged him to give him a receipt for it. . . . I am credibly informed that he designs to lay this money in the hands of a merchant at Dunkirk, and enter partners with him." In another letter, addressed to Prince Charles, young Glengarry refers to this subject and says, "as to the account I sent of the embezzling of the money by Clunie and Dr Cameron, with some others of his family, most of that money is still in the country." He, however, appears to have been himself charged with a similar offence, for he complains that people "have spread a report that I touched considerably of it when last in Scotland." And this is apparently true, for he hopes his Royal Highness will "approve of the trifle I or any of my friends received." In the same connection, Ludovick Cameron of Torcastle wrote to Prince Charles, from Paris, on the 21st of November 1753, thus :—

I would not have troubled your Highness with these lines if I did not think my honour was engaged to clear myself of an imputation which has prevailed too much among my countrymen, and I am afraid may have made some impression on the generous mind of your Royal Highness. My nephew, Dr Cameron, had the misfortune to take away a round sum of your Highness's money, and I was told lately that it was thought that I should have shared with him in that base and mean undertaking. I declare, on my honour and conscience, that I knew nothing of the taking of that money until he told it himself at Rome, where I happened to be at the time, and that I never touched one farthing of it, nor never will, having been mostly ignorant of the Doctor's proceedings, he never consulting me about anything he undertook since we first came on this side of the water.

Dr Cameron's widow, writing to Mr Edgar, from Paris, on the 25th of January 1754, makes a charge against young Glengarry, showing that a bad feeling existed between the parties; which must be held to account to a considerable degree for their reflections upon each other. She says that "Henry Pelham, brother to the Secretary of State, declared to Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell that in 1748-49 young Glengarry came to him offering his most faithful and zealous service to the Government in any shape they thought proper, as he came from feeling the folly of any further concern with the ungrateful family of Stuart, to whom he and his family had been too long attached, to the absolute ruin of themselves and country." She intimated this information under pressure from her friends, who thought it ungrateful on her part to conceal it any longer from those who had so befriended herself and her family.

In a letter to Mr Edgar, dated Douay, the 11th of June 1751, Dr Cameron, after intimating the death of Sir William Gordon of Park, lieutenant-colonel of Lord Ogilvy's regiment, proceeds :—

I cannot, in justice to myself, but acquaint you that, at the forming of it first, in January 1747, a little before I went with the Prince to Spain, my Lord Ogilvie, having his Royal Highness's approbation, gave me a commission as oldest captain in his regiment, which I enjoyed till, in October thereafter, I was made captain of Grenadiers in my brother's regiment, and, ever since I got a company a second time in this regiment, it is allowed by the most experienced officers in the army, that it is my due to be oldest captain now, and as there is a lieutenant-colonel awanting, I cannot help being so vain as to think myself more entitled to it than any other in the regiment, and I find all the gentlemen in the regiment think it a great hardship upon them if any shall be named who has not already a commission in the regiment, as it may prove a precedent for a step of preferment being lost (both now and upon a vacancy hereafter), to every individual from the lieutenant upwards, so if you think it proper, I wish you would apply to the king for a recommendation to my Lord Clare and my Lord Ogilvie (who were always my good friends) towards naming me lieu-

tenant-colonel. The principal advantage I propose by this is to be a means to procure me a retreat if at any time I see occasion for it according as things turn out, especially if the ball received at Falkirk, and is still in my body, give me as much trouble and pain as it did in winter and spring last, which helped the continuance of my sickness at that time—so I should propose, in case it may render me incapable of serving, to live in the way it may give me the least trouble. However, I leave all to your prudence.

When the Chevalier de St George was informed of the execution of Dr Cameron, he wrote, on the 9th of July 1753, to Lord George Murray—"I am stranger in particular to the motives which carried poor Archibald Cameron into Scotland; but whatever it may have been, his hard fate gives the more concern, that I own I could not bring myself to believe that the English Government would have carried their rigour so far." On the following day, Mr Edgar wrote Prince Charles a letter from Rome, in which he says:—

I had the honour to write you on the 19th December last by the king's command, which I hope has gone safe to your hands. As there happens now a subject of great charity to write you about, and having still no other way than by you to mention it to the Prince, I beg you will let his Royal Highness know as soon as you can, that the king is persuaded he would be very much concerned for poor Archibald Cameron's untimely and cruel death, and for the forlorn condition his wife and seven children are left in, especially since the appointments of a Spanish colonel, in consequence of a commission his Royal Highness obtained when he was at Madrid, for Archy, now fails. It was a long while before his Majesty could, by frequent and strong recommendation, bring the Court of Spain to begin the payment of these appointments. Archy's family needs now the continuance of it more than ever. The king, therefore, designs to recommend it in the strongest terms to the Court of Spain, to renew the commission of colonel to Dr Cameron's eldest son, and that the appointments of it should be paid at Paris, or to give an equivalent pension to his mother to be paid at the same place. But as his Majesty foresees that this is a grace that will be very hard to be obtained, he thinks, that, as the first favour was granted to the Prince, his Royal Highness would write to him a few lines in French, such as he may send to the Court of Spain in recommending also the affair in his Royal Highness's name, that if anything could do, might prevail on that Court to grant the charity so much wanted for poor Archy's family, when you inform the Prince of the contents of the letter, I humbly beg. If the Prince should think fit to write, as is proposed, it will be charity to do it as soon as he can, and the king, in expectation of his letter, will wait ten or twelve weeks before he recommends the affair in question in Spain.

It is stated that a collection was made in 1749, "among those who were friends to the Pretender's cause, for the support of his unhappy adherents abroad. Dr Cameron came over to England to receive a part of the money contributed. And a collection was set on foot in 1753, for the same purpose, and the doctor made advances to his friends in England for a part of it,

representing by his letters that his pay in the army was not sufficient to support him and his numerous family. But after many solicitations, not receiving any satisfactory answer, he came over himself; and this, according to some authorities, was the business that brought him to Scotland, when he was discovered, apprehended, and taken to London." We have the following account of the manner of his apprehension :—"On Monday, March 26th, Dr Cameron, brother to Lochiel, who was engaged in the last rebellion, and attainted, was brought prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh; he was taken by a party of Lord George Beauclerk's regiment, who was detached from the fort of Inversnaid in search of him; this detachment was commanded by one Captain Graven. They had information of the house where he was to stay some days, but in their march to it were obliged to pass through two small villages; at the end of the first they saw a little girl, who, as soon as she perceived soldiers, ran as fast as she could; a serjeant and two or three men pursued her, but she reached the other village before they could overtake her; and there she sent off a boy, who seemed to be placed there to give intelligence of the approach of soldiers. The soldiers then pursued the boy, but finding they were not able to come up with him, the serjeant called out to his men to present their pieces, as if they intended to shoot him; the boy on this, turning round, begged his life; they secured him, and then went to the house where the doctor was, which they beset on all sides. The disposition the captain made was admirable; he, with some of his men, marched to the front of the house, but was soon discovered from the window, where he was immediately secured by the serjeant above-mentioned, who was placed there, as the captain very judiciously suspected the doctor might attempt an escape from that part of the house." After a short confinement in Edinburgh Castle, Dr Cameron was sent up to London, and condemned on the attainder passed against him, and the others engaged in the Rising shortly after Culloden.

The author of the doctor's life, though quite unreliable when dealing with proceedings in Scotland and in the Highlands, appears to have been well informed as to the details of Cameron's imprisonment and execution in London. His account of these we shall give at length. He says that, on "Thursday, May 17th,

Dr Cameron was carried from the Tower, attended by several of the warders and a party of the Guards, to the Court of King's Bench, and then arraigned upon the Act of Attainder passed against him and others, for being in the late rebellion, and not surrendering in due time. The four Judges were on the bench, and the prisoner not being desirous to give the Court any trouble, readily acknowledged himself to be the identical person; whereupon, after due deliberation, the Lord Chief-Justice Lee pronounced the following moving sentence: 'You, Archibald Cameron of Lochiel, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, must be removed from thence to his Majesty's prison of the Tower of London, from whence you came, and on Thursday, the 7th of June next, your body to be drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, there to be hanged, not till you are dead; your bowels to be taken out, your body quartered, and your head cut off, and affixed at the king's disposal, and the Lord have mercy on your soul.' On receiving the sentence, he made a genteel bow, and only desired he might have leave to send for his wife, who with seven children, entirely dependent on him for support, are now at Lisle in Flanders, which was granted. He said, that in 1746, he came from France to surrender himself, agreeable to the Proclamation, but was prevented by an accident happening to his family. He behaved with great resolution before the Court, and answered to every question with a becoming decency. During the interval between the sentence and his execution, his wife used all possible means to obtain a pardon, by delivering a petition to his Majesty, another to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and to several of the nobility; but without effect, for on Thursday, June 7th, he was conveyed in a hurdle from the Tower to Tyburn, and there executed agreeable to his sentence. His behaviour was all along firm and intrepid, yet decent and solid, and becoming a man who expected, yet feared not, the stroke of death. On Wednesday orders were sent to the Tower that the gates should be shut at six o'clock in the evening, and no persons whatever admitted after that hour, to prevent any attempt that might be made to favour his escape. As soon as his wife arrived from Flanders, she immediately repaired to her husband, in the Tower, who received her with all that tenderness and affection which the greatness and solemnity of the

occasion could inspire. The grief and anguish of her soul is much more easily imagined than described. She came to take her last farewell of him, who, by all the ties of mutual affection, was dearer to her than all the world. And as an aggravation of her affliction, she not only saw herself about to be deprived of an affectionate husband, but to be left destitute of a support for herself and her numerous family. Their children, the dear pledges of their love, must now be exposed to all the necessities and casualties of life, without the patronage of a kind and indulgent father to have recourse to for advice and assistance. The consideration of this train of evils now hastening upon her made such a strong impression on her mind as to force a flood of tears from her mournful eyes. The doctor comforted her as well as he could, and desired her to use all the means in her power to save his life; which was to present a petition in his favour to his Majesty, who, perhaps, might be prevailed upon to save him. On the morning of his execution, she took her last leave of him; indeed it was a very mournful one, and melted those who saw it into tears. The excess of her grief has so affected her senses, that she is now distracted; so great was her love for her husband, and so intense her sorrow for his sad catastrophy. As soon as she was gone, the doctor put himself in readiness to receive the Sheriff and those who were sent to conduct him to his execution. Accordingly, about ten o'clock he was brought out of the Tower, by a party of the Horse Guards, who delivered him to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, as soon as he was come without the Tower-Gate. He was then put into the hurdle, to which he was fastened by the executioner. In this manner, he was drawn through the city, attended by Sir Richard Glynn, one of the Sheriffs, and under the care of the Sheriff's officers and constable, to the place of execution. Sir Charles Asgill left the prisoner at the Tower, and Sir Richard Glynn followed the sledge from the Tower, in his chariot, to Tyburn. The doctor was dressed in a light-coloured coat, red waistcoat and breeches, and new bag-wig. In his passage through the streets, he was observed to look about, as if in admiration of the vast multitude of spectators that crowded the streets, windows, and balconies to see him pass, and bowed to several persons; about twelve o'clock he arrived at the place of execution. Having arrived there, and

helped into the cart, he desired to speak to the Sheriff; who being come to him, the doctor entreated the favour of him, that he would give orders to his officers to let his body hang till he was quite dead, before the executioner began his further operation. The Sheriff promised to oblige him in his request; and accordingly the body was permitted to hang full three-quarters of an hour, and was not cut down before it was very certain that no life was remaining in him. He had likewise some discourse with the executioner about the disposal of his body after the execution was performed, which he desired might be decently put in a coffin, and conveyed to Mr Stephenson's, the undertaker, and that his clothes might be given to his friends, in lieu of which, that he might not lose his usual perquisite, he bid him take what money was in his pockets. While he was in the cart, a gentleman in a lay-habit, came to him, and prayed with him for about a quarter of an hour, and then left him to his private devotions. From this incident, the spectators imagined that the doctor was a Roman Catholic, and that the gentleman who prayed with him was a priest. But whatever his religion was, he died with great steadiness, constancy, and resolution, without any visible alteration in his countenance or behaviour, but perfectly resigned to the will of Heaven, and cheerfully acquiescing with the sentence which the laws of his country had passed upon him. He made no public profession of his faith, nor declared what religion he was of; nor did he address the people in a speech; nor did he give any letters or papers to the Sheriff, or any other gentleman present at the execution, so that if anything of this kind should hereafter be published, we may look upon it as spurious. His body being taken down from the gallows, the executioner cut off the head, and took out the bowels, but did not quarter the body. His body and head were put into a coffin, with this inscription upon it: 'Dr Archibald Cameron, suffered the 7th of June 1753, aged 46.'" A hearse conveyed it to Mr Stephenson's, undertaker, opposite Exeter Change.*

Some interesting letters written by the Doctor, a statement left with his wife on the day of his execution, and a genealogical list of his descendants, will be given in our next.

(To be continued.)

* *Life of Dr Archibald Cameron*, London, 1753.

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION (HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS)— AN ANALYSIS.

IV.

EMIGRATION.

ENCOURAGEMENT to Emigration, "principally from the Northern Hebrides and to some extent on the adjacent coasts of Ross, and perhaps even of Sutherland," is the last measure proposed in the Report for the purpose of improving the condition of the Highlands and Islands. From this recommendation Mr Fraser-Mackintosh dissents, on the ground that, "(1) No State help should be given to individuals, but only to the entire family resident on the croft proposing to emigrate;" and, (2) That the districts designated are too wide, and that no "necessity for State interference, as regards emigration, has been established, except in the Lewis, and some of the minor islands of the Hebrides. Re-occupation," he says, "by, and re-distribution among, crofters and cottars of much land now used, as large farms will be beneficial to the State, to the owner, and to the occupier. Until this is done, much as I deplore the present position of congested districts, I must view with jealousy State-aided emigration." These objections, most of those who take an active interest in the welfare of the people, will fully endorse.

The Commissioners say that the ridiculously large number of 287 acres—277½ pastoral, and 9 or 10 arable, is necessary for a family to live upon in the Highlands, or—taking the average number in a family at five persons—57 acres per head; whereas the whole acreage of the Western Isles would only give about 19½ per head of the population, including, it should be stated, such populous places as Stornoway and Portree. The people would no doubt like to have the larger number of acres, stated by the Commissioners, if they could get them. In the western mainland parishes of Sutherland, to which it is proposed to apply the State-aided emigration scheme, there is actually, according to the Report itself, an average acreage of over 90 acres per head, or nearly double what the Commissioners

themselves declare sufficient "for the maintainance of a family in comfort," with an average rental of £3. 9s. 3½d. per head, or £19 16s. 5½d. per average family; while Strathnaver, and other fertile Straths, comprising the greater and best portion of the county, is a large desolation, in possession of the Sellars, the Purveses, and men of similar kidney!

Why, in the name of common-sense, should it be proposed to give State aid for emigration from the county of Sutherland? Even in Skye we have one parish, Bracadale, with a population reduced from 1824 souls to 920, paying a rental of £6965. 6s 2d., by three or four large sheep farmers, while the whole crofting rent of the parish is £3. 10s. Farr, in Sutherland, has a rent roll of £10,337. 8s. 7d., of which the whole crofters or cottars only pay £681. 13s. 8d., or less than a fifteenth part of the whole rent of the parish. Let us have State aid to enable the people to migrate from one part of the Highland counties to another, and when that has been done it will be soon enough to consider the propriety of spending the public funds in sending the Highlanders out of their native land, while so much is expended on the protection of the wild animals and vermin which take their place.

We have always been in favour of voluntary emigration, but have no hesitation in saying that those who will play into the hands of the proprietors by leaving the country, whatever inducements may now be offered to them, are and ought to be held up before public opinion as a cowardly set. The battle of land reform is being fought out in the Highlands, and the man who runs away before the victory is won should be considered as great a coward as the Highlander, if such a being ever existed, who would run away from the Russian or the Turk on the field of battle. Let them fight the battle for those who cannot or do not wish to leave the country of their fathers, and then let those desiring to emigrate to foreign lands do so, and be encouraged, if need be, to settle down in the Colonies.

The Commissioners admit that the people are at present adverse to emigration, but they hold that the repugnance which "has been expressed by Highlanders of to-day is due to a fluctuation of opinion, and is not to be ascribed to an ineradicable sentiment." Two reasons are given for the present attitude of the people on this question—

"That those who go abroad encounter serious risks, and have continuous difficulties to contend with there; secondly, that while emigration has always been spoken of as a panacea for the ills of those that remain, it has ever left them just as they were. Probably," the Report continues, "it is not without some toil and hardship, at the outset, that an emigrant can make a position for himself in the colonies, but the reward may be said to be sure." And here the Commissioners honour the writer by the following reference :—"In his evidence at Inverness, Mr Alexander Mackenzie, editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, stated that he had visited all the Highland settlements of any note in Canada, and found their condition very satisfactory, and that those who had emigrated in recent years had only themselves to blame if they were not very prosperous; and in an article published in his magazine in November 1879, writing from Canada, he said—'I have taken considerable pains to find out the feeling here among those who came out themselves, as well as among their descendants, and I cannot recall a single instance in which any of them, who have settled down here on their own lands, would wish to go back and live in the Highlands.' Highland emigrants have been equally successful in Australia, and the first of the crofters' objections may fairly be set aside as insufficient. But it is quite true that the residuary population has in the past received little benefit from the emigrations that have taken place. When lands have been vacated during the present century, it has generally been after a time of distress. Proprietors had been put to expense in meeting the destitution, and had come to dread an extension of the crofter population, which seemed to them 'always augmenting and always trenching on the verge of redundance,' and they usually made consolidated farms of the vacated land. When the crofters had the capital to put this land to a profitable use, it was doubtless a mistaken policy not to give it to them, and in any case it would have been desirable to have made some greater effort to improve their condition than was done. The crofters have perhaps reason to complain of neglect, and in the case of future emigration the policy of the past would have to be reconsidered. We are inclined to think, however, that the prevailing land agitation has not been without considerable influence in prompting the expressed dislike to emigration, and we hope that when overpopulation is clearly shown under any distribution of the land that could take place, and when the people are satisfied that the interests of those who remain at home will be cared for, their aversion to emigration will disappear. Emigration offers few difficulties to the young and able-bodied, but it is obvious that it can be no benefit to a country to lose its workers alone, and that it is only by the removal of entire families that any serviceable relief from conges-

tion will be experienced. Comparatively few, however, of the crofters in the districts under consideration are likely to have the means of moving their families to a new home across the seas, and of starting themselves there with something approaching a certainty of success, nor can much direct assistance be expected from the proprietors of these impoverished parts."

It is fully admitted that it would be "very imprudent for a family in poor circumstances to attempt emigration without previous arrangements having been made for them in the Colony" to which they were going. To meet this difficulty it is proposed, first, that contracts might be entered into with employers of labour in the Colonies, before they left home, by a Scottish Government Emigration Department. "If the head of the family should be destitute of means," the Commissioners say, "there can be no objection to his being bound to serve a certain employer till the cost of his passage has been repaid, provided the engagement is voluntarily entered into after its terms have been fully explained, and that it is afterwards fairly carried out." Certain proposals are then made, by which this arrangement would be carried into effect, with the aid of the Colonial Governments and the Scottish Emigration Agency, which we think are quite incapable of being carried out successfully in practice.

The Commissioners having thought our opinion on the state of the Highlanders in Canada worth quoting in their Report to the Crown, we may be permitted to give here, alongside of it, another quotation from the same article, which the Commissioners did *not* print in the Report. Writing of the earlier emigrants to Pictou, Nova Scotia, and of the terrible hardships endured by them on their arrival, the writer, from authentic sources, wrote as follows :—

"It would be tedious to describe the sufferings which they afterwards endured. Many of them left. Others—fathers, mothers, and children—bound themselves away as virtual slaves in other settlements for a mere subsistence. Those who remained lived in small huts, covered only with the bark or branches of trees to shelter them from the bitter winter cold, of the severity of which they had no previous conception. They had to walk some eighty miles, through a trackless forest in deep snow to Truro, to obtain a few bushels of potatoes, or a little flour in exchange for their labour, dragging them back all the way on their backs. Hugh

Fraser, after having exhausted every means of procuring food for his starving family, resorted to the desperate expedient of cutting down a birch tree and boiling the buds for his little ones. On another occasion a small supply of potatoes, which had been brought from a long distance for seed, were planted, but the family were so severely pinched that they had to dig up some of the splits and eat them after they were planted. . . . The remembrance of those terrible days sank deep into the minds of that generation, and long after, even to this day, the narration of the scenes and cruel hardships through which they had to pass, beguiled, and now beguiles, many a winter's night as they sit by their now comfortable firesides. . . . A few of their children, and thousands of their grandchildren, are now living in comfort and plenty. But who can think of these early hardships and cruel existences without condemning the cruel and heartless Highland lairds, who made existence at home almost equally miserable for those noble fellows, and then drove them in thousands out of their native land, not caring whether they sank in the Atlantic, or were starved to death on a strange and uncongenial soil? Retributive justice demands that posterity should execrate the memories of the authors of such misery and horrid cruelty. It may seem uncharitable to speak thus of the dead; but it is impossible to forget their inhuman conduct, though, no thanks to them—cruel tigers in human form—it has turned out so well for the descendants of those whom they banished to what was then infinitely worse than transportation for the worst crimes. Such criminals were looked after and cared for; but those poor fellows, driven out of their homes by the Highland lairds, and sent across yonder, were left to starve, helpless and uncared for. Their descendants are now a prosperous and thriving people, and retribution is at hand. The descendants of the evicted from Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness Shires, and elsewhere, to Canada, are producing enormous quantities of food, and millions of cattle, to pour them into the old country. What will be the consequence? The sheep-farmer—the original cause of the evictions—has already suffered. The price of stock in Scotland must inevitably fall. Rents must follow, and the joint authors of the original iniquity will, as a class, now suffer the natural and just penalty of their past misconduct."

This was written in 1879, and the prediction has been already verified to the full!

The Commissioners are of opinion that a crofter with £150 at his command, might safely undertake to settle in Manitoba, and they propose that Government should lend him £100 of this on certain conditions, including "pre-arranged local guidance," on his arrival in the colony. The following specific con-

ditions, to be carried out under the control of the proposed State Agency, are laid down :—

"(1) That each family should at once find means of subsistence on the homestead from the day of his arrival; (2) that the cost of preparing the homestead, and removing the family to it from this country, should not exceed what it might reasonably be expected the family could pay in eight or ten years; and (3) that the Colonial Government should take an interest in the success of the scheme, make provision for the immigrants on their arrival, see them established, and undertake to recover from them repayment of any advances made by the Imperial Government."

Having explained the effect of these proposals at length, the Commissioners continue—

"As the object of relieving the over-crowding is to assist those at home as much as those who go abroad, we suggest that it should be made a condition of granting an advance to a crofter desiring to emigrate, that the landlord should undertake in all cases, where practical, to utilise his vacated croft, if rented at less than four pounds, for the purpose of enlarging other crofters' holdings, and should be bound to accept and pay for his stock at valuation, so as to enable him to realise at the time of year most suitable for embarkation."

In bringing this section of the Report to a close, the Commissioners say—

"We think it important that assisted emigration should be placed under the immediate direction of officers of the Imperial Government, rather than under the control of local authorities. It would be the interest of the latter to shift poverty from their own locality, irrespective of the prospects of the poor who were removed, and almost inevitably this interest would to a greater or less extent prejudice the careful selection of emigrants. If emigration by families is to be conducted successfully, the proportion of dependants to bread-winners in the emigrant family must not be lost sight of. A family that could advantageously remove to one of the colonies in two or three years' time, might attempt it very unsuccessfully to-day; and it is only with careful discrimination that State aid should be granted, or the system will be brought into discredit. But believing, as we do, that emigration properly conducted is an indispensable remedy for the condition of some parts of the Highlands and Islands, we strongly recommend that in connection with any measures which may be framed for improving the position of the crofters and cottars, such provision should be made as we have indicated for assisting emigrants both by State advances and State direction."

Conclusion.

Concluding the whole Report, the Commissioners consider it desirable to anticipate an objection to their recommendations, 'based upon general principles of public policy, which might be urged on the part of that school of economists, who, in dealing with social distresses, prefer to contemplate the operation of natural causes and tendencies, rather than the action of artificial remedies." To this and other objections they effectually reply that though crofters do not probably number more than 40,000 families, or about 200,000 souls,

"They do, however, possess in their occupations and capabilities certain distinctive features which, in the opinion of many, entitle them to such exceptional attention and protection as has been granted to other special interests. These people take a considerable part in the fishing industry, a branch of national production, not of the first magnitude, but still of material value, and which should not be allowed to pass into other hands. This industry has hitherto depended more on the hardy breeding, hereditary aptitudes, and spontaneous association of the common people acting with the help of local traders, and less on the direction and support of the large capitalist than any other department of labour and traffic in the country. It is susceptible of more perfect organisation and of immense extension, but these developments must be the results of time, study, intelligent direction, and financial aid. Meanwhile, the dispersion of the fishing population, the indispensable instruments of the craft, would be a loss that could scarcely be repaired. It would be difficult to replace them by another race of equal ability and worth.
country. This great object is being partly realised in Scotland among the élite of those workmen who are engaged in urban industries by the regulated purchase of their habitations, but the mass of dwellers and labourers in the country have still no permanent interest in the land, either as occupiers or owners. It is in the Highlands and Islands that a partial exception to this rule is chiefly found, in respect to occupancy; and it is here that occupancy may, perhaps, be most readily converted into property. The connection between the crofter and his holding is indeed of an unsubstantial character, but the kindly custom of the country in many cases gives a practical security of tenure, while the cultivator is endowed with some of the simpler objects and adjuncts of personal possession; furniture, such as it is; live stock; boats; the implements of two pursuits, husbandry and fishing; some knowledge of pastoral and agricultural processes; habits of trade; the practice of purchase and of sale. Men thus

equipped are, in some degree, prepared to become substantial occupiers of small holdings under lease, or to be the managers of land belonging to themselves. While the people are in this way apt for a change of condition, there are, in the present division of agricultural areas in the north, greater facilities for bringing that change to pass than exist in other quarters. To suffer the crofting class to be obliterated, or leave them in their present depressed circumstances, if by any justifiable contrivance their condition can be improved, would be to cast away the agencies

"It is not only in regard to fishing that the crofting and cottar population have a peculiar value. They constitute a natural basis for the naval defence of the country, a sort of defence which cannot be extemporised, and the value of which, in possible emergencies, can hardly be overrated. The seafaring people of the Highlands and Islands contribute at this moment 4431 men to the Royal Naval Reserve, a number equivalent to the crews of seven armoured war steamers of the first class, and which, with commensurate inducements, could be greatly increased. It may be added that most of the men incorporated in the corps of militia and volunteers would be able to serve ashore and afloat with equal efficiency.

"The severance of the labouring classes from the benefits and enjoyments of property (certainly one of the elements of civilisation, morality, and public order), and their precarious and dangerous conditions as dependants on capital and mere recipients of wages, is a question which engages the reflections of those who reason and of those who govern. There is a general desire that the labouring man in every sphere of activity should be invested with a greater share of substantial possession and be attached by deeper and more durable ties to the soil of his and opportunities for a social experiment connected with the land of no common interest.

"The crofter and cottar population of the Highlands and Islands, small though it be, is a nursery of good workers and good citizens for the whole empire. In this respect the stock is exceptionally valuable. By sound physical constitution, native intelligence, and good moral training, it is particularly fitted to recruit the people of our industrial centres, who without such help from wholesome sources in rural districts, would degenerate under the influences of bad lodging, unhealthy occupations, and enervating habits. It cannot be indifferent to the whole nation, constituted as the nation now is, to possess within its borders a people hardy, skilful, intelligent, and prolific, as an ever-flowing fountain of renovating life.

"The claim of the crofter is, however, based not only on his qualities but on his necessities. The crofter is not in his average condition poor compared with the profounder poverty that exists

elsewhere, but he is exposed to unusual risks and vicissitudes. A good harvest or a good haul may make him comfortable for a season. A blight, an early frost, a wet autumn, a long winter, a gale of wind, a wayward movement of the herring, may deprive him of food for his family, funds for his rent, and seed for his ground. In such emergencies he has heretofore appealed to his fellow-countrymen for relief, or others have made the appeal on his behalf. The relief has been granted, yet not always without anxiety and doubt. A transitory and humiliating assistance thus bestowed is but a poor substitute for permanent and honourable encouragements, which might eventually enable the crofter and cottar to support the strain of temporary misfortune.

"The last argument which we shall adduce in support of our views on this subject, is the argument of public expediency. The Highlands and Islands have recently been at some points the scene of agitation, and even of disturbance. Acts of violence have occurred on the occasion of the delivery of legal summonses regarding the occupancy of land, and the enforcement of lawful claims on the part of the proprietors have been delayed or impeded by apprehensions of opposition. We do not palliate the dangers attached to this condition of affairs. There are circumstances under which it is the plain duty of Government to carry out the prescriptions of the law at all risks, and by every means at their disposal. But collisions between proprietory rights and popular demands are to be deprecated, for they leave behind them lasting traces of resentment and alienation. The mere vindication of authority and repression of resistance would not establish the relations of mutual confidence between landlord and tenant, in the absence of which the country would not be truly at peace, and all our inquiries and counsels would be expended in vain.

"The aspect of the present and the future, calmly considered, presents the following features:—The dissatisfaction of the small tenants in regard to their position, is of native origin, but it is fomented by external influences. The land movement in the Highlands, even if it were not spontaneously maintained by the people themselves, would be aroused to further action by other forces: it is impelled by the democratic and social aspirations prevalent among various classes at home, and will probably enlist the sympathies of Highlanders in all parts of the world. There is a larger, richer, more active, and more enthusiastic Celtic community beyond the limits of the Celtic region of Scotland than there is within it, and it is one of the results of increasing knowlege and expanding faculties of intercourse, that men who have forsaken the seats of their birth and early associations continue, communicate, and transmit the affections and passions of the race with even greater warmth than those who remain behind. Endowed with native vitality and fostered by such auxiliary powers, the

land agitation of the Highlands is not likely to pass away without some adjustment of the claims of occupiers, acceptable to the greater number who are not yet possessed with extravagant expectations. Only then may it be expected that the crofters, restored to tranquillity, confidence, and the exercise of their natural good sense, will fully avail themselves of the important benefits which may be extended to them in connection with the other remedial measures which we have proposed.

"In submitting the opinions enunciated above, we do not mean to imply that the claims of the crofting people to legislative protection are of an exclusive character. Special legislation has been found necessary for the benefit of workers in plantations, in mines, in factories, and in ships. It may be invoked for other industries with equal justice. The case of the crofters and cottars of the Highlands and Islands is the special matter consigned to our consideration by your Majesty's commands. In the recommendations embodied in the present Report, we have endeavoured to suggest appropriate provisions for their satisfaction and relief, and thus, in the measure of our humble ability, to give effect to your Majesty's gracious solicitude for a deserving class of your Scottish subjects.

"All which we humbly submit to your Majesty's consideration.

"NAPIER AND ETTRICK.
KENNETH S. MACKENZIE.
DONALD CAMERON.
C. FRASER-MACKINTOSH.
ALEXANDER NICOLSON.
DONALD MACKINNON."

THE TRANSLATOR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT INTO GAELIC.—The Committee of the Perth Gaelic Society had under consideration recently the proposal to erect a monument over the grave of the late Rev. Mr Stewart, Killin, translator of the New Testament into Gaelic, when it was unanimously resolved that, as many Highlanders and friends throughout the world might like to have a share in perpetuating the name of one who had done so much good to his native land, the Committee of the Perth Gaelic Society throw the subscription list open, so as to give all who felt interested in the matter an opportunity of subscribing. Although the Committee of the Perth Society have taken the initiative, it is proposed that the monument should bear an inscription stating that it has been erected by Highlanders and friends throughout the world. The Committee further suggested, in the event of more money being received than may be required for the erection of the monument (about £50), that the surplus be devoted to the foundation of a Gaelic bursary—to be called the Stewart Bursary—in connection with one of the Scotch Universities. Mr Charles Stewart of Tighn'duin, Killin, Chief of the Perth Gaelic Society, the leading spirit in the movement, and Mr James Macleish, engineer, Mill Street, Perth, have agreed to act as Honorary Treasurers; and Mr Donald Farquharson, watchmaker, High Street, Perth, as General Treasurer. Donations will be received and acknowledged by either of these gentlemen, or by the Secretary, Mr Donald Scott, 45 Stormont Street, Perth. We understand that a number of influential gentlemen will be asked to co-operate with the above, and that an appeal is also to be made to members of Gaelic Societies in Scotland, America, and throughout the world. The Society, we may add, will be glad to receive the names of any persons willing to help.

CUMHA DO DH-FHEAR LONNDABHRA

LE AILEAN DALL.

AIR FONN—"*Mile marbhaisg air an t-saoghal.*"

'S lìonmhor sùil a tha galach,
Dubhach, deurach, mu Fhear Lonndabhrà;
'S goirt leam sgaradh do chéile,
Bho 'n la thainig an t-eug ort gun dàil;
Bhi ga d' mhilleadh b' e 'm beud e,
Gun do ghillean ad réir 's tu 'n cruaidh-chàs,
Dhol a chumail do shréine
'N uair a dh' fheargnaich a' bhéist 'thug a' bhlàth.

Tha do nighean fo ghruaman,
Snaim a cridhe cha 'n fhuasgail ach mall,
'S e mar chudthrom na luaidhe
Air tuiteam fo bhruaidhlein nach gann;
Sior-shnidhe le 'gruaidhibh,
'S i drùghadh troimh 'cluasaig fo ceann;
'S goirt an sgaradh a fhuair i,
'N am dhi dùsgadh, 's cha bhruadar a bh' ann.

'N uair a chaidh thu na d' dhìollaid,
Moch an là ud a' triall bho 'n Tigh-bhàn,
Lan tuigse' agus riasain,
Fhir a chumadh an riaghailt air càch—
Faicleach, furachail, ciallach,
'N uair a ghlac thu do shrian ann ad làimh
Mar stiuir luinge 'n uair fhiathail,
'S i gun eagal, gun fhiamh roimh 'n ghaoith àird.

Chaidh an t-ainmhidh gu dhùlan,
'S cha ghabhadh a' bhrùid cur fo smachd;
'S m' an deachaidh tu 'd chùram,
'S ann thainig a' chùis ort gu grad;
Leis an leum thug an cùrs-each,
Mar gu'n lasadh am fùdar fo 'n t-sraid,
Bha do phearsa, 's b' i 'n diùbhail,
Air dhroch càramh fo chruidhean a chas.

Bu tu marcaich nan steud-each,
Gun uireasbhuidh céille na 'n dàil;
'S ged a thuislich do cheum ort,
Cha 'n 'eil fios nach e 'n t-eug a bha 'n dàn;
Ach sgeul cràiteach ri leughadh,
Gun do chàirdean bhi léirsinn mar bhà.
'S tu call d' fhola, trom-chreuchdach,
Gun aon duin' ach thu féin an gleann fàs.

'N uair a thainig do ghille,
Bha sud nàdurra 'thioma bhi truagh ;
Dhoirt a shùilean air mhire,
'S bu dlùth 'dheoir s iad a' sileadh le 'ghruaidh ;
Cha robh chòdhail ach sgiorrail,
'S e gun chòmhnadh a' sileadh nam bruach,
Tigh'nn na ònrachd bho 'n fhireach,
'S gun fhear-sgeoil aige dh' innis mar fhuair.

Air tus tighinn do 'n òigeir,
Cha d' fhuair e do chòmhradh ach fann,
Bha d' fhuil chraobhach, gun fhòtus,
'S i mar chaochan a' dòrtadh le gleann ;
Do cheann sgaoilte gun chòmhdach,
Ri neimh na gaoith-reòta b' fhuar greann,
Mar gu 'n tuiteadh fear còmhraig,
Anns an àrfhaich le stròiceadh nan lann.

'S ma 's e bàs bha mu d' chomhair,
Cha robh seòl air cur roimhe 's an àm,
'S bidh mur-bhi air gach gnothach,
Co dhiùbh bhitheas ann prothaid no call ;
'S ge b' e dh' amhairceadh domhain,
Tha clach-thuislidh 's leac-shleamhain 's gach ball ;
An druim an iomaire threabhaidh
Faodaidh cùis tigh'nn thoirt sobhaidh dhuinn ann.

'S an treas latha de'n bhliadhna,
Fhuair thu 'n t-saighead a chriochnaich do chàil ;
'S thainig teachdaire d' iarraidh,
A's co dh' fhaodadh do thearnadh bho 'làimh ?
Mar gu'n loit' thu le h-iarunn,
Do chorp uasal ga phianadh le cràdh,
'S fhuair do chairdean an diachainn,
'S bu truagh, muladach, cianail, an càs.

Chiad Diluain de'n bhliadhn' ùir,
A fhuair sinn naigheachd a's cùnntas mu d' bhàs ;
'S misde maithean do dhùthcha
Gu 'n do chaireadh do chùlâobh ri làr.
An àm reiteachadh cùise
Bhiodh do threuntas air cul do luchd-gràidh ;
'S b' fhearr d' fhacal le d' dhùrachd
Na làn glaice do'n chùineadh bho chàch.

Ann an tagradh no 'n dìoladh,
'S i do theanga bu shlobhalta cainnt ;
Bha do ghealladh cho cinnteach
'S ged a dheanadh tu 'sgriobhadh le peann ;

Cridhe soilleir, gun mhi-run,
Deàrr-lan soluis le fìrinn gun fheall ;
'S an àrd-bhaile na riòghachd,
Sheasadh d' fhacal, 's cha dìobradh do bhann.

Na 'm biodh éiginn air caraid
Bha thu fuasgailteach, fearail, neo-chlì ;
'N uair a ghluaiseadh tu mhalà
'S mairg a bhuaileadh aon fhear dhiùbh ri d' lìnn ;
'N àm an cruadal a tharuinng
Bha do dhualchas ri fallaineachd sìl,
Bho Chloinn-Chamshroin an daraich,
'S tu 'shliochd Iain-ic-Ailein nam pìos.

Gnùis na féile neo-sgàthach,
Gheibheadh éisdeachd an làthair a' mhòid ;
Fiosrach, euchdach 's na ràidibh,
Ghleidheadh ceum troimh 'n bheul-àth far 'm bu chòir ;
'S léir a leus air do chàirdean,
Bho 'n a rinn iad do chàradh fo 'n fhòid ;
Chaidh an tobar a thràghadh,
'S leir an gaineamh, 's cha tàr iad deur òl.

THE CAMERONS OF LETTERFINLAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

ARDVERIKIE, KINGUSSIE, N.B., 31st July 1884.

SIR,—I observe in the *Celtic Magazine* of this month a letter from Mr Colin Chisholm, headed "The last of the Macmartin Camerons of Letterfinlay," in which he says that it is generally believed that Hugh Cameron, 36 King Street, Inverness, is the only representative of the ancient Macmartin Camerons of Letterfinlay now living.

Now, Mr Editor, kindly allow me, through the columns of your esteemed magazine, to correct such as may be living under such belief. The family that I am of is of the direct male line of the Macmartin Camerons of Letterfinlay. Our family lives in Brae-Lochaber, and has done so for many generations, probably since they sprang out of the Letterfinlay family. When an heir was wanted for the Letterfinlay estate about the beginning of the present century, my grandfather laid his just claim to the property against another branch of the Macmartin Camerons, but he failed, owing to the testimony of an important witness, on whose evidence the right to the property was to be decided. This witness decided falsely against my grandfather, and, of course, the property went to the wrong party. All this is well known in Lochaber by Camerons and others, and the false witness I referred to had to leave the district, owing to what he had done, for the people could not bear him.

Yours faithfully,

CATHERINE CAMERON.

THE GAELIC ORIGIN OF LOCAL NAMES.

THE following paper was read at the February monthly meeting of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club :—

In the few examples of the original Gaelic meaning of local names which I shall submit to the Club, no attempt will be made to deal with them in a strictly scientific sense. To a Gaelic-speaking man many of the names will at once convey their origin and meaning. Others are now so completely changed in spelling and sound that great consideration and care are necessary in discovering the original word. It is not always safe to deal with these names and explain their meaning from mere similarity of sound. Without a knowledge of the local history, traditions, and contour of the country, that style of accounting for the original name would, in many cases, be most misleading.

I shall begin with the name of the town in which we live.

Inverness.—Various origins have been suggested for this familiar name, but none of them is yet so completely established as to secure universal assent. I believe there is not much difference of opinion as to the first half of the name—Inver—Gaelic, *Inbhir*, from *In*, an obsolete Gaelic word, according to Armstrong, meaning land, and *Bior*, Irish and Gaelic, meaning water. Thus we have Inverness, the land at the confluence of the River Ness, not the confluence itself. *Aber* (as contradistinguished from *Inver*), from *Ab*, water, and *Bior*, also water, would mean water to water, or the confluence itself.

But what is the original meaning of the word *Ness*, from which the town, the river, and the loch take their names? In one of the legends of Glen-Urquhart, by Mr William Mackay, one of our vice-Presidents, published in the "Transactions of the Gaelic Society," we are informed that on one occasion a famous spring in Glen-Urquhart sprung at such a rate that it flooded the whole valley now occupied by Loch-Ness, and that, on seeing this remarkable phenomenon, the people exclaimed "Tha *Loch a nis* ann;" that is, Now there is a lake in it. I fear that you will have some little difficulty in accepting that theory in a scientific club; especially as the inundation was consequent upon the neglect of carrying out a Druidical behest—that a stone should always be replaced on the well after water had been drawn from it.

In the same legends another theory is propounded, which Mr Mackay had since, more than once, to defend in the *Inverness Courier*, namely, that the name is from "Naois, MacUisneach," who is alleged to have built a house or stronghold on one side of the lake, in Glen-Urquhart, so situated that he could fish for salmon from his window and shoot a stag from his door.

I am of opinion that the origin of the word is from "Eas," a waterfall, and that Loch-Ness is simply "Loch-an-Eas" the Loch of the Waterfall, from "Eas-na-Smuid" (or the Fall of the Spray), as the Fall of Foyers is called in Gaelic. Loch-Ness, or Loch-Nis, as it is now pronounced in Gaelic—though the oldest forms of it in charters are "Inwernys" and "Innernes"—would be Loch-an-Eas, or the Loch of the Fall. River Ness and Inver Ness naturally follow.

It may be as well that I should, next in order, deal with the modern name of this fall, and of the lands lying on the low ground between it and the lake.

Fall of Foyers, I believe, means Eas-Fo-thir, the Fall Underground, from *Fo*, under, and *Tìr*, aspirated *Thìr*, land or ground. This is an exact description of the Fall and its surroundings. Before the Lower Dores Road was made, and when there were no boats on Loch-Ness, the Fall could only be seen from the higher ground—the *Tìr* above—when it would truly appear as "Eas Fo-thir," or the Fall Under-

ground. It may be interesting to state, in this connection, that above the Fall the river is still called *Feachluinn*, and that only the Fall is named Foyers, or "Fo-thir." This will also be found a true description of the lands and House of Foyers, all of which presented themselves "fo-thir,' or underground, to the spectator of the olden time. Even now, when one visits the Fall, it is found at the lowest point on which one can obtain a standing position to look at it, still going underground.

Coming back to Inverness, I shall first refer to the famous

Clachnacudainn.—We hear many speaking of it as the "Clachnacudainn *Stone.*" This, of course, is the purest nonsense, and is equivalent to saying the *Stone* of the Tub *Stone.* Clach-na-cudainn simply means the Stone of the Tub, from its having been used by the matrons and servant girls of Inverness, to rest their "Cudainns"—a description of tub with "lugs," or water-stoups—upon it, on their way from the river, before there were any thoughts in Inverness of Water and Gas Acts, or of Water Works. A tradition exists that the "Clach" was originally used for the installation of the Lords of the Isles as Lords of Lochalsh, from which district, in some unknown manner, it is said to have found its way to Inverness, where its vicissitudes and history are so well known that it is quite unnecessary to describe them farther to the members of the Club. At one time it was the principal, if not the only, publishing office in the town; letters from friends in India and the Colonies were read beside it, and their contents circulated by the lads and lasses that always met there; while the love-affairs, the gossip, and the scandal of the town found willing listeners and retailers at its shrine.

Tomnahiuraich is, perhaps, the next place of interest in the neighbourhood. It has been said to mean "Tom-na-h-iughrach," or the boat-hill, its shape being so like a boat turned upside down. It was also said, and with greater probability, to mean the Hill of Yews, from "Iubhar," the Gaelic for yew, a class of trees which is said at one time to have been abundant there. The late Mr Thomas Mackenzie, Broadstone Park, discussing this and other local names, held that the meaning was really "Tom-na-fiodhrach," from "Tom," hill or knoll, and "fiodhrach," wood or wooded. He said that it was only within the memory of persons not at all old, that the letter "f" had been dropped, even in colloquial speech; that the hill was resorted to, in his own day, for firewood by the people of Inverness in hundreds, and that it was on account of its timber that in was named "Tom-na-fiodhrach." He declared this view to be based on his own experience as an ear and eye-witness; and I am disposed to think that, with such evidence, most people will be inclined to believe that Mr Mackenzie's view is the one most likely to be correct.

The next name, in the same neighbourhood, is one which has undergone so much change, that, without a knowledge of local history, etymologists would never make anything of it. I refer to

Ballifeary.—In 1398 "Alastair Carrach" Macdonald, first of Keppoch, divided the church lands of Kinmylies, including Ballifeary, between Reginald Macalyshander and John de Chisholm, though he does not seem to have had any substantial right to them, as appears from a "warning" issued against him by the Bishop of Moray, on the 20th November, in the same year. The Macdonalds of Keppoch continued, however, their attentions to Inverness, down to the end of the seventeenth century—on one occasion, at least, taking the magistrates prisoners, and keeping them in durance, until released on the payment of a very heavy ransom. An outpost was in consequence erected for watchers or sentinels, at Ballifeary, to give notice of the approach of the Macdonalds or any of the other western tribes; and from this the place was called "Baile-na-faire," or the town of watching, now transformed into Ballifeary. In a

charter of the lands of Kinmylies, by the Bishop of Moray, dated the 13th of May 1544, the name of the place is given as "Balnafare." This, in my opinion is conclusive. The village of

Clachnaharry takes its name from a large stone in its immediate neighbourhood, used for similar outpost duty to the erection at "Baile-na-faire." Probably it was originally "Clach-na-faire"—the stone of watching—though the "f" has since been dropped even in Gaelic, in which language it is now called "Clach-na-h-aire," almost identical in sound with the modern English form of the name. I may say as to the question whether or not the letter "f" has dropped out of "faire," that in the West we would never say "Clach-na-faire," but "Clach-na-h-aire," just as we would say "Thoir an aire," not "Thoir faire."

Kilvean, the Gaelic name for a portion of the lands of Bught, and

Torvean, in its neighbourhood, take their names from Saint Baithean, Columba's cousin and successor.

Bught, which is found in a charter, dated 17th of August 1443, spelt "Buthe," is the Lowland Scotch form of the Gaelic "Bot," a bend, a reedy bog or fen, a river bank, a word which gives a perfect description of what the locality would once have been, and, in one sense, now is.

Kinmylies appears to be "Ceann-a-Mhile," or the Mile-end so often found in the neighbourhood of towns in Scotland. The old road to the West passed through the lands of Kinmylies (found in 1232 in a charter as "Kynmyly," or "Ceann-Mile"), through the Leachkin, and across the ridge to the south of

Craig Phadruig.—This name no one has been able to explain, so far as I know, unless it has some connection with the name Saint Patrick. It must, however, be kept in mind that Craig Phadruig was an important station, as one of the principal prehistoric vitrified forts, so numerous in the Highlands, several centuries before Saint Patrick's time.

Leachkin is simply the Anglified form of the Gaelic word "Leacainn," or "Leachduinn," which is explained in the dictionaries as "the side of a hill ; a steep green surface ; steep shelvy ground." Could anything be more perfectly descriptive of that beautiful slope on which we look with so much pleasure from the Castle Hill of Inverness ?

A good illustration of the difficulties met with in explaining the meaning of local names will be found in the history of

Clachnahagaig, an important landmark now standing on the banks of the Caledonian Canal, mentioned in the Golden Charter granted by James VI, to the town of Inverness, dated at Holyrood House, on the 1st day of May 1591, as the boundary of the fishings conveyed by that famous instrument to the Burgh. No one could suggest the meaning of "Clachnahagaig ;" but when it is explained that the transcriber of the Golden Charter wrote "Clachnahagaig" for "Clachnahalaig," or "Clach-na-faoileag," the stone of the seagulls, the difficulty at once disappears. It is said that the gulls, possibly the representatives of its ancient habitues, frequent the stone and pose upon it to this day, watching for a chance of procuring food.

Proceeding further south, on the west side of the Canal, we come upon

Dochfour, now comprising Davochgarioch, Davochnalurgin, Davochfure, Davochcairn, and Davochnacraig. Indeed, the whole property is called the Dochfour Estate, while the mansion is called Dochfour House. The original Dochfour—"Dabhach fhuar," or the more-exposed, cold Davoch, is where the mansion-house originally stood, while the present mansion-house, although called Dochfour, stands in Dochcairn, or "Dabhach-a-chuirn," the original name thus following the House to its new site on

Dochcairn, or the "Dabhach of the Cairn." This again illustrates the difficulty of explaining these names without local knowledge. Doch-na-Craig is simply the "Dabhach of, or with, the Rock," but I am unable to suggest the meaning of the other two, Dochgarroch, pronounced "Dabhach Gearaiche," by the natives, and Dochnalurg, pronounced "Dabhach-na-Lurgain." It may be explained that "Davoch" is a measure of land equal to four ploughs, or as much as four ploughs will plough in a year.

Bona, in the oldest existing document in which any mention is found of it, in 1233, is spelt "Baneth." About two hundred years later it is met with as "Bonacht," "Bonoch," "Bonnache," and "Bannache;" and within the last hundred years it is found spelt "Bonath." Mr Fraser-Mackintosh says that the Gaelic definition is supposed to be "The white plain or field;" made up, I presume, of "Ban," fair, or white, and "Achadh," field. I doubt this derivation very much, but I regret being unable to suggest a better. It is almost impossible, on any principle to explain a name which has undergone so many changes. I next introduce to you

Abriachan, met with, for the first time, in 1239, spelt "Abirihacyn." Various derivations have been suggested for this name, the prefix "Aber" forming an element in most of them; but it is scarcely possible that "Aber" can form any part of the name of a place situated on such an elevation as Abriachan. The most probable origin of the word is "Uaigh Briachain," Saint Briachan's grave, or tomb. There is in the place a fine old tombstone on the site of the old Church of "Cill-Ianan," which is "sculptured and of great antiquity," and according to tradition, it covers the grave, or "Uaigh" of Saint Briachan, by some corrupted into "Bran." The connection of this Saint, who was originally King Brude's Druid, with the district in the time of Saint Columba, is well known. The transition from "Uaigh Briachain" to Abriachan is exceedingly slight, and this etymology is highly probable.

As it is my intention in this paper to keep in the neighbourhood of Inverness, I shall now ask you to return with me, and cross the Canal and the River Ness at

Aldourie.—I have been much puzzled with this name, until I was told that the burn or "Allt," which enters Loch-Ness at the place, is called in Gaelic the "Dourag," or the little river, from "Dur," in Gaelic, and in Irish, water; the "ag" expressing the diminutive. This root "Dur" is found in the names of many rivers throughout the world. The Cornish has its "douar," and the Bretons exactly the same as in Irish and Scottish Gaelic. It is also spelt "Dobhar" in Scottish Gaelic, from which "Dobhar-chu," an otter—a river or water dog. You have also "Dobhar-lus," the Gaelic for water-cresses or water-plants. The name may, however, mean the "Allt Odhar," the Dun (coloured) or muddy burn, though I am not aware whether this is a characteristic of the "Dourag" or not.

On our way down we have

Holme, Gaelic "Tolm," a mound, a hill, or knoll, of considerable height, and rounded form. Gaelic-speaking people know nothing of *Holme*. They say "Tolm," "Fear an Tuilm," and "Muillinn an Tuilm," for Holme, Laird of Holme, and Mill of Holme.

Drummond is, in charters and in Gaelic, "Drumdean." If we only knew it in its modern form, I should say at once that it was simply the Anglified form of "Druiminn," a ridge; but there is more than this comprised in "Drumdean"—the original name of the place. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh says that it means the "Ridge of Shelter." I cannot see any ground for this derivation; but it may have been "Druim-dithean," or the ridge abounding in darnels, or other wild flowers, or herbs, the same as

Altnasgiach, which runs alongside of it, means the Burn of Hawthorns or Briers —Allt-na-sgitheach," or "Sgithche."

Castleheather is found in old documents as Castle "Lathir." This degenerated later into the English Castle-Leather, and now we have it in the more fragrant form of "Castle Heather." Could any thing show more clearly the danger of accepting the modern form and pronunciation of these names as a safe guide in arriving at their original meaning? There is a Gaelic word "Lathar," meaning a place of meeting. This may have been the original meaning; but I prefer "Caisteal-Lethoir," or "Lethoireach"—the "Castle aside," from the principal stronghold in the district—the Old Castle of Inverness, or from the town itself, or, perhaps, "on the edge" or the side of the slope or brae. John Mackenzie, in the "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," referring to the place as the birth-place of Kenneth Mackenzie, the Gaelic bard, calls it "Caisteal Leauir'"; and he would no doubt know how the name was pronounced at the time in the district. It will be observed how closely the sound of this word is to the original spelling of "Lathir," keeping in mind that the "th" is always silent in Gaelic, and that the name would be pronounced as if it were spelt "Lahir." In any case the name has nothing to do with *Leather* or *Heather*.

The next name which I shall submit is, I think, a still better illustration of my contention in this respect;

Diriebught.—Would any one ever suspect that this word did duty for "Tir-nam-Bochd"—the poor's land? Yet such is the case. These lands, at the time extending to six acres of arable land, were on the 14th of September 1362, conveyed by Sir Robert de Chisholm to "The Altar of the Holy Rood of the Church of Inverness;" and they are now in possession of the Kirk-Session, the revenue from them being to this day applied to the relief of the Poor of the Parish. The earliest forms of the name we meet with are "Dire na Pouchk" and "Deyrbowchte." Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, in "Invernessiana," prints a letter addressed, in 1795, by Provost Inglis of Inverness, to General Hutton, from which it appears that a "Saint John's Chapel" stood at one time on the lands of Diriebught. At the date of the letter he says, "No vestige of the chapel remains, but the field is to day called *Dire na Pouchk*, or the Land of the Poor, and is in possession of the Church Session." It may be interesting to state that the familiar name

Haugh is found in a feu-charter, dated 4th August 1361, written "Halc," and that Gaelic-speaking Invernessians invariably call it "Talchan," never "Haugh." I am unable to suggest the original meaning in the light of this discovery. We all know the meaning of Haugh; but clearly the modern name is but a corruption of the original Gaelic, and not in this case itself a descriptive English name.

I have dealt with the strictly local names much longer than I had intended, when I began to write my paper, and I shall not, on this occasion at any rate, go further a-field. I may, however, read a list of a few names in the vicinity, the meaning of which is at once self-evident to a Gaelic-speaking person, but which is quite incomprehensible to those who are ignorant of that language, without some explanation. I shall only wait to give the name, as printed in the Valuation Roll, in one column, the correct Gaelic spelling in a second, and the English meaning in a third column, as follows:—

Scorguie	Sgor-gaoithe	Windy Scòr or Rock.
Balnafettack	Baile-na-Feadag	Town of Plovers.
Dunaincroy	Dunan Cruaidh	Hard (Bottomed) Hill.
Balbarron	Baile Bharoin	Town of the Baron.
Dalneich	Dail-an-Eich	Horse's dale or portion.

Dalreoch	Dail-Riabhach	Speckled Dale.
Slackbuie	Slòc-Bhuidhe	Yellow Hollow.
Torbreck	Tòr-Breac	Spotted or Yellow Torr or Hillock.
Balloan	Baile-an-Loin	Town of the Bog.
Balnacraig	Baile-na-Craige	Town of the Rock.
Lagnalian	Lag-an-Lìn	Valley of the Flax, or Lint.
Achculin	Achadh-a-Chuilinn	Field of Holly.
Balmore	Baile Mòr	Big Town.
Achbuie	Achadh-Buidhe	Yellow Field.
Balchraggan	Baile Chragain	Town of the Rocklet.
Tye-an-Tore	Tigh-an-Todhair	House of Bleaching.
Balbeg	Baile-Beag	Little Town.
Balnagriaschan	Baile-nan-Griasaichean	Town of the Shoemakers.
Tomchoin	Tom-a-choin	Dog's Knoll.
Balnahaun	Baile-na-h-aibhne	River Town.
Druim	Druim	Ridge.
Braerannoch	Braigh or Bruthach Rainich	Fern or Bracken Brae.
Culneilean	Cul-an-Eilein	Back of the Island.
Tighneilan	Tigh-an-Eilein	House of the Island.
Feabuie	Featha Bhuidhe	Yellow Marsh or Bog.
Clattach	Cladach	Shore.
Culblair	Cul-a-Bhlair	Back of the Moss.
Kerrowaird	Ceathramh Ard	High Quarter Lands.
Kerrowgair	Ceathramh Gearr	Short Quarter Lands.
Balnaglack	Baile-na-glaic	Town of the Hollow.
Ballinreich	Baile-'n-fhraoich	The Town of Heather.
Baddoch	Badach	Tufty.
Balnagown	Baile-nan-Gobhann	Smithtown.
Balvonie	Baile-mhonaidh	Hill, or Moor Town.
Bogbain	Bog Bàn	White Bog.
Bogroy	Bog Ruadh	Red Bog.
Balnabual	Baile-na-Buaile	The Town of the Fold.
Aandow	Abhuinn Dubh	Black River.
Balfreish	Baile-Phris	Town of the Bush.
Cantray	Ceann-an-t-Stràth	Head of the Strath.
Cairnglass	Carn Glàs	The Grey Cairn.
Tirfogrein	Tir-fo-Ghrein	Land under the Sun, *e.g.*, which the sun does not reach.
Braeval	Braigh Bhaile	Top of the Town.

Numberless other names of this class could be given, but I think I have given more than enough. From what I have said it will be seen that, while it is quite safe in many cases to take the present sound and form of a name to guide us in arriving at its original meaning, in numerous other instances that plan would be found very unsafe and misleading. I do not for a moment expect that you will accept my suggestions as to the meaning of all the names dealt with, and I do not present them in any dogmatic spirit. Indeed, in some cases they are only suggested as, perhaps, worthy of consideration. The question is a difficult one, and no wise man will express himself dogmatically upon the subject. Science is coming to our aid by-and-bye, but the Science of Celtic Etymology is as yet a mere baby, and it is almost as necessary at present to guard against its assumptions on this subject as it is to guard against the wild guesses made by non-scientific people like myself, some of whom, I must admit, do sometimes propound theories and explanations as to the meaning of names which deservedly make us the laughing-stock of the enemy. There are several good Gaelic and Celtic students present at this meeting, and if my paper will only produce an interesting discussion, or lead to a thoughtful and more searching consideration of the original Gaelic meaning of our local names, I shall personally be more than satisfied.

A. M.

THE SAILOR'S RETURN.

Ten thousand crafts were sweeping
On their undulating way
O'er the ocean's boundless bosom—
Where, from an eternity,
The countless myriad billows
On unceasingly have rolled,
And Time the tales of battles
And disasters dread has told;

And the fisher folk were sheltered
On a Sabbath from the gale,
And their boats were high upon the beach,
And snug each mast and sail;
For the Storm King had heralded
His coming on the wind,
And the dangers of his deadly wrath
Lay deep on every mind.

A patriarchal father heard
The thunder's rolling roar,
And the swelling, leaping breakers
On the mountain cliffy shore;
And he thought of friends, the true and brave,
From birth sea heroes bred,
Who lay 'neath storm and tempest
On the ocean's rocky bed;

And he pondered o'er the naval fight
Wherein his son had been,
And bleeding fell upon the deck
For country and Queen;
His name, enrolled amongst the brave,
Was numbered, it was said,
'Mid the silent and the breathless,
On the rank-roll of the dead.

In the sable weeds of sorrow
Sat the parents well resigned,
Yet for their son in fitful pangs
They silently had pined;
And a sad and stricken beauty
Was condoling by their side:
She was Ronald's dearest and betrothed,
And soon to be his bride.

A stranger raised the wooden latch
And gently oped the door,
Then a tinselled naval officer
Stood on the cottage floor;

All eyes gazed round on him aghast,
Till, trembling o'er with fear,
His mother rushed into his arms,
And kissed her gallant dear.

The father saw with pride his son
Promoted in command,
As tears ran down his furrowed cheeks
He seized and wrung his hand;
And the village beauty, who had loved
Her Ronald from a boy,
Raised her eyes with thanks to Him above,
And sobbed and wept with joy.

On their marriage day, rejoicing,
Came the villagers around,
Heard their grave but kindly Pastor
Speak in solemn words profound,
As he put on them the sacred vows,
Had wedded them as one,
There came, as with the bliss of Heaven,
The smile beams of the sun.

Soon there was the marriage festival,
Life's great events and cheer,
We have, as at a wayside inn,
And stage of our career
And 'mid the sturdy Highland youths
That joined the rustic ball,
The blythe dame and her fisherman
Were happiest of all.

When dawn proclaimed another day
And night's gay revels past,
All gave the wedded twain their love,
With many joys to last;
As parting for their future home,
The father good and grave,
Spoke of hopes and cares that come our way,
And battles we must brave.

Then counselled him, and said, my son,
The helm has control,
To every point the ship may steer,
The needle seeks the pole;
Led by the compass of our lives,
I ever will believe,
Integrity's a noble guide,
Like Truth will ne'er deceive.

KENNETH MACLAUCHLAN.

GREENOCK.

"TAILLEAR DUBH NA TUAIGHE"—A CAMERON WARRIOR.

By the Rev. Professor Malcolm Campbell Taylor, D.D., of the Edinburgh University.

A recent article * has identified the subject of this notice with Donald MacEwen Beg, whose historical existence and position in the Clan are not disputed. The identification—a not unimportant contribution to the History of the Camerons, is vouched for by one who is understood to have had exceptional opportunities of handing down, in an authentic form, the Lochaber traditions of the Clan. As, however, it is too late in the day to expect for any one local tradition, the acceptance which it might receive were it otherwise confirmed, the following considerations are offered as a substantial confirmation of the tradition of Lochaber :—

1. There are, to begin with, considerations that arise out of the *silence*, preserved by the author of "The Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel," regarding Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe. The "Introduction" to the Memoirs, while professing to give a summary of the previous history of the Clan from the earliest times, makes absolutely no allusion to him.† Now, although it can be shown that the author was, on some points, imperfectly informed, and that, in others, he is corrected both by living tradition and the public records, it is incredible that he could have been ignorant of the quite exceptional place which is occupied by the Taillear Dubh, in Cameron story. It is almost as incredible that he can have omitted all notice whatever of the services which he rendered. The natural inference is, that the family historian, discarding the name or nickname by which, alone, the valiant partizan was popularly known, reverted to, and made use of, his more decorous proper name. There is evidence that this would be quite after the author's mind ; for, although possessed of several qualities of value in the historiographer of an ancient

* *Celtic Magazine*, April 1883, by Mrs Mary Mackellar.

† These memoirs of date *circa* 1733, were written by John Drummond or Macgregor, of the family of Balhaldy, Stirlingshire, believed to have been a grandson of Sir Ewen.

family, it is pretty clear that he would not willingly enter on the family record, and so perpetuate, a *sobriquet* of the kind. That is to be regretted. Yet he is hardly to be blamed, for a sense of the value of folk-lore, in its genuine unsophisticated forms, had not then been awakened. It was a time, besides, when the patriarch chief of older times had developed into a feudal lord, and was on his way to all the respectabilities of the great landed proprietors of the present century. It was plainly the author's conception of his task, to do his utmost, compatible with truth, to enhance the dignity of the single family, with whose fortunes he acknowledges himself to be chiefly concerned. On the presumption, then, that a passing glance, at least, has been bestowed in the "Introduction"* on the Taillear Dubh, under a designation which may have commended itself to the author as more becoming, we are at once struck by several points of resemblance, between the account which tradition has preserved of Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe, and that which the author gives of Donald MacEwen Beg. The latter, like the former, is described as the illegitimate son of a former chief, as a great favourite with the Clan, and as their leader and champion at a crisis of their history. In short, of all the persons whom the author names in his "Introduction," Donald MacEwen Beg is the only one who can possibly be regarded as a tolerably good counterpart of the Taillear Dubh.†

2. More important considerations arise from the fact that, in the localities beyond Lochaber that have preserved the tradition of the Taillear Dubh, the presence of Donald MacEwen Beg can be traced by means of independent, documentary evidence.

So far as known, there are two, and only two, such localities, viz.: Abernethy, on Speyside, and Stratheachaig, in Cowal. The account given in the "Introduction" is that Donald MacEwen Beg in his youth, or early manhood, found a home in the country of the Grants, under the protection of his paternal grandmother; and that he was afterwards recalled from thence by the loyal section of the Clan, to head them in securing the succession of their infant chief, and in expelling the hereditary enemy [p. 37].

* Author's introduction to the Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheil, for brevity's sake spoken of as the "Introduction" throughout this paper.

† The difference respecting the fate ascribed to each is afterwards noticed.

We are not told how long he remained with the Grants, but are allowed to understand that he may have lived among them for several years, and that his intention was to have settled in their country.

Now, there is, at the present time, a very considerable body of Camerons settled in that district. In the united parishes of Abernethy and Kincardine, in the very home of the Grants, these Camerons are a good second to the Grants in point of numbers, and second to none, as their kinsmen elsewhere will be glad to know, in respect of industry, probity, and independence. They are known to this day as "Sliochd nan Gillean maola dubh,"* and their account of themselves is, that they descend from twelve young men who accompanied a daughter of the house of Lochiel, on her marriage with one of the Barons Stewart, of Kincardine—the date of which event is placed in the latter half of the 16th century. They attended the bride to her new home, with the double object of adding to her husband's strength in men, and of being a source of confidence and solace to herself. As has already been implied, they have fairly prospered, with one noticeable exception; for the family of the Ceann-tighe has decayed. There is more to be told; for their tradition adds, that the captain of the original band of the "Gillean maola dubh" was Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe! There is still living, near the Manse of Abernethy, an aged woman, Anne Cameron—the last of her family—whose presence and intelligence suggest better days and surroundings, whose father was acknowledged by all of the name in that district, to be their Ceann-tighe, chieftain or head. Yet, strange to say, according to her account and theirs, her father was not of the "Sliochd nan Gillean maola dubh," but a descendant, as she said, of "Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe, 'chuir an ruaig air Macantoisich." Him the "Gillean maola dubh" had regarded as their Ceann-tighe, just as their descendants had recognised his representatives, from generation to generation. Their tradition agrees with that of Lochaber, in representing him as the son of

* It has got into some book, and become current, that this meant the "bonnetless black lads." It is more likely to contain a reference to the steel bonnet, or skull-cap, which a bodyguard of the kind would wear, and which, worn over their black hair, would give them the appearance of *baldness*. A long list is extant of Camerons, who had engaged in a foray in 1598, all of whom wore steel bonnets, &c., &c. *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. v., p. 498.

a former chief of the Camerons, and as the champion of their independence; but draws him into closer relationship with the Grants and their affairs. It also includes one curious episode, according to which he was dispatched by Grant, in command of a body of men, to assist Cluny and his Macphersons against the Mackintoshes. Old Anne's belief was, that the Taillear Dubh had settled for good among the Grants, but she could not remember that any tradition pointed to his having been buried in any church-yard, in that country. Yet although a descendant of Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe, she knew nothing of Donald MacEwen Beg. On the other hand, as we have seen, the "Introduction" discloses the fact that Donald MacEwen Beg resided for a considerable period in that same district. Were they one and the same?

The only other district which has had a steadfast tradition connecting the Taillear Dubh with it, is in Cowal, where a group of families, Macintaylor—later, Taylor—by name, have always regarded themselves as his descendants.* It adds weight to their tradition that *one link* suffices to connect the oldest survivors of the sept with their progenitor of 200 years ago. Their grandfather† who fought at Culloden in 1746, and died in 1817, at the great age of 96, had the family account from his grandfather, regarding whom there is unimpeachable evidence of date 1685-6.‡ It is also noteworthy that their tradition carries them up by name to about 1580, when the first of them is said to descend from the Taillear Dubh. Regarding its general drift, no more need be said than that it corresponds, in all main particulars, with that of Lochaber. Where it differs, as in certain minor and unimportant details, the differ-

* It will be noticed that those who claimed descent from him in Abernethy retained the name of Cameron. But in that case they were associated in the same locality with a considerable body of Camerons. Besides, he was not then the famous Taillear Dubh of a later period.

† The writer's great-grandfather. He was a keen sportsman, after the healthy fashion, in which the tacksmen of those days enjoyed the privilege, and when over 80 was reckoned an excellent shot. After he had passed his 90th year, it was nothing unusual for him to set out alone "for the hill" to have a look at his cattle and sheep.

‡ *An Account of the Depredations in Argyllshire* (Ed., 1816)—A contemporary record which gives a distinct view of the entire group, and shows them to have been a body of substantial tacksmen or tenants occupying Garrochra, Inverchappel, and three or four other well-known Cowal farms.

ence, from a critical point of view, is in favour of the Cowal version, as being the simpler, and, therefore, presumably, the older form. These Cowal people were wont to regard themselves as Camerons of the Camerons, and to designate themselves, down to the closing years of last century, as "Clann an Taillear Dhuibh, Camronaich." It would appear to have depended entirely on the scribes of the day, the notaries and clerks of various kinds, whether their name should be done in English, and transmitted to their posterity, as Macintaylor or as Cameron—a contingency illustrated by numerous other instances in the Highlands.

Let us turn once more to the "Introduction." It gives no sign that Donald Mac Ewen Beg ever visited Cowal, but, as we shall see, there is evidence to that effect in records that are even more trustworthy. A brief survey of the posture of affairs among the Camerons, during the third quarter of the 16th century, will bring out the particulars. The difficulty of making this survey intelligible is increased by two circumstances—that three generations appear simultaneously as the actors on the same stage, and that they have only three Christian names among them. Thus, there are the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Ewen Alanson, who was beheaded in 1547 ; and among them there are several Donalds, Ewens, and Johns; for the infant chief, Allan, round whom all the storms of the period revolved, may be left out of account. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that it has been found almost impossible to assign to each of these his proper part. The author of the "History of the Camerons," now in progress, has done good service by showing that Ewen Alanson was twice married, first to a daughter of Lochalsh, and second, to Marjory Mackintosh.* The double marriage, which is not to be found in the "Introduction," and was probably unknown to its author, is really the clue to the contentions in which the Clan were for some years embroiled. Ewen Alanson, according to the "Introduction," had four sons,† three of whom survived him. It gives the names of three of the four, viz., Donald, the eldest, who died during his father, Ewen Alanson's, lifetime, and Donald and John, whom it designates, perhaps incorrectly, of Erracht and

* *Celtic Magazine*, Feb. 1883, p. 155.

† *Author's Introduction to the Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheil*, p. 33.

Kinlochiel respectively ; the same who acted as tutors, during the minority of the young chief, Allan. Who was the fourth son ? Before answering that question, it is quite understood that Donald was not the name of the progenitor of the Erracht family,* and Gregory with the "Introduction" before him, changes "Donald of Eracht" of the "Introduction" into "Ewen of Eracht." This "Ewen of Eracht," or Ewen MacEwen, he represents as having been murdered at Inverlochy ; but the records† seem to show that the tutor or guardian who was put to death there was not Ewen MacEwen, but Donald MacEwen. There is no means of discovering how the latter was styled, whether of Erracht or of some other place. As it is not disputed that John of Kinlochiel was the other guardian, the names given in the "Introduction" ought to stand ; and as, by general consent, the progenitor of the Erracht family was Ewen MacEwen,‡ the inference is, that this last was the son whose name has not been recorded in the "Introduction." It would thus appear, that there were two sons by Ewen Alanson's first marriage, Donald and Ewen ; and two of second first marriage, Donald and John. Donald (1), had pre-deceased his father ; his full brother, Ewen seems to have died soon after young Allan's birth ; but, if alive when these contentions in the Clan commenced, it goes without saying, that he was not an abettor of Donald (2) and John, in their attempted usurpation.

(To be continued.)

"COLONEL ANN" MACKINTOSH AND CUMBERLAND. – Lady Mackintosh, generally known as "Colonel Ann," was taken prisoner after the Battle of Culloden, and carried up to London, but was soon set at liberty. Cumberland, it is said, gave a ball, to which he invited this lady. The first tune played was, "Up and Waur them a', Willie," to which he requested her to dance. Having consented, she asked, when they were done, if, since she had danced to his tune, he would dance to hers. He could not refuse to a lady, and "Colonel Ann" asked for "The Auld Stuarts back Again!" To this tune the singularly assorted couple also danced.— *Chambers's History of the Rebellion.*

* *Celtic Magazine*, April, 1883, p. 269. *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Islands* (2nd Edition), p. 228-9.

† *Record of Privy Council*, vol. ii., 597.

‡ His son appears soon afterwards in the Records, as "Johnne Badach Mac Vc. Ewne of Erach," which, unfortunately, does not settle the point. *Reg. Privy Council.* vol. v., p. 498.

AN INCURSION OF THE FRASERS TO ATHOLE.

At one time there raged a bitter feud between the Frasers of Lovat and the Athole men. At the date of this story, the latter had made a terrible raid upon the Lovat country during the absence of nearly all its male inhabitants upon a similar expedition. The Frasers returned only to find their houses pillaged and burned, their women and children slain or chased to the hills, and their cattle driven away by the invaders. As the scene of desolation broke upon their view, and as they beheld stretched around them the lifeless bodies of the few old men whom they had left behind, a deep thirst for revenge took possession of the Frasers, and they called upon their lord to lead them at once into the Athole country. They brandished their gleaming claymores on high, as if calling upon Heaven to aid them in their purpose, while the weird, sad strains of the coronach rose in the air, and mingled with their angry voices. Lord Lovat, a man of fierce passions, swore solemnly on the cross-hilt of his dirk that he would not return to his own lands again until he had either captured or put to death every living creature in the Athole country, from the human inhabitants to the very barn-door fowls. The Clan were at once marshalled, and set off determinedly on their expedition.

They were fortunate enough to find the Athole country in the same unprotected state as their own had been, and for two days they harried and burned and slaughtered to their hearts' content. At the end of that time they commenced the return march, laden with plunder, when, just as they were leaving the boundaries of the blackened and wasted land, a cock was heard to crow from some deserted farm-house a long distance behind them. Faint though the sound was, it reached the quick ears of Donald Fraser, the henchman of Lord Lovat, and he at once reminded his Chief that his vow had not been fulfilled to the letter.

An oath taken upon the dirk was then considered the most binding of any, and it was reckoned a terrible crime to break such an oath, so that Lord Lovat ordered Donald to go back with a small party of men, and not to return until he had effectually silenced the

poor cock. The henchman accordingly set off, but on reaching the place whence the sound had come, his party was attacked on all sides by the furious Athole men, who had meanwhile returned, and were only too glad to take advantage of the opportunity of revenge thus offered them. The party of Frasers were cut to pieces, the only survivor being Donald himself, who, after a most vigorous resistance, was overpowered by numbers and bound tightly with cords. He was then commanded in no gentle terms to guide his captors to where the rest of his Clan were awaiting him, but by an almost superhuman effort he burst his bonds asunder, and broke through his guards. He had not got a hundred yards, however, before he was overtaken and slain. A few of the victorious Athole men then proceeded to don the tartans of the dead Frasers, and made straight in the track of the main body of Lovat's men, the rest of their party following some distance in the rear.

After marching two or three miles they came in view of the Frasers, encamped in a little hollow in the side of a hill, evidently feasting on their booty, unconscious of danger, and totally unprepared for an attack. The main body of the Athole men now made a circuit round to the back of the hill so as to take the enemy in the rear, while the advance party, secure in their borrowed tartans, advanced boldly towards the Frasers. Believing them to be his own men, Lovat beckoned them to come on, when, with a wild yell, they threw off their disguises, and rushed furiously upon the astonished foe. At the same moment, the main body charged down from the brow of the hill and threw themselves upon the rear. A scene of butchery ensued which it is impossible to describe. Lord Lovat was shouting for his horse, when he was cut down by several of his opponents at once. The rest of his Clan, disheartened by the fall of their Chief, were quickly despatched, save a remnant who managed to escape. The Athole men returned home with all the booty which had been carried off by the Frasers. Before leaving, however, they generously gave the rites of burial to their fallen foes, and erected an immense cairn of stones over their graves, which is known as Fraser's Cairn to this day. The country people believe that at midnight the ghost of Lord Lovat can be seen rushing madly round the cairn, calling loudly for a horse—a horse!

H. R. M.

THE "SCOTTISH REVIEW" ON THE REPORT OF THE CROFTERS' COMMISSION.

THE *Scottish Review* for the present quarter contains two articles of special interest to Highlanders—the first to students of Celtic Philology, and the second to Land Law Reformers. The articles we refer to are those on the Scottish Language and Highland Land Law Reform. The first-mentioned bears evidence of coming from the pen of one who has kept himself quite abreast—in some respects, indeed, ahead—of the most recent disclosures in the field of philologic and ethnologic research. His special subject is the Lowland Scottish Language; but in the course of his observations he makes digressions among the tangled thicket of Celtic Philology, and his remarks on the subject are full of interest. Very important, and even striking, is the following remark, which lays down a theory that the upholders of the old fashioned beliefs will find it hard to disprove. He says—"The probability is that the race to which both the Scots and the Picts belonged was neither Gaelic nor Celtic, but non-Aryan. The Scots certainly spoke the Goidelic dialect of the Celtic language, probably as an acquired or adopted tongue; but many of the Picts did not understand it. Columba, who spoke Goidelic, could make himself understood, it is true, to King Brude and the men about him when he visited him in his stronghold in the neighbourhood of the River Ness; but when he penetrated further into the Pictish country, and came in contact with plebeians and peasants, he had to preach to them, as Adamnan says, by means of interpreters. Their language, there is reason to believe, was, like their race, non-Aryan." The whole article will amply repay careful perusal.

The author of the article on Highland Land Law Reform enters on an able and most sympathetic examination of the Report of the Crofters' Commission. The author is one of the few who seem to have properly grasped the idea expressed by the Commissioners in the "Township" scheme, which they recommend for the sanction of the Legislature. The proposal has met with disfavour, very much because it has not been understood by the critics. Opinions, the most various and

contradictory, have been expressed with respect to the scheme according to the standpoint from which it is viewed. "It has been stigmatised as retrograde, socialistic, and illusory. On the other hand, it has been denounced with equal vigour as timid and half-hearted." "It has altogether failed to satisfy the more advanced advocates of Highland Land Law Reform, and it has utterly disgusted the economists." The principle of the scheme the Reviewer puts in a sentence—"It recommends an individual occupancy of arable land with a common occupancy of pasture." The origin of the idea is neither new nor foreign; it "has been for centuries, and is still 'a reality in the habits of the people,' a reality which 'could not now be set at nought without arousing public sentiment and opposition.'" References in proof of the existence and practical operation of the Township system are made to the very interesting contribution by Mr A. A. Carmichael, which is appended to the Report of the Commission. "It thus appears," says our author, "that the organisation of the Highland Township, whatever the value of that organisation may be, is entirely indigenous—a product of the past life of the people, and an illustration of a deep-seated and far-reaching race characteristic." To the objection that a system involving "common occupancy" of pasture is retrogressive and inimical to individual industry, the Commissioners give the unanswerable reply "that pasture is indispensable to the small tenant in most parts of the Highlands and Islands, the soil and climate being such that he can never depend on cereal cultivation alone, either for rent or sustenance, while the areas requisite for the grazing of cattle, and especially of sheep, are so vast and the surface so rugged that numerous enclosures are impracticable." "Even Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, the kindliest of proprietors, who would solve the problem by increasing the number of farms with individual holdings, must know that on his own Gairloch estate the cost of fencing the pasture ground of each small farm would be such as to render the scheme impracticable. The farms would need to be so large that the country, if the occupiers of these farms were the only inhabitants, would be desolate."

The Township of the past never possessed corporate existence in law. "The Township conceived by the Commissioners

is one possessed of an acknowledged corporate existence; it is an organism invested with a full legal recognition of the right to live." The Commissioners seek to justify their proposals on grounds of "social urgency and political expediency," but these proposals are also in full accord with the impulses of popular feeling as reflected in the verdict of speculative thought.

This remarkably able and opportune article concludes as follows:—

When we look back on the schemes of society conceived by the Commissioners, and compare it with the society now found in the North, we discover a contrast which is nearly absolute. In the Highland society of to-day, we have the extremes of inequality. On the one hand, we have enormous sheep farms, enormous deer forests, enormous properties; on the other hand, there is the "mingled multitude" which the Commissioners declare to be "so slenderly furnished with the means of life." Between these extremes there is scarcely any connecting link. But in the scheme of Highland society submitted to us by the Commissioners there is a regular gradation of classes. We have the cottar fisherman, the leasehold crofter, the small farmer, and the peasant proprietor, we have the more substantial farmer and the large farmer, we have fishing tenants and tenants of deer forests, and we have proprietors of all grades.

Such is the conception of Highland Land Law Reform developed in the Report. It is a conception which has originated in an intelligent study of existing organisations; a conception which is at once broad and statesmanlike, and, at the same time, just and moderate in its spirit; a conception which harmonizes both with the aspirations of the people and with the tendencies of the age; and, finally, a conception which, to the Highland crofter, is full of bright promise of a happy future, in which sloth has given way to industry, want to prosperity, and agitation to loyal contentment. The men whose deeds of fidelity to chiefs and to princes are so full of pathos, who have always been only too prone to place absolute faith in those whom they have regarded as their leaders—these men are still as true at heart, and are still as ready to be devoted in action, to the idea of law, and to the emblems of authority, and to the persons of rulers, as they have ever been. The peasantry of the Highlands have endured long, and they have endured well. Under "want and stripes" they have remained silent; and if, at last, they have spoken with courage and determination, they have spoken also—at least from their own lips and from the lips of those in whom they trust—with self-restraint and with moderation. Nor can we reasonably doubt, if just concessions are made to their demands and the means of self-help placed within their reach, that their industrial success in their own country will be as assured as it has been in foreign countries, and that their sterling worth will prove as substantial in the ways of peace as it has already proved in times of peril and on the field of battle.

W.

THE TORONTO CALEDONIAN SOCIETY.—An interesting demonstration was given by the Toronto Caledonian Society, in July, when to the number of 550, with pipers, bands, and banners, they made an excursion to the Falls of Niagara. It is said to have been the most successful ever enjoyed by the Society.

SUAICHEANTAS NAN GAEL; OR THE BADGES OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS, IN GAELIC AND ENGLISH.

Buchanans	Braoileag, also Darach	The Bilberry. The Oak.
Camerons	Dearc Fithich	The Crowberry.
Campbells	Garbhag an t-sleibh	Fir Club Moss.
Do	Roid	Wild Myrtle.
Chisholms	Raineach	The Fern.
Colquhouns	Braoileag nan con	The Dogberry.
Cummings	Lus mhic Cuimein	Cummin Plant.
Drummonds	Lus na Macraidh	Wild Thyme, the oldest.
Do.	Cuilionn	Holly.
MacFarquhar or Ferguson, and Farquharsons	Ros-greine	Little Sunflower.
	Lus-nam-ban-sith	Fox Glove.
Forbes and Mackays	Bealaidh	Broom.
Frasers	Iubhar	Yew.
Grants, MacGregors, MacKinnons, and MacQuarries	Giuthas	The Scotch Fir
Gordons	Iadh-shlat, Eithann	Ivy.
Grahams	Buaidh - chraobh, no Laibhreis	Laurel, the Tree of Victory.
Hays	Uile-ic	Misletoe.
Macaulays and Macfarlanes	Muileag	Cranberry.
Macdonalds, Macalastairs, and Macnabs	Fraoch	Common Heath.
MacDougals	Fraoch dearg	Bell Heath.
Mackenzies and Macleans	Cuilionn	Holly.
MacLauchlans	Faochag	Lesser Periwinkle.
Do.	Uinnseann	The Mountain Ash
Macleods, Gunns, and Ross	Aiteann	Juniper.
MacNauchtans	Lus Allabanach	The Trailing Azalia
MacNeills and Lamonts	Tri-bhileach	Trefoil.
Mackays	Luachair-bhog	Bull Rushes
MacPherson, Mackintosh, Macduffs, Macbeans, Shaws, Farquharsons, Macqueens, and many others, as belonging to the Clan Chattan	Craobh aighban	Boxwood. This is said to be the oldest badge.
Do., Do.	Lus na'n Crainseag, na Braoileag	Red Whortleberry.
Menzies	Fraoch na Meinearach	The Menzies Heath.
Munroes	Garbhag nan gleann	Common Club Moss.
Murrays and Sutherlands	Bealaidh	Broom.
Ogilvies	Boglus	Evergreen Alkanet.
Oliphants	Luachair	The Bull Rush.
Robertsons	Dluth-fhraoch	Fine Leaved Heath. This is said to be the oldest badge.
Do.	Raineach	The Fern.
Roses	Ròs-mairi fiadhaich	Wild Rosemary.
Stewarts	Darach	The Oak; also Cluaran, the thistle, the present national badge. That of the Pictish kings was Rudh (rue), and which is joined with the thistle in the collar of the order.
Urquharts	Lus leth an t-samhraidh	Wallflower.

LAND LAW REFORM DEMOMSTRATION AT DINGWALL.

On the 2nd and 3rd of September two meetings are to be held in the town of Dingwall on the subject of Land Law Reform in the Highlands, which will inagurate a new departure, and are certain to become historical. On the 2nd a Conference is to take place, at which delegates will be present from the various Highland Land Law Reform Associations in Great Britain, and representative men, from all parts of the country, who take an interest in the subject. Among those who have already intimated their intention of being present are Professor Blackie, Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P. for the Inverness Burghs; Dr Charles Cameron, M.P. for Glasgow; Sir George Campbell, M.P.; Professor Bryce, M.P.; A. Cameron Corbet, late Liberal candidate for North Warwickshire; Dr Clark, candidate at next election for the County of Caithness; Dr Macdonald, late candidate for the County of Ross; Major Macleod, Eskbank; John Macdonell, barrister, London; Donald Murray, secretary of the Highland Land Law Reform Association of London; D. Cowan, secretary of Highland Land Law Reform Association of Edinburgh; the Rev. John Mactavish, president, and Bailies Elliot and Mackay, and Dean of Guild Mackenzie, vice-presidents of the Inverness Association; John Macdonald, merchant, Inverness; John Macpherson, Glendale; the "Brave Old Crofter," Kilmuir, Isle of Skye; J. Macgilchrist Ross, Coul Cottage, Alness; and Angus Sutherland, Glasgow. The Scottish Farmers' Alliance have also elected an influential deputation to attend the Conference; and so have the following Highland Land Law Reform Associations:—Lewis, Halladale, Strathy, and others in Sutherlandshire; the Caithness-shire Associations; Forres, Grantown; Lochalsh; Kilmuir, and other Skye Associations; Culbokie, Mulbuie, Resolis, Knockbain; Evanton, Milton, Portmahomack, Strathpeffer, Garve, Cromarty, and several others.

It is proposed to consider the future political programme and prospects of Highland Land Law Reform; to concert united action throughout the whole Highlands at the next General Election; to appoint a Consulting Political Committee for securing

suitable candidates, and ensuring united action in all the Northern Counties and among the friends of the cause everywhere; to consider the propriety of starting an Independent Reform newspaper; and such other subjects as may come up, and must be provided for, in connection with the great social question which is now moving the minds of all thinking men in this country.

At the public meeting on the following day, under the presidency of Professor Blackie, the following resolutions will be proposed :—

First, Moved by D. H. Macfarlane, M.P., and seconded by Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P.:—

That, in the opinion of this meeting, the condition of the Highland crofters and cottars, as detailed in the Report of the Royal Commission, is discreditable to this great and wealthy nation; and this meeting pledges itself to support the Highland Land Law Reform Association in its efforts to effect such changes in the Land Laws as will secure to the Highland people the right to live on their native soil under equitable conditions.

Second, Moved by J. Macgilchrist Ross, Coul Cottage, Alness, seconded by Dr Clark, candidate for the County of Caithness :—

That this meeting expresses its gratification that the Royal Commissioners recommend special legislation for the Highlands, in order to provide a remedy for acknowledged and flagrant grievances; and is of opinion that a measure on the lines of the Irish Land Act, 1881, but applicable to the special circumstances of Scotland, will alone provide a sufficient remedy.

Third, Moved by Sir George Campbell, M.P., seconded by John Macdonell, barrister-at-law, London :—

That this meeting pledges itself to use its utmost power and influence to secure the return to Parliament of such men only as are known to be in full and thorough sympathy with the people on the great social question of Land Law Reform.

Fourth, Moved by Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Inverness, seconded by Major Macleod, Eskbank, Mid-Lothian :—

That this meeting approves of the Franchise Bill, introduced by Mr Gladstone, and passed by the House of Commons; that it protests against the refusal of the House of Lords to pass the Bill; and that it records its emphatic opinion that the power of veto possessed by the Lords is productive of much mischief when exercised in opposition to the deliberate will of the people; and recommends such constitutional changes as will make this veto inoperative when any proposed measure is passed a second time by the House of Commons.

In addition to the movers and seconders, these resolutions will be spoken to by various well-known and influential Land Law Reformers and members of Parliament.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

"THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS."—Just published, "The History of the Camerons," with authentic genealogies of the principal families of the name, to the present time, by Alexander Mackenzie, F.S.A., Scot., editor of the "Celtic Magazine," &c., &c., in a handsome volume of 494 pages, demy 8vo., printed in clear, bold old-faced type (small pica), on superfine thick, toned paper, Roxburghe binding, uniform with the "History of the Mackenzies" and the "History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles," by the same author, has just been issued, and is being delivered to subscribers. The issue is strictly limited to 500 copies, at one guinea each (to subscribers); and 75 copies, demy 4to., at a guinea-and-a-half. The work embraces the history and genealogy of the family of Lochiel, from the earliest times to the present; as also under separate headings, of Erracht, Fassiefern, Glenevis, Worcester, Callart, Lundavra, Dawnie, Barcaldine, Inverailort, Cuilchenna, and several other of the minor branches of the Clan, with their marriages and other connexions. The portion of the work which has passed through the "Celtic Magazine" has been vastly improved, corrected, and extended. In addition, the volume will contain some 200 pages, which has not appeared in the Magazine. For any of the remaining unsubscribed copies, application should be at once made to the publishers, A. & W. Mackenzie, "Celtic Magazine" Office, Inverness.

THE KILLIN COLLECTION.—As we go to press we have received a copy of the Killin Collection of Highland Music, compiled by Mr Charles Stewart of Tigh-an-Duin. For the present we can only say that the work is tastefully prepared, and is replete with interesting lore, as well as the most charming Highland Music.

THE VICTORIA CALEDONIAN SOCIETY, BRITISH COLUMBIA.—A strong argument against the alleged sloth and want of enterprise of Highlanders, is furnished by the activity and conspicuous success of Highlanders abroad, and under circumstances which afford more scope and encouragement for the application of their energies. Their native buoyancy of spirit re-asserts itself when relieved from the pressure and depressing influences of their condition in their native land. A great gathering of the Clans was recently held, under the auspices of the Victoria Caledonian Society, British Columbia. One has only to read an account of the display on the occasion and the prominence of Highland names among the prize-takers, to feel quite assured that the Highlander is far from being "played out." His task-masters and traducers at home had better beware—

"The ancient spirit is not dead,
Methinks old times are breathing still."

A PIPER AND BAG-PIPES.—In Defoe's *History of the Great Plague of London* we are told how a piper, who lay drunk in the street among the dead bodies, was forked up in the usual way and pitched into the dead cart, pipes and all; but the fresh air and the jolting of the cart awakened him, and wondering where he was, he sat up in the cart and began to play with all his might and main, whereupon the carter fled in terror. The piper continuing to play, the people approached the cart, and saw the piper seated upon the dead bodies. He roared out, "Where am I?" "In the dead cart," was the reply. "But I am not dead, am I?" roared the piper, who being helped out, went about his business, doubtless a wiser if not a better man, and thoroughly sobered by his grim adventure.

CURIOUS VIEW OF "QUARTER."—A French officer at the Battle of Waterloo knew but one word of English, and that was "Quarter," and knowing the value of it, he determined to use it when the time came. It was not long in coming, for his horse was killed before the battle had raged two hours, and he soon found himself engaged with a gigantic 42nd man, whose English vocabulary was nearly as limited as his own, and who certainly had not the slightest idea of the meaning of the word "Quarter" in a military sense. The Frenchman soon found that he was no match for his antagonist, and he immediately commenced to call for "Quarter." "Och, och, inteet," said the Highlander, "she's no' going to put you in quarters at all, at all, but only shust in two halves, inteet!"

A WARNING.—In the course of the present autumn, in view of the possible dissolution of Parliament should the House of Lords decline to pass the Franchise Bill, the constituencies are likely to be approached by all descriptions of would-be candidates, for the honour of sitting in the House of Commons. It would be well that our Highland friends should be on their guard against the blandishments of such political wooers, and that they should strenuously refuse to pledge themselves to support any candidate who does not give a "certain sound" upon the great social questions which must concern the interests of the Highland people.

ANALYSIS OF THE CROFTER COMMISSION.—The articles which have appeared in the *Celtic Magazine*, during the last four months on this subject, have been published in neat pamphlet of 80 pages, with an excellent life-like portrait of Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., as a frontispiece. Price, 6d.; by Post, 7½d.; or in cloth cover, with gilt stamp, 1s.; by Post, 1s. 2d. It has been highly reviewed by the press, and is described on the very highest authority as the best and by "far the most accurate account of the import of the proposals" and recommendations of the Royal Commissioners which has yet appeared anywhere.

A LIBERAL CANADIAN HIGHLANDER.—A wealthy and influential Canadian, whose parents were born in Glenmoriston, in the County of Inverness, has placed an order of a hundred copies at a guinea each of the "History of the Camerons," just completed by Mr Alexander Mackenzie, editor of the *Celtic Magazine*. This splendid order is, we believe, unprecedented in connection with any work hitherto published either in or on the Highlands of Scotland. Half the number is liberally placed at the disposal of the author for presentation to public institutions connected with the Highlands, for which application should be made.

THE 79TH AT FUENTES D'ONOR.—At this battle, when the regiment was almost paralyzed by the fall of their adored commander, Colonel Cameron, the Major seized the colours, and calling out, "There are your colours, my lads, follow me!" The Highlanders at once rallied, and charged the enemy with the greatest success.

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JOHN MACKINTOSH,

Author of "The History of Civilisation in Scotland."

RECENTLY we had occasion to notice in the *Celtic Magazine*, the third volume of the *History of Civilisation in Scotland*, by Mr John Mackintosh, Aberdeen, when we accorded "the highest praise to its excellence as a work of industry, great research, and unmistakeable genius." Reviewing the preceding volume of the same work, the *British Quarterly Review* declares that the author "has the fitness for the task which comes from a readiness to appreciate the profounder, intellectual, and moral influences. We accept his work with satisfaction, as a careful and praiseworthy attempt to elucidate a deeply interesting historical problem." The *Inverness Courier* truly declares that "the work throughout bears the impress of an acute and discriminating mind;" while the *People's Journal* states that "the style in which the second volume is written is clear and concise, with occasionally a force and intensity almost poetic, as if the author had warmed to his work in proportion as the human interest in it augmented." These are but a few specimens from a great many other favourable opinions of the invaluable work which John Mackintosh has now nearly finished; for his fourth and last volume is already far advanced towards completion.

A few particulars of the life and antecedents of such a man must prove interesting to the reader, especially so, when his humble origin and heroic struggles to improve his mind under

almost insuperable difficulties and adverse circumstances, become known. Of these early difficulties we are given a slight glance in the Preface to the third volume of the work. We are there told that the subject of it had occupied the mind of the author for a period of twenty-three years, during the whole of which he was employed at various other employments to enable him to earn a livelihood. The final form which the work assumed did not at first present itself to his mind, and only afterwards arose out of other inquiries in which he became engaged and deeply interested. Notwithstanding the great difficulty he had at first in procuring books and the necessary original material and documents for such a work, he soon succeeded in laying a good foundation, preparing himself, "by a course of philosophic study, embracing metaphysics, psychology, logic, ethics, and politics, carefully reading hundreds of books on these matters, both ancient and modern." His aim thoughout has been, he informs us, to ascertain the essentials of everything that had contributed to the development and to the progress of the nation, and with this object, he says—"I have considered nothing to be irrelevant which seems to have had any influence upon the civilisation of the people. Merely to generalise or state results without inquiring into facts and circumstances is altogether alien to my conception and method, as I believe that in the present state of historical knowledge, such a method would be comparatively worthless." The result is an invaluable work, so far, on a subject which has hitherto received scarcely any attention, but which is of intense interest to the student of Scottish History. It is, therefore, but natural that the reader would like to know a little more about the author—this splendid specimen of Scottish pluck and perseverance in the pursuit of knowledge, and, better still, one who, when he had mastered the great subject for himself, has had the courage to place the result of his researches and studies at the disposal of his countrymen in the handsome volumes already in the hands of the public. It is gratifying to state that this courage, and faith in his countrymen, have been so far very fairly rewarded, and that however little he may benefit as yet financially by his researches and labours, the patronage already bestowed upon him has more than covered the cost of printing and publication.

No better or more interesting subject than the Life of John Mackintosh could be taken up by Mr Smiles, the fascinating biographer of other self-made men, like our present subject. And here we may be permitted to state, for the first time, that it was the perusal of his splendid book, *Self Help*, that first roused, in the present writer, the desire and ambition, even the hope and possibility, of ever being able to write anything. Until that great master of biographies takes the subject of these remarks in hand, the following particulars may prove interesting to his Highland countrymen.

The author of the *History of Civilisation in Scotland* was born in November 1833, in the Parish of Botriphnie, in Banffshire. His father, William Mackintosh, served his country for fourteen years in the British army, during the greater part of which he was on active service. He was present at the battles of Vimiera, Corunna, Salamanca, and Vittoria, and was three times wounded—once in the shoulder; on the second occasion he had his leg broken below the knee, and on the third he had one of his thumbs carried away. Shortly after the battle of Vittoria he retired from the army with a pension, and for the remainder of his life he occupied a croft on the estate of Drummuir, in which he was succeeded on his death, in 1856, by his son, John's eldest brother.

Mackintosh, having received a fairly good English education, as things went in those days, for one of his age, was sent out to farm work when only ten years old, and he remained in this occupation for the next seven years, with the exception of three winters, during which he attended school. He was then, at the age of seventeen, apprenticed to the shoemaking trade, at which he continued to work for the next fourteen years, in various places, throughout the Counties of Banff, Aberdeen, and Kincardine. During this latter period he read much, speaking on and discussing many subjects, not only at meetings of Literary and other Societies, but with his companions in the various work-shops in which he worked from week to week; and by this means first acquired a pretty wide and ready command of good and forcible language. The leading part which he at this time took in Mutual Improvement and Debating Societies, first directed his thoughts into literary channels; and even thus early, he introduced and read papers at meetings of these Societies, on such subjects as

"The Ballad Literature and Early Poetry of Scotland," "The Language and Dialects of the British Islands," "The Politicians of the Eighteenth Century," "The Laws of the Association of Ideas," "The Beautiful and the Sublime," and various other subjects of a like kind.

He now began to experience the want of the class of books which, with an extended craving for the treasures of literature, he desired most to peruse and examine, but these were not to be found in the libraries of such rural societies as he was connected with, nor in those of the Mechanics' Institutions of the period; though sometimes he managed to secure some of them for himself, out of his small earnings at his last; until, in time, he became the possessor of a very good selection of philosophical and other works. Many of the books which he now began to crave after were rare, and not in the market to buy, even if he had the means to pay for them. He discovered where many such works could be consulted long before he was in a position to secure access to them, and it was not until he removed to Aberdeen in 1864, that the sources of knowledge opened up to the humble country shoemaker, long determined to make up as much as possible, by industry, indomitable pluck and perseverance, for the defects of his early education. Here he still continued at his last, but always reading, cultivating his mind, and searching in every direction for original sources of information. In 1869 he opened a small stationery and news-agency shop, in Broad Street, Aberdeen, where he has since remained, and on the counter of which, during the intervals of business, he has written the three volumes of the *History of Civilisation in Scotland*, which have already appeared, and a considerable portion of the fourth and concluding volume, on which he is at present engaged, and which, during a recent visit, we have seen in an advanced state of preparation.

About 1871 he secured access to the Library of the University of Aberdeen, in consequence of which he said, with expressions of gratitude of the authorities of that institution—"I have been enabled to prosecute my special historical inquiries with comparative ease and advantage," ever since; and in his work he says that "this Library has been of great and indispensable use to me." He praises the Senatus and the Librarians for their

"uniform kindness and attention" in everything which could facilitate his researches.

Besides a comprehensive course of philosophy, including many works on the history of mental science in all its branches, Mackintosh read and studied works on theology, the history of religion, and the development of religious ideas and doctrines. He carefully read various standard works on the growth of language and universal grammar, on anthropology, ethnology, and geology, especially in relation to the origin, age, and primitive state of man. He has minutely examined the standard works on archæology, and the pre-historic ages of the world, particularly the pre-historic ages in Britain. At a comparatively early period of his life he began to read and to study the best works obtainable on method, criticism, and the principles of testing, estimating, and appreciating evidence in general, and historical evidence in particular. To these ends he read works on the classification of the sciences, laws, and the modes and rules of interpretation and exposition, as well as many works on history and general literature, for the purpose of attaining clear and comprehensive ideas of method. Thus his critical faculty was improved and developed.

He made long and careful investigations, touching the causes of human progress and civilisation, the results of which are partly embodied in the three published volumes of his work. On this great subject he holds that there has been, and still is, much premature generalisation, founded on insufficient data. Regarding his special subject, the History of Civilisation in Scotland, he has spared no labour or research in examining the original sources of information. For the early periods reliable authorities and records are few in number, and he soon discovered that the influences of circumstantial evidence must be very carefully and properly estimated in forming his conclusions. He has used the lives of the saints, the records of the religious houses, early charters, burgh laws and records, Acts of Parliament, and other national records and proceedings, as well as the chronicles and contemporary literature of different periods, and various other cognate sources of information.

Besides his History of Civilisation, he has written various articles for newspapers and periodicals, on such subjects as moral culture, nationality, the study of English literature, national

education, trades unions and strikes, and militarism. From his papers on the latter subject we may give a short quotation, which will at the same time serve as a specimen of his literary style, and of his thoughtful and robust treatment of the subject in hand. After pointing out that it is of little avail to expect a permanent peace, while the leading nations of Europe are armed to the teeth, and the people groaning under the oppressive burdens which militarism has entailed, he proceeds :—

"It has recently been argued that war is a concomitant of evolution, and an essential element of the grand conflictive process of the survival of the fittest. However much truth there may be in this theory when applied to the early stages of society, and to low degrees of social and political organisation, it constantly loses its force as civilisation advances, and as moral apprehension deepens, and human sympathy broadens. In the course of ages the higher feelings and sentiments in some degree supersede the lower, and the moral and intellectual power gradually modifies and subdues the brute instinct of cruelty, till at last the moral sense of the higher civilised nations revolts against cruelty. When, moreover, the industrial and commercial classes have greatly multiplied, and interests, aims, modes of energy, and enterprise have increased a hundredfold, then the theory which makes war still a requisite to further progress is strangely irrational and immoral, as it insists on continuing those predatory habits and wild passions which really characterise the early and barbarous communities, but which at the utmost are only incidental excrescences of the highest civilised nations. Upon an exhaustive examination it will be found that war is rather an effect of imperfect and defective social and political organisation in the constitution of the aggressive powers ; and instead of being favourable to the higher aims of moral progress and civilisation, it frequently destroys both, and almost always retards them."

And again—

"The theory that one race has a right, on the ground of their military prowess, to trample upon another, may be very gratifying to national vanity, although it is extremely gross and immoral. Even when it is placed on a claim of superior culture and intellect, it is fairly open to discussion whether the higher nation has any right to force her government and modes of life on another community at the point of the bayonet. . . . . But the theory that one race has a right to extinguish another is very convenient for aggressive governments. It feeds a nation's vanity to imagine themselves the greatest people upon the face of the

earth, so they can never be in the wrong, as the universe, or, at least, this planet, has been specially created for them and their interests."

Mr Mackintosh has always taken a warm and consistent interest in all movements calculated to promote the welfare of the Empire, and the good and happiness of the people at home and abroad, and, in a quiet and unobtrusive way, firmly but judiciously advocated whatever cause he deemed right and just, independently of all other considerations.

In answer to enquiries as to his habits and manner of life, he courteously replied—

"In my time I have done much hard work of various kinds. All my life I have been in the habit of rising every morning before five o'clock, summer and winter. And I have found, from long experience, that the early part of the day is the best time for literary work. I have often had to sacrifice many of the pleasures and small enjoyments which most men hold dear; but of this I do not complain. I have had a fair share of enjoyment throughout my life, notwithstanding all my toil. In searching after truth, and in investigating a subject, and especially in summing up results, the mind derives much pleasing feeling and satisfaction. At one time of my life I made politics, or political philosophy, a special study—theoretically and practically, and composed a treatise on the forms of Government, which, however, was never published."

He has been an industrious student of Continental history, and is well acquainted with the past and present history of Europe.

A.M.

THE SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS—FIRST OFFENCE IN THE RANKS.—In the first battalion of the Ross-shire Highlanders there were nearly 300 men from Lord Seaforth's estates in the Lewis. Several years elapsed before any of these men were charged with a crime deserving severe punishment. In 1799 a man was tried and punished. This so shocked his comrades that he was put out of their society as a degraded man who brought shame on his kindred. The unfortunate outcast felt his own degradation so much that he became unhappy and desperate; and Colonel Mackenzie, to save him from destruction, applied and got him sent to England, where his disgrace would be unknown and unnoticed. It happened as Colonel Mackenzie had expected, for he quite recovered his character. By the humane consideration of his commander, a man was thus saved from that ruin which a repetition of severity would have rendered inevitable.—*Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders.*

BRUCE AND THE BROOCH OF LORN.

THE brooch was formerly an essential article in the wardrobe of a Highland gentleman or lady, and was of all sizes and degrees of elegance, from the plain ring with a tongue in it, to the brooch of complicated mechanism, ornamented with precious stones of every kind and every hue. Brooches were also valuable heirlooms, transmitted for generations in the same family, and in some instances bearing the names of as many as five successive couples, who were united in the marriage tie—an accumulation of domestic associations which amounted in some instances to a sacredness, which conferred upon a brooch the powers of an amulet, supposed to charm away diseases. Pennant gives a drawing of a brooch belonging to Campbell of Glenlyon, with the names of three Kings of Cologne—Caspar, Melchior, and Baltazar, and the word "consummatim." In the middle ages the names of these royal personages, when written on slips of paper, were deemed a charm against epilepsy by the holders of the slips, and it is quite possible that similar virtues may have been ascribed to the Glenlyon brooch.

But without ascribing any such virtue to the brooch of Lorn, it has a peculiar value of its own. It and the Quigrich of St Fillan, are two of the oldest and best authenticated relics of the past, that have been transmitted to us, and round which cluster associations, secular and ecclesiastical, that to Scotchmen possess an undying interest.

Robert Bruce was crowned King at Scone in March 1306. Edward I. of England, who judged Scottish resistance to his usurpations as at an end with the death of the heroic Sir William Wallace, on hearing of this new start in favour of Scottish claims, despatched the Earl of Pembroke—one of his most approved generals, to nip it in the bud. Pembroke marched as far north as Perth, where he learned that the newly crowned Scottish King and his followers were within a short distance of him—in the wood of Methven. Comyn, whom Bruce slew at Dumfries, was married to Pembroke's sister, and he sent Bruce a personal challenge; and on the 18th of June Bruce drew up his little army in a field not far from the fair city. But the crafty Earl, on the plea that the day was too far advanced, declined the combat—or rather

postponed it till the following day. It was *a ruse*. That very evening, when Bruce and his followers were calmly awaiting, and resolutely preparing for the morrow's expected contest, Pembroke made a sudden, and unexpected attack, in which Bruce was worsted, and lost many of his best friends—either slain or taken prisoners. With the remnant of his little army he retreated to Athole and the wilds of Rannoch; where, for the next three months, they subsisted on such supplies as they could procure by their own efforts, or the liberality of their friends. There was a local tradition that Bruce, during his Rannoch wanderings, constructed a lacustrine fort not far from Dunalister; and it goes far to confirm the accuracy of this tradition, that when the ground—several years ago—was drained, the remains of wooden piles were found, supposed, not without reason, to be the remains of this ancient Royal retreat. But as the barren wilds of Rannoch could in those days afford but scanty supplies for an army, however small, Bruce, towards the beginning of autumn, was compelled to move south, and join his partisans in the Lennox and in Dumfries-shire. His route lay along the Alpine defiles, or passes, between Rannoch and the head of Loch-Tay. On arriving there he would have an easy passage up Glendochart, and southward by Glenfalloch. But here, as at Perth, the consequences of the slaughter of Comyn again faced the heroic King. John, Lord of Lorn, another of Comyn's relatives, and who watched Bruce's movements, met him with a large force, determined to intercept his further progress. The battle ground, about a mile from Tyndrum, still bears the name of Dailrigh—the king's field. Bruce and his men were compelled to retire before a much superior force—Bruce himself, with his bravest officers, taking up the rear in defence of his retreating followers; and it was on this occasion he is said to have lost the celebrated "Brooch of Lorn." A local tradition has it that he lost the brooch in a personal struggle with Macnab of Bovain, chief of the clan. This Finlay Macnab—a man of Herculean strength—laid hold of Bruce, and would have overpowered him, but that he contrived to withdraw himself from his grip, leaving his plaid and brooch behind. Another tradition has it that he lost it in a struggle with the Lord of Lorn himself, whom Bruce would have slain, but for the timely aid of three of Lorn's fol-

lowers, who came to the rescue, and dragged the King away by his plaid or mantle, which, with the brooch, remained in their possession. Barbour makes no mention of the brooch, but his account of the struggle in which he is supposed to have lost it is as follows :—

"They abade till he was
Entered in ane narrow place
Betwixt a loch side and a brae,
That was so strait, I understand,
That he might not well turn his steed ;
Then with a will till him they gaed,
And ane him by the bridle hynt,
But he reached him such a dint
That arm and shoulder flew him frae.
With that ane other 'gan him ta'
By the leg ; and his hand 'gan shoot
Between the stirrup and his foot.
And when the King there felt his hand,
In his stirrups stoutly 'gan he stand,
And struck with spurs the steed in hy,
And he launched forth deliverly,
Sae that the tother failed feet,
And not forthy his hand was yet
Under the stirrup maugre his.
The third with fall great high, with this
Right till the brae side he gaed
And leaped behind him on his steed.

The King was then in full great press,
Syne him that behind him was
All maugre his will him 'gan he reach,
Syne with the sword such dint he gave
That he the head to the harns clave.
In this wise him delivered he
Of all these felon faes three."

Whether Bruce lost his brooch in conflict with Macnab, or the Lord of Lorn, or the Macindrossers, as Barbour calls the men who made the dead set on him, as described in our quotation, we do not know. But in whatever way this relic of the Dalrigh fight came into the hands of the Lord of Lorn, tradition has uniformly maintained that it is a genuine memento of this encounter. We have tried to identify the locality where this royal struggle with the Macindrossers took place—knowing the district, as we do, intimately. Barbour says it was on the margin of a lake, with a steep brae to the right. There are places by

the side both of Lochan-nan-arm and Loch-Dochart that answer the description. But as Bruce and his followers would in all likelihood retreat by Crianlarich and Glenfalloch, rather than by the pass of Coirechaorach, to Balquidder, the probability is that this struggle with the Macindrossers took place on the margin of Lochan-nan-arm, though we cannot at this time of day determine the exact spot.

The ultimate ascendency of Bruce proved the ruin of the Lorn potentates—styled successively of Argyle, Lorn, and Dunolly Castle—the picturesque ruins of the latter, in the vicinity of Oban, so well known to tourists. In 1647 the Castle of Dunolly was besieged by a detachment of General Leslie's troops, under Colonel Montgomery, but from its strong position, it resisted the efforts of the enemy. But Goalen Castle, another seat of the Macdougall's, fell into his hands, and was sacked and burned; and King Robert's brooch, which was part of the spoil, fell into the hands of Campbell of Inverawe, who took part in the siege—and in whose possession it remained for more than a century and a-half. In the early part of the last century, Macdougall of Dunolly lost his lands, because of partizanship in favour of the Old Pretender—Bruce's descendant—but they were again restored to him, on account of his loyalty to the Hanoverian Dynasty, in 1745. Amid all these family vicissitudes the "Brooch of Lorn" remained safe in the strong chest of Campbell of Inverawe, and unknown, we believe, to the Macdougalls themselves, who had quite lost sight of it. About the beginning of this century it passed into the hands of a cadet of the Inverawe family, who decided to sell it on behoof of his family; and in 1818 it was, for this purpose, handed over to Messrs Rundell & Bridge, of London, who advertised it for sale, at one thousand pounds. George IV. offered £500, which was declined, and in 1825 it was bought by General Campbell of Lochnell, who, by the hands of the Duke of Argyll, presented it at a public meeting to the original owner. Thus, after the lapse of centuries, it found its way back again to the representative of the old family, by whom we understand it is still preserved in Dunolly Castle. The writer of this paper had the privilege of seeing this interesting and remarkable relic, many years ago, at Taymouth Castle. The late Marquis of Breadalbane, then President of the Antiquarian

Society, had it in loan for some antiquarian purpose. It is a large brooch, rather more than three inches in diameter, with two concentric circles set with gems, and a raised circular stool in the centre, surmounted with a stone which looked very like a Cairngorm. We do not quite remember what the metal was, but to the best of our recollection it was gold. Altogether the brooch is a magnificent relic, as well as strong, and we are quite sure it took a good tug on the part of Bruce's assailant, whoever he was, to get possession of it.

Probably Sir Walter Scott had it in his mind when he penned the following lines :—

> "Whence the brooch of burning gold,
> That clasps the chieftain's mantle fold,
> Wrought and chased with rare device,
> Studded fair with gems of price ;
> On the varied tartan beaming
> As through night's pale rainbow gleaming
> Fainter now, now seen afar,
> Fitful shines the morning star."
>
> —LORD OF THE ISLES.

In February 1818, when workmen were clearing out the site of the old Dunfermline Abbey, they came accidentally upon a vault, which they inferred from its structure to belong to some distinguished individual. And as it corresponded in every way with the place in which, according to the old chroniclers, King Robert was buried, the discovery excited much interest, and the remains—to identify them as his—were examined with great care, by well known antiquarian experts. The result proved, to the entire satisfaction of all of them, that the remains were really those of the great founder of Scottish independence. In the inner vault lay a large body, shrouded in fine linen cloth interwoven with gold—probably the historical "toldour"—a corruption, according to Dr Jamison, of the French "toil d'or," or cloth of gold. When the headstone was removed, some of those who were present observed round the head what appeared to be a crown, but which suddenly vanished on exposure to the fresh air. In 1819, when the walls of the new church were sufficiently high to exclude a crowd, a second inspection was made, and the skeleton was again examined. The teeth in the under jaw were found to be quite entire ; but four or five of the upper jaw were wanting, and the jaw itself considerably fractured, no doubt in one of Bruce's early hazardous adventures. The scull, which was of the

ordinary size, was well formed. The breastbone was sawn longitudinally—an operation performed after his death—that, as he had willed, his heart might be extracted and deposited in the Holy Sepulchre. His faithful coadjutor, Sir James Douglas, perished in the attempt to carry out his Royal master's wishes, and it is believed the heart of Bruce was eventually deposited in the Abbey of Melrose. Altogether the skeleton indicated great physical strength, as we would expect, from the extraordinary feats of valour Bruce performed. All these circumstances, and the fact that the remains were found "in medio choro," where Fordun says Bruce was buried, make it certain that they were those of this heroic king. After satisfying themselves of this, the bones were carefully replaced in a coffin, into which liquid pitch was poured to protect them from further molestation, and they were then laid in their old resting place, where in all likelihood they will remain undisturbed till "the crack of doom." So much for the brooch and the body that wore it. A word or two more anent other interesting Brucian relics—his sword and helmet. The sword is a two-handed sword, the handle covered with black leather. Both are of steel, and have from age acquired a clear, blackish colour. They were presented by King David Bruce, to his cousin, Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, by whose descendants they have been preserved with the utmost care and veneration. Bruce died at the comparatively early age of fifty-five, of leprosy or scurvy, a disease contracted doubtless, during his early wanderings and severe privations, subsisting as he frequently did for months in succession on the scantiest and poorest fare. He lived, however, to see the grand aim of his heroic life accomplished, and to bequeath a memory ever dear to all true Scottish descendants of those—

"Wha hae with Wallace bled,
Scots wham Bruce has aften led."

"O Thou who pour'd the patriotic tide
That streamed through Wallace's undaunted heart;
Who dared to nobly stem tyrannic pride
Or nobly die the second glorious part.
The patriot's God peculiarly thou art,
His friend, inspirer, guardian, and reward.
O! never, never Scotia's realm desert,
But still the patriot and the patriot bard,
In bright succession raise her ornament and guard."

Kenmore. ALLAN SINCLAIR.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XXI.

DR ARCHIBALD CAMERON OF LOCHIEL—*(Continued).*

IT has been repeated by several writers that Dr Cameron's visit in 1753 was in connection with the money left in the Highlands by Prince Charles, after the battle of Culloden, and mention of which has been already made; while others maintain that he came over in connection with another projected rising in favour of the Prince. For the latter there does not seem to be any foundation whatever. Respecting the former T. L. Kingston Oliphant, in *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, states distinctly that it was the French money "that lured" him back to Scotland; and, in an account which the same writer gives of what became of the money, immediately after the battle of Culloden, he says that £5500 was "keept by Captain Archibald Cameron." From this, as well as from several other known facts, it is quite clear that he held a commission in the Highland army, notwithstanding what has been said by others to the contrary. That he conducted himself at the last in a manner worthy of his race, is admitted by all. His fate was universally lamented; the friends and best-wishers of the government considered his execution, so long after the attainder, a most unnecesssary and wanton act of barbarous cruelty, and the king himself when asked to sign his death-warrant, partook of the same feeling; for he expressed his unwillingness to sign it, and exclamed, "Surely there has been too much blood spilt on this account already." His Majesty's advisers must have been a cruel, blood-thirsty set.

Sir Walter Scott says that his execution, so long after all hostilities were over, on his old attainder, "threw much reproach upon the government, and even upon the personal character of George II., as sullen, relentless, and unforgiving;" for the doctor was a man of mild and gentle disposition, and had uniformly exercised his skill as a medical man in behalf of the wounded of both armies.* The government of France settled

**Tales of a Grandfather.*

a pension of 1200 livres per annum upon his widow, and 400 upon two of his sons, then in the French service, in addition to their regimental pay.

Though it is quite true that, at the place of execution, he did not hand any documents or papers to those about him, he did so to his wife, before he left the prison ; and a copy of what he "intended to have delivered to the Sheriff of Middlesex at the place of execution, but which he left in the hands of his wife for that end," has been found among the Gask papers, and is printed in the appendix to the *Jacobite Lairds*, as follows :—

On the first slip of paper :—

TOWER, 5th June 1753.

Being denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, except in the presence of one or more officers (who always took away the paper from me when I began to write my complaints), and not even allowed the use of a knife, with which I might cut a poor blunted pencil, that had escaped the diligence of my searchers, I have notwithstanding, as I could find opportunity, attempted to set down on some slips of paper, in as legible characters as I was able, what I would have my country satisfied of, with regard to myself and the cause in which I am now going to lay down my life.

As to my religion, I thank God I die a member, though unworthy, of that church in whose communion I have always lived, the Episcopal Church of Scotland, as by law established before the most unnatural rebellion began in 1688, which for the sins of these nations hath continued to this day ; and I firmly trust to find, at the most awful and impartial tribunal of the Almighty King of kings, through the merits of my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that mercy (though undeserved) to my immortal part which is here denied to my earthly by an usurper and his factions, though it be well known I have been the instrument in preventing the ruin and destruction of many of my poor deluded countrymen who were in their service, as I shall make appear before I have done, if opportunities of writing fail me not.

On the second slip of paper :—

In order to convince the world of the uprightness of my intentions while in the Prince of Wales's army, as well as of the cruelty, injustice, and ingratitude of my murderers, I think it my duty in this place to take notice how much better usage I might have expected of my country, if humanity and good nature were now looked upon with the same eyes as in the times of our brave and generous ancestors ; but I'm sorry to observe that our present men in power are so far sunk below the noble spirit of the ancient Britons, as hardly at this day to be distinguished from the very basest of mankind. Nor could the present possessor of the throne of our injured sovereign, if he looked on himself as the father and natural prince of this country, suffer the life of one to be taken away who has saved the lives and effects of above 300 persons in Scotland, who were firmly attached to him and his party ; but it seems it is now made a crime to save the lives of Scotsmen. As neither the time nor the poor materials I have for writing will allow me to descend to a particular enumeration of all the services I have done to the friends of the Usurper, I shall, therefore, only mention a few of the most known and such as can be well attested. In July 1745,

soon after the setting up of the Royal Standard, before our small army had reached Corayarick, it was moved by some of the chiefs to apply to the Prince for a strong detachment of clans to distress Campbell of Invera's house and tenants in that neighbourhood, which my brother Lochiel and I so successfully opposed, by representing to our generous leader (who was always an enemy to oppression), that such proceeding could be no way useful to his undertaking, that the motion was entirely laid aside, to the no small mortification of the proposer. My brother and I likewise prevented another such design against Breadalbane, to the great satisfaction of our dear Prince. And on our return from Glasgow

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

On a third slip of paper :—*

My brother and I did services to the town of Glasgow, of which the principal gentry in the neighbourhood were then, and are to this day sensible, if they durst own the truth ; but that might be construed disaffection to a Government founded on and supported by lies and falsehood. On our march to Stirling, I myself (though I am like to meet with a Hanoverian reward for it) hindered the whole town of Kirkintulloch from being destroyed and all its inhabitants put to the sword by my brother's men, who were justly incensed against it for the inhuman murder of two of Lady Lochiel's servants but two months before.

Here was a sufficient pretence for vengeance, had I been inclined to cruelty, but I thank God nothing was ever further from my nature, though I may have been otherwise represented. Mr Campbell of Shawfield likewise owes me some favours done to himself and family, which at least deserve some return in my behalf ; and Lady Campbell of Lochnell, now in London, can, if she pleases, vouch for the truth of some of the above facts.

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

On a fourth slip of paper :—

June 6th, 1753.

I thank kind Providence I had the happiness to be early educated in the principles of Christian loyalty, which as I grew in years inspired me with an utter abhorrence of rebellion and usurpation, though ever so successful ; and when I arrived at man's estate I had the joint testimony of religion and reason to confirm me in the truth of my first principles. As soon, therefore, as the Royal youth had set up the king his father's standard, I immediately, as in duty bound, repaired to it, and I had the honour from that time to be always constantly about his person till November 1748, excepting the short time his Royal Highness was in the Western Isles after the affair of Culloden. I became more and more captivated with his amiable and princely virtues, which are indeed in every instance so eminently great as I want words to describe. I can further affirm (and my present situation and that of my dear prince can leave no room to suspect me of flattery), that, as I have been his companion in the lowest degrees of adversity ever prince was reduced to, so have I beheld him too, as it were, on the highest pinnacle of glory, amidst the continual applauses, and, I had almost said, adorations of the most brilliant court in Europe, yet he was always the same, ever affable and courteous, giving constant proofs of his great humanity and of his love for his friends and his country. What great good to these nations might not

* Note by Gask. "Mr Cameron's custom was, when interrupted, to subscribe his name, in order (as he told his wife) to authenticate what he had written, lest he should not have another opportunity of adding anything further."

be expected from such a prince, were he in psssession of the throne of his ancestors ! And as to his courage, none that have heard of his glorious attempt in 1745, I should think, can call it in question. I cannot pass by in silence that most horrid calumny raised by the rebels under the command of the inhuman son of the Elector of Hanove , which served as an excuse for unparalleled butchery, committed by his orders, in cold blood after the unhappy affair of Culloden, viz., that we had orders to give no quarter ; which if true must have come to my knowledge, who had the honour to serve my ever dear master in the quality of one of his aide-de-camps. And I hereby declare I never heard of such orders. The above is truth.

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

I likewise declare, on the word of a dying man, that the last time I had the honour to see his Royal Highness, Charles Prince of Wales, he told me from his own mouth, and bid me assure his friends from him, that he was a member of the Church of England. ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

On a fifth slip of paper :—

To cover the cruelty of murdering me at this distance of time from the passing of the unjust Attainder, I am accused of being deeply engaged in a new plot against this Government (which if I was, neither the fear of the worst death their malice could invent, nor the blustering and noisy threatenings of the tumultuous council, nor much less their flattering promises could extort any discovery of it from me), yet not so much as one evidence was ever produced to make good the charge. But it is my business to submit, since God in His all wise providence thinks fit to suffer it to be so. And I the more cheerfully resign my life as it is taken away for doing my duty to God, my king, and my country ; nor is there anything in this world I could so much wish to have it prolonged for, as to have another opportunity to employ the remainder of it in the same glorious cause. ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

I thank God I was not in the least daunted at hearing the bloody sentence which my unrighteous judge pronounced with a seeming insensibility till he came to the words, "*But not till you are dead,*" before which he made a pause, and uttering them with a particular emphasis, stared me in the face, to observe, I suppose, if I was as much frightened at them as he perhaps would have been in my place. As to the guilt he said I had to answer for, as having been instrumental in the loss of so many lives, let him and his constituents see to it that at their hands, not at mine, will all the blood that had been shed on that account be required. God of His infinite mercy grant they may prevent the punishment that hangs over their guilty heads, by a sincere repentance and speedy return to their duty.

I pray God to hasten the restoration of the Royal Family, without which these miserably divided nations can never enjoy peace and happiness, and that it may please him to preserve the King, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York, from the power and malice of their enemies, to prosper and reward all my friends and benefactors, and to forgive all my enemies, murderers, and false accusers, from the Elector of Hanover and his bloody son, down to Samuel Cameron the basest of their spies, as I freely do from the bottom of my heart. ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

I am now ready to be offered ; I have fought a good fight, all glory be to God.

The following is added, at the foot, by his widow :—"The above is a faithful transcript of what my husband left with me as his dying sentiments." A monument was erected to Dr

Cameron, by her Majesty's permission, in 1846, in the Chapel Royal, Savoy, by his representative, the late Charles Hay Cameron, for several years Legal Member of the Supreme Council of India.

Boswell, in the *Life of Dr Johnson*, relates the following incident:—Johnson used to be a pretty frequent visitor at the house of Richardson, the author of *Clarissa*. Hogarth one day, soon after the execution of Dr Cameron, came to see Richardson, and, being a warm partisan of George II., he observed to Richardson, that certainly there must have been some very unfavourable circumstances lately discovered in Dr Cameron's case, which had induced the king to approve of his execution for rebellion, so long after it was committed, as this had the appearance of putting the man to death in cold blood, and "was very unlike his Majesty's usual clemency." While Hogarth was talking he perceived a person standing at a window in the room, shaking his head, and rolling himself about in a strange and ridiculous manner. He concluded that this person was some idiot whom his relations had placed under the care of Richardson. To his great surprise, however, this figure stalked forward to where he and Mr Richardson were sitting, and all at once took up the argument and burst out into invective against George II., as one who, upon all occasions, was unrelenting and barbarous, mentioning several instances, particularly that, when an officer of high rank had been acquitted by court-martial, George had with his own hand struck his name off the list. In short, the peculiar figure displayed such a power of eloquence, that Hogarth looked at him with astonishment, and actually imagined that this idiot had been at the moment inspired. Dr Johnson, for it was he, and Hogarth were not introduced to each other on this occasion. To this story, Boswell adds the following footnote:—"Impartial posterity may perhaps be as little inclined as Dr Johnson was to justify the uncommon rigour exercised in the case of Dr Archibald Cameron. He was an amiable and truly honest man, and his offence was owing to a generous, though mistaken principle of duty. Being obliged, after 1746, to give up his profession as a physician and to go into foreign parts, he was honoured with the rank of colonel both in the French and Spanish service."

Dr Archibald Cameron married Jean, daughter of Archibald Cameron of Dungallon, with issue—

1. John, a colonel in the French service.

2. Donald, a partner in the banking house of Harley, Cameron & Son, George Street, Mansion House, London. He resided for several years at Valentine, Essex, of which county he was Sheriff in 1791. He married Mary Guy, the daughter of a noted Jacobite, with issue—(1) Charles, who carried on the male representation of the family, and of whom presently, with other members of his family ; (2) a daughter, who died unmarried.

3. Margaret, who married Captain Donald Cameron of Strone, with issue—a son, Captain Donald Cameron, an officer in the 21st Scots Fusilier Guards, who fought throughout the whole of the Peninsular campaign. He married Anne, daughter of Duncan Campbell, factor for Maclean of Ardgour, widow of Allan Cameron, Inverscadale, well known among his countrymen as "Alein Mac Sheumais," with issue—(1) Donald, late a lieutenant in the Bombay Fusiliers, since retired, and emigrated to Australia, where he resides, unmarried ; (2) Colin John Macdonald Campbell, late captain in the 24th Bombay Native Infantry, who died, in 1884, at Nairn, unmarried ; (3) Charles, a squatter, Netley, Wentworth, Australia, unmarried ; and (4) Margaret Anne, who married the Rev. Mr Beaumont, Greenwich, without surviving issue.

Dr Cameron had four other children, of whom we have been unable to secure any trace. He was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

II. JOHN CAMERON, a colonel in the army, who married Elizabeth, daughter of the Honourable George Hamilton (sixth son of James, sixth, and brother of James seventh, Earl of Abercorn), M.P. for Wells, and Deputy-Cofferer for the Prince of Wales, by his wife, Bridget, daughter and heir of Colonel William Coward, Wells, county of Somerset. In Douglas's *Peerage*, where the marriage is recorded, Colonel Cameron is described as "a general in the French service." He predeceased his wife, who, as her second husband, married the Comte de Fari.

By his wife Colonel Cameron had issue—

1. John.

2. Another son, who died unmarried.

3. Peggy, who died unmarried.

On his death Colonel Cameron was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

III. JOHN CAMERON, a captain in the army, who died unmarried, when the male representation devolved upon his cousin-german,

IV. CHARLES CAMERON, eldest son of Donald, second son of Dr Archibald Cameron, Civil Commissioner of Malta, and, afterwards, on the 22nd of December 1803, appointed Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Bahama Islands. He married in 1789, Lady Margaret Hay (who died in 1832), daughter of James, fourteenth Earl of Erroll, with issue—

1. Charles Hay.

2. Donald, who died young.

3. Isabella Hay, who married General Darling, Lieutenant-Governor of Tobago, with issue—several sons, all of whom died without surviving issue, except Sir Charles Darling, K.C.B., Governor of Victoria, who married three times, leaving issue—Charles, a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, and several other sons; also a daughter, who married Colonel Tyler, R.A.

4. Mary Hay, who, on the 7th of May 1814, married Admiral the Hon. Philip Wodehouse (born on the 16th of July 1773, and died on the 21st of January 1838), with issue—(1) Edwin, born in 1817, C.B., and A.D.C. to the Queen; a colonel in the Royal Artillery, and a Knight of the Legion of Honour, who, on the 16th of October 1845, married Catharine, only daughter of the late Captain John Street. Colonel Edwin Wodehouse died on the 6th of October 1870, leaving issue—*(a)* Edwin Frederick, born on the 20th of February 1851, now a captain in the Royal Artillery, married with issue; *(b)* Catherine Mary Phillipa, who, on the 27th of June 1877, married James Andrew Thomas Bruce, commander, Royal Navy, youngest son of Sir Henry Bruce, Baronet of Dowanhill, County of Londonderry; and *(c)* Alice Katharine, who, on the 9th of December 1875, married James M. Carr Lloyd, only son of Colonel Carr Lloyd of Lancing Manor, Sussex. (2) Constantine Griffith, who, born on the 21st of March 1847, married, on the 7th of April 1868, Fanny Isabella, eldest daughter of the Rev. Edward H. Sawbridge, rector of Thelnethan, Suffolk. (3) Phillip Cameron,

chaplain at Hampton Court Palace, born on the 22nd of January 1837, and married, on the 12th of April 1866, Mary, second daughter of the Rev. Edward H. Sawbridge, of East Haddon Hall, county of Northampton. Admiral Philip Wodehouse and Mary Hay Cameron had also four daughters—Margaret, Agnes, Jane, and Eleanor Mary, all of whom died unmarried. (4) Margaret Hay, who died unmarried.

Charles Cameron was succeeded as representative of the family by his only surviving son,

V. CHARLES HAY CAMERON, Legal Member of the Supreme Council of India. In 1838, he married Julia Margaret Pattle, with issue—

1. Eugene Hay.

2. Ewen Hay, of St Regulus, Ceylon, who married Annie, daughter of Edward Chinnery, M.D., Lymington, Hants, with issue—(1) Ewen Hay ; (2) Julia Hay.

3. Hardinge Hay, of her Majesty's Civil Service, Ceylon. He married Katharine Ann, daughter of the Rev. Dr Norman Macleod. She died without issue.

4. Charles Hay, still unmarried.

5. Henry Herschell Hay, still unmarried.

6. Julia Hay, who married Charles Loyd Norman, Bromley Common, Kent, with issue—six children.

Charles Hay Cameron was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

VI. EUGENE HAY CAMERON, major, Royal Artillery, who married Caroline Catherine, daughter of John Dennis Browne, sometime M.P. for County Mayo, with issue—

1, Archibald Dennis Hay. 2, Donald Hay.

3, Caroline Beatrice. 4, Caroline Margaret Hay.

THE MACLEODS.—The *History of the Camerons* having now been issued in book form, it is not intended to continue the history of the various branches of that clan in the *Celtic Magazine* any further; but the *History of the Macleods*, by the Editor, will be commenced on an early date. It is hoped that all those possessing information will communicate with Mr Mackenzie, so as to enable him to make the work as complete and interesting as possible. He has been already kindly promised access by Macleod of Macleod to the Macleod Charter Chest, and others have also kindly volunteered their aid.

THE LEGEND OF CUMYN'S CAIRN.

ON the shore of Loch Loch, in Athole, there stands a large cairn of stones, which is known as Cumyn's Cairn. This spot is regarded with superstitious dread by the people around, who tell the following legend concerning it.

In the thirteenth century there were two great proprietors in Athole, Cumyn, Earl of Badenoch, and Mackintosh of Tirinie. The first of these was a grasping and avaricious man, and was constantly engaged in feuds with his neighbours. Mackintosh was an entirely different man, and as he kept his people at peace, his lands were naturally more prolific and his cattle more numerous than those of the warlike Earl, who, if he at any time brought home a heavy *creach* from one of his forays, was very likely despoiled of it next day. Cumyn was thus continually envious of Mackintosh's prosperity, and the handsome present of twelve cows and a bull, which the latter sent him on his wedding, only served to arouse his cupidity the more. He at last resolved to possess himself of his neighbour's whole goods, and at the same time to gratify his malice by putting Mackintosh and all his people to death. In furtherance of this ungrateful resolution, he set out from Blair Castle one night with a band of men, and quietly surrounded Tomafour Castle, where Mackintosh resided. The watchmen, not expecting an invasion, were easily overcome, and the marauders then rushed into the castle and slew everyone they found in it. It is said that Cumyn himself plunged his dirk into Mackintosh's heart as he sprang up to grapple with his midnight assailant. After this dreadful deed, the murderers decamped with everything they could lay hands upon, and left the blood-stained castle without attempting to hide the dead bodies or efface the marks of slaughter.

Near Tomafour there lived an old man who held his little bit of land from Mackintosh, and, under one of those curious leases so common in the olden time, all the rent he had to pay was a bonnet yearly. It happened that the day after the massacre above described was this man's rent-day, and he accordingly started off for the castle as usual with his bonnet.

Upon getting there he was astonished at the silence which brooded over the place, and its apparently deserted state. He entered the doorway, and was horrified to come upon the body of one of the sentinels. The terrible truth now began to dawn upon him, and a further search confirmed his fears. He wandered distractedly through the lonely rooms, looking for some sign of life, but only to be confronted at every threshold by the gory remains of some one of the household. All at once he fancied he heard a faint cry. He listened intently for a few moments, and again the cry was repeated, this time evidently proceeding from a chamber he had not yet entered. On going into this room he found the corpses of the murdered chieftain and his wife stretched upon their bed, whilst the cry he had heard appeared to come from underneath a heap of bedclothes which the assassins had rudely torn from the bed and left upon the floor. The removal of this disclosed a cradle, containing Mackintosh's infant son, who had thus been miraculously preserved, though well-nigh smothered by the bedclothes. The old clansman seized the child, and wrapping it in his plaid, he left the ill-fated house and betook himself to Campbell of Achinbreck, the nearest surviving relative of the little orphan. This chieftain listened to the old man's tale with horror, and immediately adopted the child as his own. The Cumyns were too powerful to be interfered with, and the boy grew up in ignorance of his birth and of the murder of his family. His deliverer remained at Achinbreck, and took great pains to instruct his young protégé in the use of the bow, and other warlike accomplishments.

The lad soon became an excellent shot, and one day, after he had hit a small mark from a long distance several times in succession, the old man could keep his secret no longer, and exclaimed, in a significant tone, "The gray breast of the man that killed your father is broader than that target!" This remark aroused the lad's curiosity to the utmost, and he had no peace until he had drawn out the whole story. The recital so enraged him that he bitterly reproached his guardian for not telling it to him before.

His only thought now was of revenge upon his father's murderer. He at once left Achinbreck, and went to Tomafour, where he gathered a band of his clansmen, delighted beyond

measure at the appearance of one whom they had considered dead, and ready to lay down their lives at any moment in his cause. With these trusty adherents he went to Blair, and challenged Cumyn to come forth with his men and try a conflict in the open field. The Earl was nothing loth, and a fierce battle soon commenced. The Mackintoshes saluted their adversaries with a shower of arrows, which so thinned their ranks that the issue of the conflict was not long doubtful. The Cumyns were defeated with great slaughter, and the Earl himself took to flight, closely followed by young Tirinie. At length Cumyn reached the brink of Loch Loch, and took a deep draught of the water. Looking back he saw the avenger of blood coming up fast, and raised his hand to wipe the perspiration from his brow before renewing his flight. Mackintosh, observing the action, let fly an arrow with such unerring aim that it pinned Cumyn's hand to his forehead, killing him instantly.

The Earl was buried where he fell, with the arrow still in his brain, and a cairn was raised to mark the spot, which bears his name to this day. Towering above the cairn is the huge Ben-y-gloe, and the tradition of the witch upon the mountain-top, and the fate of the Earl of Badenoch at the cairn, combine to render the place uncanny, and scare the wayfarer from approaching it too closely after the shades of night begin to fall. H. R. M.

HIGHLAND DEVOTION TO SUPERIORS.—In one of the battles of the American war, the 76th Regiment of Highlanders distinguished itself. At the moment Lord Cornwallis was giving the orders to charge, a Highland soldier rushed forward and placed himself in front of his officer, Lieutenant Simon Macdonald of Morar, afterwards Major of the 92nd Regiment. Lieutenant Macdonald having asked what brought him there, the soldier answered, "You know, that when I engaged to be a soldier, I promised to be faithful to the king and to you. The French are coming, and while I stand here, neither bullet nor bayonet shall touch you, except through my body."

A HIGHLANDER'S RECOMPENSE FOR DESERTION.—A soldier of the 98th Argyleshire Highlanders deserted, and emigrated to America, where he settled. Several years after his desertion, a letter was received from him, with a sum of money for the purpose of procuring one or two men to supply his place in the regiment, as the only recompense he could make for "breaking his oath to his God, and his allegiance to his King, which preyed on his conscience in such a manner, that he had no rest night nor day."—*Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders.*

'TAILLEAR DUBH NA TUAIGHE"—A CAMERON WARRIOR.

By the Rev. Professor Malcolm Campbell Taylor, D.D., of the Edinburgh University.

II.

Coming to the second generation from Ewen Alanson, we find him succeeded by his grandson, Ewen Beg—Ewen Macdonald MacEwen—who died before 2nd March, 1554.† Gregory affects to doubt whether he was not executed under a commission given to Huntly,‡ whereas the "Introduction" attributes his death to misadventure, when incarcerated at the instance of Macdougall of Dunolly, in Inchconnel Castle—a statement which seems, so far, to be confirmed by the fact, that Dunolly is himself found to be in ward, two years later on, at the instance of Argyll.§ Ewen Beg was in turn succeeded by his brother, Donald—Donald MacDonald MacEwen—also a grandson of Ewen Alanson, so that we are still in the second generation from that Chief. Gregory asserts that this Donald was put to death by some of his own kinsmen,‖ but in this assertion, the references on which he founded had quite misled him. One of them, that by which he was mainly guided, is an entry in the "Register of Privy Council," of date 26th Feb. 1577,* which makes mention of "letters raised by the brothers and other friends of the late Donald Dow MacKewin, by which Allister and Johnne were denounced for the slaughter of the late Donald." The Donald of this entry was, no doubt, a Cameron of some note, but certainly not the chief of whom Gregory was thinking; for, apart from several other reasons, the Chief was not Donald Dow MacEwen, but Donald Dow MacDonald. Even Gregory has, in this instance, succumbed to the difficulty of distinguishing the parties, and, as his statement is the sole ground of belief that the Chief, Donald, was murdered by his own kinsmen, the murder itself

† *Reg. of Privy Seal*, xxvi., fol. 57. ‡ p. 183.

§ *Coll. de Rebus Albanicis*, 89-90 (Iona Club). In a note, the Editor finds a State reason for this; but a prudent device, on the Earl's part, to secure the peace of Lorn and Lochaber may have had something to do with it.

‖ P. 202. * Vol. ii. 597.

may now be dismissed as unworthy of credit.* The date of his death is approximately fixed by the gift to George, Earl of Huntly "of the nonentries, mailis fermis, profittis and dewitties of all, and sindrie the lands of Loch-Zeild," &c. . . . . "sen ye deceis of umquhile Donald Dow"†—dated 21st April, 1567. He thus died about thirteen years after his brother, Ewen Beg, and twenty years after the execution of his grandfather, Ewen Alanson. The record of his death is important as fixing the date of the birth of his successor, the *infant son* of his younger brother, John—Allan MacIanduy,‡ as he is called in the records, and as being otherwise a much needed landmark. With him we come to the third generation from Ewen Alanson, and to one of the most complicated periods in Cameron history. Allan's natural guardians were now—say, from 1567, onwards—not his uncles, nor yet his grand-uncles, strictly so, for these, perhaps with one exception, were dead, but his half-grand-uncles, viz.: Donald and John, sons of Ewen Alanson, by Marjory Mackintosh. All accounts agree that there was an attempt on their part to usurp the chieftainship, together with the family estates. We need not suppose, that a supreme regard for the precision of the feudal law of succession had penetrated to Lochaber, and now inspired the Camerons, although the contentions and bloodshed that ensued turned on the point of lineage and blood. Both parties to the quarrel were of the blood of Ewen Alanson; but they were divided thus, that on the one side was Allan, his descendant by a daughter of the friendly house of Lochalsh, while on the other side were his descendants by Marjory Mackintosh, with whose race, unfortunately, there had been an inveterate and bloody feud. At this juncture the cause of the minor, Allan, came to be represented, both in counsel and in arms, by his relative, Donald MacEwen Beg, described as the illegitimate son of that Ewen Beg who met his death at Inchconnell. There was this to range him on the same side, that he was of the blood of Ewen Alanson by his first marriage. We have thus the survivors of the first

* The "Introduction" knows nothing of it.

† *Reg. of Privy Seal*, xxxvi. fol. 33.

‡ *Celtic Magazine* 1883, p. 268. *Gregory*, p. 203, had satisfactorily disproved the statement of the "Introduction to the Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron" that Donald was succeeded by his son, Allan.

generation from Ewen Alanson arrayed against certain members of the third generation; or otherwise, the lineage of Lochiel-Lochalsh against that of Lochiel-Mackintosh.

The author of the "Introduction" passes lightly, over the internecine struggle that followed. It is plain that he was very inadequately informed, and only grudgingly accords his due meed of honour to the leader who, through it all, bore the burden of the young Chief's cause. We are told by him that there was intolerable oppression by the tutors, and that, in consequence, Donald MacEwen Beg was recalled from among the Grants; that there ensued a kind of civil war, during which Mackintosh marched into the Cameron country, and imposed terms which the tutors could not resist; and that then there was talk of a counter invasion of Mackintosh territory, which may, or may not, have come off.* The tradition of Lochaber went considerably further. By the aid of their relative, Mackintosh, and their own immediate followers, the tutors aimed at a complete control of their own tribe. They admitted the Mackintoshes, in force, into the country, and allowed them to take up, and occupy, a fortified position somewhere near Moy, on the verge of the lands that had been long in debate between the two Clans. This was, ostensibly, in pledge of the fulfilment of certain stipulations, to which the Camerons had been unwillingly and unwittingly bound by the tutors. The result was a rising of the majority of the Camerons, against a minority of the same Clan supported by a body of Mackintoshes, who had got firm hold on a parcel of territory, which they, too, had long regarded as by right their own. Nor was it till after numerous skirmishes, and several bloody encounters on a large scale, which are said to have drawn out the full strength of the Mackintoshes, that these were beat back, and the Cameron minority quelled. Two of these conflicts have left an indelible impression on the tradition of that country, and were fought, the one at Moy, and the other at Mucomer. Here again, contemporary records fairly support the tradition of Lochaber, for they show that the strife must have lasted for a considerable time, as they also show when it practically terminated. It may have begun any time after 1566, to which year we may refer the death of the Chief, Donald Dow

* *Author's Introduction to the Memoirs of Sir Ewan Cameron*, p. 37-8.

MacDonald MacEwen; the birth of Allan MacIanduy, his successor, and the appointment of tutors; but we must allow some years to elapse, for the tyranny and designs of the tutors to take effect. It looks, indeed, as if we could actually determine the year when these came to a height and were frustrated, viz., 1576., *i.e.*, there was an interval of ten years, or nearly as many, during which these tutors were in power; for in 1576, as may be inferred from the record, a prominent member of the Clan, Donald MacEwen, was put to death.* If we may hold with the author of the "Introduction" that the name of one of the tutors was Donald—and we have seen that he was probably correct in that particular—then, this Donald MacEwen of the records was none other than the tutor, Donald, the son of Ewen Alanson, by Marjory Mackintosh.† We also know who his slayers were, for the event had excited the interest of the Earls of Argyll and Athole—themselves, a short time before, at feud—and in connection with the action of these magnates, the whole story can be unravelled in the records of Privy Council. The perpetrators of the slaughter were Allastir Dow MacAllan MacIan "of Camroun, and John Cam, his broder of surnawm,"‡ whom we may identify with "Allastir Dow MacAllane Vc. Eane of Culchinny," and "Johnne Mor MacAllane Vc. Eane of Callardy," of a considerably later entry.§ The same passage in the records which misled Gregory seems also to have misled the author of the "Introduction,"¶ for whereas the former found in it the murder of a Chief, which probably never happened, the latter evidently found in it, and with a better excuse and greater show of probability, the assassination of Donald MacEwen Beg, for which also there seems to be no foundation, except in this mis-

* *Reg. Privy Council* vol. ii., 597.

† The "Introduction" may or may not be right in styling him Donald MacEwen of Eracht, for it is possible that he was succeeded in Eracht by Mac Vc. Ewen, the progenitor of that family, since so highly distinguished.

‡ *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. ii., p. 587-8, &c. In the Reg. it is Allaster Dow MacAllane MacEwin—but we should read as above, for he appears by his *father's brother*, "Ewen MacAne," captain of Inverlochy.

§ *Reg of Privy Council*, vol v., p. 498 (year 1598).

¶ That the author was largely guided by these records appears from his preface: "I have written to Bishop Keith and to Macfarlane to search the records for what they can find, relating either to Sir Ewen or his predecessors. I myself have searched those of the Privy Council."—Preface, xliii-iv.

take. Closely scanned, the passage itself shows, that as it does not record the death of Donald MacDonald MacEwen, the Chief, so neither does it register the fate of Donald MacEwen Beg ;* for it speaks of the *brothers* of the dead man—a phrase which cannot apply to Donald MacEwen Beg, who had no brother. Then, the records clearly indicate that the perpetrators of the deed, Allaster Dow and John Cam, were befriended by Argyll, who succeeded in getting them out of Athole's hands ; and that they were the partizans, and not the adversaries, of Donald MacEwen Beg.† Besides, the "Introduction" states that Allan, the young Chief, was about seventeen years of age when he returned to Lochaber, and that it was after his return that "he gave way to the death" of Donald MacEwen Beg, whereas at the death of this other personage, Allan would be about ten years old.

This point, however, does not depend on minute criticism. Allan MacIanduy had, in the meantime, been confided to the care of his relative, Mr John Cameron, the minister of Dunoon and Kilmun, in Cowal.‡ Thither, also, we find Donald MacEwen Beg following him about this time—a fact which was unknown to the author of the "Introduction." The Earls of Argyll and Athole having made up their feud, bonds of assurance and friendship were signed in favour of each other, by these lords, at Dunoon and Dunkeld, respectively. That which was subscribed by Argyll bears date : "at Dunnone, the xx day of Julii, the year of God, 1576 years," and is attested "*before thir witnesses, Donald MacEwen Vc Oneill, in Lochaber*," and others.§ It may be affirmed, that there was no prominent member of the Clan Cameron to whom that designation applied, at the time, except Donald MacEwen Beg. That was in July 1576, six months, it is true, before the date of the entry which

* "Holyrood, 1576/7, 24th Feb. Mr Andro Abercrumby, servitor of Johnne Earl of Athole, presented in his master's name Allistar Dow MacAllane MacEwin Camroun and Johnne Cam his brother, and also produced letters raised by the brothers and other friends of the late Donald Dow MacKewin, by which the said Allistar and Johnne were denounced for the slaughter of the said Donald."—*Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. ii., 579.

† *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. ii., pp. 587, 588, 597, 660, 663.

‡ *Author's Introduction to the Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel*, p. 37.

§ It was not unusual for the Lowland scribe to write the Gaelic for MacDonald in this way, *e.g.*, one out of many, Angus MacDonald, of Dunyveg, appears as "Angus Mack Oneill.—*History of King James the Sext*, pp. 217-330.

records the slaughter of Donald MacKewin (26th Feb., 1577). But his slayers had been imprisoned by Athole "certain months syne," as they complained, before the beginning of February, 1577; and they had been at the horn before they had been caught and imprisoned by Athole†—facts which pretty well exhaust the interval of six months, and point to the conclusion, not that Donald MacEwen Beg, who witnessed Argyll's bond at Dunoon in the previous July, had hurried back to Lochaber, and was put to death as soon as he arrived; but that on the slaughter of the one tutor, Donald MacKewin, at Inverlochy, and the escape of the other, he had proceeded to Dunoon, where young Lochiel and the Earl of Argyll were to be found. The author of the "Introduction" relates that when the first tutor had been put to death, it was by Donald MacEwen Beg's intercession with Argyll, that the second tutor, John of Kinlochiel, was brought to execution. One other document strengthens this view if, indeed, it does not decide the point. A bond of maintenance, by Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg to Ninian Bannatyne of Kames (in Bute, and separated from Cowal by the Kyles of Bute), was subscribed on the 16th May, 1577, "before these witnesses, Donald Cameron of Lochaber," and others. That, at least, was posterior to the slaughter of "Donald MacKewin." It cannot be said, for certain, that the "Donald Cameron of Lochaber," who witnessed this deed at Kames in May, 1577, was identical with "Donald MacEwen Vc. Coneill in Lochaber," who witnessed a similar deed, at Dunoon, in July of the previous year, but there is a high degree of probability that he was. On the one hand, there is no clue to any other to whom the designation can be applied; while, on the other hand, "Donald Cameron of Lochaber" has just that touch of indefiniteness, and importance of position in the Clan, at the time, that would accurately describe him. The probability is that Donald MacEwen Beg, had again visited Dunoon and Cowal, where young Allan still resided, on affairs connected with the Clan. Now, although the "Introduction" makes no allusion to his presence in Cowal, we have traced him thither, apparently in the course of two successive summers, those, viz., of 1576 and 1577. And as Allan did not return from Dunoon till he was about 17 years of age, *i.e.*, till say

† *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. ii. 537-8.

1583, it is probable that Donald MacEwen Beg was in that neighbourhood on other occasions, of which no record exists. Of him, however, under that name, no reminiscence has been preserved to our time, in Cowal; there nothing is known of him any more than on Speyside, while, on the other hand, the memory of Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe or Donald Dubh of Lochiel, has been warmly cherished by his descendants in Cowal, down to the present generation. Of his ultimate escape from Lochaber, nothing need be said for the present. So far, then, the case stands thus. Beyond Lochaber, there are two localities, and only two, in which a steadfast, living tradition regarding Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe, together with a persistent claim of descent from him, has been preserved. In both districts, there is independent evidence of the presence of Donald MacEwen Beg. The tradition of Lochaber identifies him with the Taillear Dubh. The traditions of all three localities lead up to much the same period. The reader must be left to judge whether there be two Richmonds in the field, or whether we have here one and the same man, in different guises, according as he was known to the scribes, or as he was known by the people.

(To be continued.)

TO THE READER.—The present number completes our ninth annual volume, a period of existence not vouchsafed to any preceding Celtic publication, in any shape, Gaelic or English. The *Highlander* lived for eight years as a weekly newspaper, and five numbers of it appeared as a monthly periodical. The *Gael* continued, at more or less regular intervals, for six years. The *Teachdaire Gaidhealach*, and *Cuairtear nan Gleann* lived each for two years; the *Teachdaire Ur Gaidhealach* for seven months; *Bratach na Firinn* for about two years. The *Highland Pioneer*, the *Glasgow Highlander*, and the *Highland Echo*, had each a very short and precarious existence. Not less than six of these died or were killed since we started the *Celtic Magazine*. Not a few of them attempted to kick us aside, but we are still alive, alone in our glory, more prosperous and influential than at any previous period of our history; thanks mainly to our kind contributors and other good friends. It is unnecessary to say that we shall make every effort in future to deserve even greater success than we have yet attained, and to secure the continued patronage and good-will of our Highland countrymen at home and abroad.

HIGHLAND LAND LAW REFORM CONFERENCE AT DINGWALL.

At Dingwall, on the 2nd September 1884, in a conference of delegates from branches of the Highland Land Law Reform Associations of Ross, Inverness, Argyle, and Sutherland shires, and from Edinburgh, London, &c., Dr J. B. Clark, Chairman of the London Highland Land Law Reform Association, was, on the motion of Mr J. Macgilchrist Ross, Teaninich, called upon to preside. Donald Murray, London; Mr Walker, South Uist (in Gaelic); John Macpherson, Glendale (in Gaelic); John Mackay, C.E., Hereford; the Rev. John Mactavish, Inverness; Neil Macneil, Tiree; Michael Buchanan, Barra; the Rev. Mr Cumming, Melness, D. Macfarlane, M.P., and Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Inverness, addressed the meeting, expressing their views on the objects of the conference, whereupon

Mr Dugald Cowan, Edinburgh, moved, and it was unanimously agreed that, in the opinion of this conference, the condition of the Highlands and Islands, as detailed in the Report of the Royal Commission (Highlands and Islands), and the eviction, and threatened eviction, of crofters and cottars, necessitates:—

The introduction of a Bill, on the re-assembling of Parliament, applying to the districts embraced in the Royal Commissioners' inquiry, suspending the power now possessed by landlords of evicting crofters and cottars from their holdings and dwellings.

Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Inverness, moved, seconded by Mr Samuel Maclaren, merchant, Leith, and it was agreed to, that this conference expresses its thanks to the Prime Minister for the declaration in his speech of Saturday last of his intention to give earnest and sympathetic consideration to the condition of the Highland peasantry, but while approving generally of many of the proposals contained in the Crofter Commission Report, considers that alone these do not meet the wants of the people, and desires that these should be supplemented and amended. This was done as follows:

On the motion of Mr Ross, Teaninich, seconded by the Rev. Mr Maccallum, Rousay, Orkney, and agreed to, that, at the earliest possible date, a measure be introduced establishing a Land Court with judicial and administrative functions for the aforesaid district, with powers as between crofters and cottars on the one part, and landlords on the other.

That the Land Courts should determine what are fair rents.

On the motion of Dean of Guild Mackenzie, seconded by the Rev. John Mactavish, Inverness, and agreed to—

That all tenants of holdings shall have a Durable Tenure; which means that they shall not be subject to removal so long as the fair rents fixed by the Land Court are paid, and the conditions of their tenancies fulfilled.

It was agreed that all tenants of holdings shall have the right of Free Sale of their tenant right, the buyer of a tenant right being entitled to all the rights and privileges, and subject to the same conditions as the seller.

This Conference approves of the compulsory enlargement of old townships, and is of opinion that the formation of new townships should also be compulsory.

It was unanimously agreed that the recommendations of the Commission, in reference to the purchase of holdings, should be compulsory, with the consent of the Land Court.

It was also agreed that the recommendations of the Commission, in regard to new deer forests, should be also applied to existing forests.

It was unanimously agreed that there should be such a modification of the Game Laws as will entitle tenants to shoot deer and other game on land in their occupation.

It was unanimously agreed that no Procurator-Fiscal should be permitted to practise as an estate or law-agent.

It was unanimously agreed that immediate effect be given to the recommendations of the Commission regarding education, fisheries, and communications, and such other reforms as are of an administrative character.

It was agreed that the Land Tax, and other taxes for local and imperial purposes, should be levied on the present valuation.

It was unanimously agreed that no candidate for Parliament should be acceptable to a Highland constituency who will not accept the programme adopted by this conference ; and that a bill be drafted to give it legislative effect.

It was unanimously agreed, on the motion of Mr D. Sinclair, Lochalsh, seconded by Mr John Mackay, C.E., Hereford, that efforts should be made to establish a newspaper, devoted to the advocacy of the Land Question, for circulation in the Highlands generally. Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Mr John Mackay, C.E., Hereford ; Mr Stuart Glennie, barrister-at-law, London ; Mr D. Sinclair, Auchtertyre, Lochalsh ; Dr J. B Clark, London ; Councillor Nicol, Dingwall ; Mr Dugald Cowan, Edinburgh ; and Mr Donald Murray, London, were appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to consider the best means of successfully starting such a newspaper.

The conference closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, to Mr Donald Murray, London, and Mr John Macrae, solicitor, Dingwall, the joint-secretaries.

At a conference of members of kindred societies, and others interested in the Land Question, held the same evening, it was moved by Sir George Campbell, M.P., seconded by Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Inverness, and unanimously agreed to—

That all the Land Law Reform Societies unite on a common platform to make this question of Land Law Reform a test one at the next election, and that two representatives from each Society be appointed as a Committee for this purpose.

The following duly accredited Delegates attended the Conference :—

The Rev. John Mactavish, Inverness.
Alexander Mackenzie, Dean of Guild, do.
John Macdonald, Exchange, do.
Rev. Mr Mackenzie, Farr.
Francis Macbean, Grantown.
Duncan Mackenzie, do.
Mr Calder, Strathspey.
Donald Nicholson, "The Brave Old Crofter," Solitote, Isle of Skye.
Roderick Macinnes, Steinscholl, do.
Norman Stewart, do. do.
Murdoch Maclean, do. do.
Malcolm Mackenzie, do. do.

John Nicolson, Tote, Snizort, Isle of Skye
Neil Shaw, Eyre, do.
Duncan Macrae, Snizort, do.
John Beaton, Snizort, do.
Hector Mackenzie, Solitote, Kilmuir.
Donald Beaton, do.
Murdo Gillies, do.
John Macpherson, Glendale, do.
Neil Macneil, Tiree.
Donald Sinclair, do.
Charles Macdonald, Kilmaluag.
Angus Sutherland, Halladale, Sutherlandshire.
William Mackenzie, Halladale, do.
Alexander Bain, Rogart, do.
John Sutherland, Rogart, do.
William Matheson, Rogart, do.
William Mackay, Strathy, do.
John Mackay, Strathy, do.
Rev. Mr Cumming, Melness, do.
Farquhar Macrae, medical student, Dingwall.
Mr Mackenzie, do.
Thomas Nicol, do.
J. M'G. Ross, Teaninich, Alness.
Duncan Mackay, Durinish, Lochalsh.
D. Sinclair, do.
Mr Macrae, do.
Donald Macdonald, do.
Duncan Macrae, Kintail.
Mr Maclennan, Timaru, Strathpeffer.
Donald Macdonald, do.
Mr Macdonald, Rootfield, Ferrintosh.
Mr Forbes, Rootfield, do.
John Ross, Strath, Gairloch.
Alex. Macgregor, do.
Mr Grant, Resolis.
Mr Kemp, do.
Thomas Mackenzie, Logie-Easter.
James Matheson, Logie.
David Ross, do.
John Matheson, do.
Mr Macleod, teacher, Ardgay.
Mr Mackenzie, Craiglea, Culbokie.
John Fowler, Braefindon, do.
Malcolm Macqueen, North Uist.
Roderick Macdonald, South Uist.
Alexander Macdonald, do.
Peter Walker, do.
Angus Fraser, Uist.
M. Buchanan, Barra.
Rev. Mr Grant, Loanhead, Edinburgh.
Dugald Cowan, do.
Samuel Maclaren, do.
J. Mackenzie Macleod, Liverpool.
Rev. Archibald MacCallum, Rousay, Orkney.
James Macandrew, Glasgow.
And several others whose names we have not ascertained.

At the evening Conference there were present, in addition to the foregoing delegates :—Mr Findlater, Balveny, Dufftown, and Mr John Gordon, Balmuchy, from the Scottish Farmers' Alliance ;

and Mr Shaw Maxwell, from the Scottish Land Restoration League.

RESOLUTIONS CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY AT THE DEMONSTRATION ON WEDNESDAY, 3RD SEPTEMBER 1884; Professor Blackie in the chair.

D. H. Macfarlane, Esq. M.P., moved, and C. F. Mackintosh, Esq. M.P., seconded—

1.—That, in the opinion of this meeting, the condition of the Highland Crofters and Cottars, as detailed in the Report of the Royal Commission, is discreditable to this great and wealthy nation; and this meeting pledges itself to support the Highland Land Law Reform Association in its efforts to effect such changes in the Land Laws as will secure to the Highland people the right to live on their native soil under equitable conditions.

J. M'G. Ross, Esq. Teaninich, Alness, moved, and Sir George Campbell, M.P., seconded—

2.—That this meeting expresses its gratification that the Royal Commissioners recommend special legislation for the Highlands, in order to provide a remedy for acknowledged and flagrant grievances; and is of opinion that a measure on the lines of the Irish Land Act, 1881, but applicable to the special circumstances of Scotland, will alone provide a sufficient remedy.

Mr Shaw Maxwell, of Glasgow, moved, and the Rev. Mr Cumming, Melness, seconded—

3.—That this meeting pledges itself to use its utmost power and influence to secure the return to Parliament of such men only as are known to be in full and thorough sympathy with the people on the great social question of Land Law Reform.

Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Inverness, moved, and Major Macleod, Eskbank, Dalkeith, seconded—

4.—That this meeting approves of the Franchise Bill, introduced by Mr Gladstone, and passed by the House of Commons; that it protests against the refusal of the House of Lords to pass the bill; and that it records its emphatic opinion that the power of veto possessed by the Lords is productive of much mischief when exercised in opposition to the deliberate will of the people; and recommends such constitutional changes as will make this veto inoperative.

Mr D. Cowan, Edinburgh, moved, and Mr J. Mackenzie Macleod, Liverpool, seconded—

5.—That a copy of each of the said resolutions and a copy of the programme adopted by the Conference of Highland Land Law Reform Societies here yesterday, be transmitted to each of, the Premier, Earl Granville, the Home Secretary, the Lord Advocate, Mr Mundella, and each of the Scottish Members of Parliament.

Councillor Nicol, Dingwall, moved, and Mr John Mackay, C.E., Hereford, seconded, a vote of thanks to Professor Blackie for his conduct in the chair.

In addition to the movers and seconders, the above resolutions were supported—the first, by Mr Stuart Glennie, barrister-at-law, London, and the Rev. Mr MacCallum, E.C., Waternish, Isle of Skye, by the latter, in Gaelic; the second, by Dr Macdonald, late candidate for the County of Ross; and the third, by Dr J. B. Clark, London, Land Law Reform candidate for the County of Caithness, and others.

It is computed that from 1200 to 1500 men joined in the procession from the railway station to the park, and that over 3000 took part in the meeting held in the open air, at which the above resolutions were enthusiastically passed without a dissentient voice.

THE PROPHECIES OF THE BRAHAN SEER—THE FOURTH THOUSAND.—Messrs A. & W. Mackenzie, publishers of the *Celtic Magazine*, have just issued a SHILLING EDITION of this remarkable book, in paper covers, making the fourth thousand within the last few years. The *Scotsman* "recommends it to the lovers of the marvellous as a sweet morsel." Can be sent free by Post for 1s. 2d. to any address in the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States of America, and all places within the Postal Union.

THE KILLIN COLLECTION OF GAELIC SONGS AND MUSIC.*

MANY labourers have appeared in the field of Gaelic music and song, both in long past and recent years, and much excellent work has been done. The names of not a few diligent and successful workers will recall themselves at the mere mention of the fact —names alike of authors of original melody and of lyric poetry, of which our countrymen have produced no small store, and also of successful compilers of the labours of the bards and singers of the olden time. In truth the Highlanders are a musical people, as is clearly evinced by the great proportion of their native literature that has assumed the form of song. Ample, however, as has been the harvest to be reaped, it cannot be said that very much of the fruit has been placed beyond the power of "Time, the destroyer," and, consequently, a great deal of our music and poetry is being either lost or adulterated almost beyond recognition every day, as an alien tongue and foreign manners are prevailing over the length and breadth of the North; and may we not also say that much of our loss is due to the mistaken notions of our teachers, both lay and cleric. The latter supposed that the spontaneous and natural indulgence of the propensity for song which the Creator implanted in the bosom of the Celt was inimical to the exercise of the religious sense which is equally characteristic of the race. Our educationists, on the other hand, with an assiduity and persistence worthy of a better exemplification of common-sense, ably seconded the clergy in the repression and entire exclusion of the native element in the work of the schools. We have not yet been able to change all that, nor is it possible to undo the evil work of past years; but all honour to the men whose sympathetic and intelligent labours are devoted to the task of resisting, or at least of retarding, the baneful process of deterioration to which we have alluded. When the Celt comes to reckon up the roll of his benefactors in this respect, he will assuredly assign a conspicuous and honoured place to Mr Charles Stewart of Tigh-an-duin. The work on our table is not his first contribution to the conservative and truly

* The Killin Collection of Gaelic Songs, with Music and Translations, by Charles Stewart, Tigh-an-duin, Killin. Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart. 1884.

patriotic work of rescuing from decay, and adding to, our noble heritage of song and story, and we sincerely express the wish that he may persevere in the good work to which he has already with so much success devoted himself.

In the work before us, Mr Stewart does not profess to approach the subject of Gaelic music in the capacity of a scientist or philosopher. The materials are not yet complete, nor the modifying circumstances belonging to race and custom and external influence sufficiently investigated to admit of an authoritative and full pronouncement on the principles, modes, habits, and peculiarities of Gaelic music. Mr Stewart has, however, thrown himself loose from the empirical lines and the erroneous canons which were wont to be applied to the subject in past times, and he has called to his aid in the work of presenting Gaelic song in true native simplicity and form, men such as Professor Brown and Mr Merrylees, of Glasgow, whom Highlanders have already learned to trust as true exponents of the native features of our music. With the results of the musical jurisprudence of Mr Brown and the intelligent and sympathetic treatment of our melodies by Merrylees, Mr Stewart has in this collection given ample evidence of his own good taste in the choice of his examples and the preparation of the words, both Gaelic and English, for the delectation of his readers. The nett result is a collection of music which will charm any one with any capacity for musical enjoyment who is fortunate enough to possess a copy, and also fortunate enough to have at command an instrumentalist or a choir that can do justice to the merits of the work.

The introduction to the volume giving, as it does, a succinct view of the "root principles that govern Gaelic music and poetry" is highly important to the student of Gaelic song. These principles first pointed out by Mr Brown, and adopted by Mr Stewart, are (1) that Gaelic music is entirely modal, each melody being capable of having its sharps and flats placed in the signature, or of being played in the scale of C, without recurrence to the black digitals of the piano. This, it will be seen, effectually disposes of the perplexing sharps and flats so commonly introduced into our Highland melodies by former editors who clung to the old idea of "flat sevenths," and persisted in torturing all our music into the two modern major and minor

modes. Few things have been more disastrous to Highland music than the rigid application of this mistaken notion.

We are not sure that, without further consideration, we should be prepared to accept, without qualification, Mr Stewart's second canon, namely, that "the words occupy the first place, the music only the second." The universal tendency, at least with our modern songsters, is to adapt their compositions to some favourite air; the words, in many instances, being painfully destitute of merit, and merely an evidence of the author's intense appreciation of the beauty of the melody, on the popularity of which he endeavours to float his doggerel down to future ages. However, whatever grounds there may be for demurring to Mr Stewart's second principle, we can afford to pardon his assertion of it, in view of his vivid observations on the *rationale* of poetic and musical composition, and the habit of musical recitation and expression among the ancient Gael. We cannot forbear quoting:—

> The second principle brings us to the historical fact that the bards first composed the poetry; then, by that æsthetic instinct which connects poetry with music, developed the melody; and, lastly, with this united result of genius, spoke and sang this glorious blending to the accompaniment of the harp. The most exalted function of music consists in its being the interpreter and intensifier of the highest poetic thought and feeling, combined with the aptest words for expressing that thought and feeling. The original form of the music was, without doubt, that of the chant; not, however, the modern form of prose chant, in which, as usually sung, it is impossible correctly to enunciate the words, but a chant where every word not only had its own note, but that note so wedded to it as to bring out the full meaning. This was one result of the poetry, music, and song emanating from one person, who threw into it the life, love, and energy of his whole being. The bard was wonderfully equipped for delivering his glowing message. He had not only the gifts of song in their highest form, but was also a patriot and a hero, and spoke and sung from the grandest and noblest conceptions stirring within his spirit.

The third principle enunciated by Mr Stewart, is that "the words and music implicitly follow the idiosyncrasies of the language." In amplifying this statement, however, Mr Stewart is inaccurate in saying that it is a peculiarity in Gaelic that "all words of more than one syllable have the accent on the penultimate, and never on the last syllable." The real fact is that all pure Gaelic words are accented on the *first* syllable. The accent can, therefore, fall on the penultimate when the word consists of two syllables. The general effect, however, is as Mr Stewart describes it: there is a tendency to accent some syllable before the final one. The final one can only have the accent when it happens to be a monosyllable.

Besides the linguistic peculiarity referred to, there are other

influences which account for certain of the idiosyncrasies of Gaelic music. The adoption of the bagpipe, with its very limited gamut, as the national instrument, has had, we fear, a most disastrous effect on our vocal music, cramping its scope, and seriously affecting the free flow of its melody. It is, therefore, doubly important that more attention should be devoted to the cultivation and preservation of our vocal melodies, many of which, as Mr Stewart will admit, date from a time far anterior to the introduction of the bagpipe.

Mr Stewart's selection of songs is large and varied. With the aid of the English translations which accompany them, our Lowland friends will be able so far to enter intelligently into the pleasures of the work. Many of the translations are really admirable, others are somewhat indifferent. In one or two we fear the translator has quite missed the sense of his author. We are sorry to mention as one of these, that exquisite lyric, "A Bhanarach dhonn a' Chruidh." In the two concluding stanzas quoted, the translator has completely murdered the sense—in the first, by misunderstanding the grammatical arrangement of the poet's words, and in the other, by mistaking *cuachag*, a milk-pail, for *cuach*, the cuckoo, and *claraibh*, staves, for *clarsach*, a harp. These may, by some people, be called small blemishes in a work of such general excellence, but it must be remembered that Mr Stewart is no mere tyro, and would resent being criticised as a raw beginner in Gaelic interpretation. We have also observed a considerable number of errors of the press, but these do not so materially mar the reader's enjoyment of this otherwise admirable work. Mr Stewart further enriches the collection by prefixing to many of the songs very interesting and trustworthy historical and critical notes.

As we have already indicated, it is not necessary to do more than to mention that the harmonies and musical arrangements are by Mr Merrylees, to guarantee their being in every respect worthy of confidence, and in keeping with the simple genius of the melodies. This is a feature of the work which is in every respect most satisfactory, and cannot fail to minister delight even where the words would excite no appreciation. Our sincere wish is that the rapid sale of the present work will lead to another and another from the same competent hands.

The outward and mechanical part of the work leaves

nothing to be desired. The printing is clear ; the outward get-up of the book is tasteful, and entitles it to a place on the drawing-room table, altogether irrespective of its great intrinsic merit. It should be mentioned that the volume is printed in both the old and the new notations, and is arranged for four voices, with very effective pianoforte accompaniments.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE ISLE OF SKYE.

FOR years past the Skyeman's knowledge of civil law has been confined pretty much to the fact that it has the power to evict him and his family from their home. This, perhaps, is not entirely the fault of the law, but the law gets the principal share of the odium consequent upon the proceedings which it authorises. One consequence of this is, that the agitation in Skye has hitherto been directed, not so much against factors and landlords, who are responsible for the wrongs from which Skyemen suffer, as against the law which empowers them to act. There has been no question with them about the purity of the administration of justice, although the justice meted out to them has sometimes been scant enough. A case which recently occurred suggests, however, the existence of a state of matters which may change the current of feeling on this subject. Skye is a slumbering volcano, but those who should be most alive to the mutterings around them seem utterly deaf.

The Island rejoices in a Sheriff-Substitute and Procurator-Fiscal all to herself, and in the voluminous evidence led before the Royal Commission, nothing was said which in any way affected the honour or integrity of these gentlemen, but the case to which reference has been made, which came before the Inverness Sheriff Court a few days ago, raises a question which does not seem to have come before the Royal Commission, and it very seriously affects the administration of criminal law in Skye. The facts, so far as they came to light, seem to be these :—Mrs Macdonald, the wife of a schoolmaster, living near Broadford, managed a croft tenanted by her husband at some distance from his school. Sometime between the winter of 1882 and

the spring of 1883, she lost a ewe, and in June 1883, two neighbouring shepherds brought her a ewe and a lamb which they said they had found on the hill grazing, and had brought to her in consequence of their recognition of her husband's mark on the ewe. She recognised the mark also, and kept the ewe and the lamb, had the former fleeced and the latter marked. On 7th August 1883, a neighbouring crofter, John Macinnes, came to Mrs Macdonald's house in her absence, and carried away the ewe and the lamb, saying they were his property. Between that time and the month of May 1884, Mrs Macdonald repeatedly claimed re-delivery of the ewe and the lamb, but Macinnes refused to give them up. In the month of May 1884, he wrote Mrs Macdonald a letter, requesting delivery of the fleece of the ewe, or of another fleece equally good. To this letter Mrs Macdonald replied by a letter, produced by Macinnes, and read in Court, substantially saying that neither ewe, lamb, nor fleece were Macinnes's, but that she was willing to refer the question of property to a third party, and to abide by his decision. Macinnes then, as he stated in the witness-box, spoke to the district policeman on the subject, and, on 16th of July 1884, Mrs Macdonald was apprehended, and conveyed as a prisoner to Portree, at the instance of the Procurator-Fiscal of Skye, charged with stealing a sheep, a lamb, and a fleece. On the following day she was brought before Sheriff Speirs at Portree, and emitted a declaration, in which she explained that the ewe and the lamb were her own property, that the former had gone amissing between the winter of 1882 and the summer of 1883, and was recognised as hers by neighbours, who brought it to her, and that, although she believed both ewe and lamb were her property, that they had been in Macinnes's possession for nearly twelve months before she was charged with stealing them. One would have thought that an explanation of this sort would have made the Sheriff-Substitute hesitate before committing to prison a respectable woman of nearly 50 years of age, who had lived in the Island all her life, without even the suspicion of crime attaching to her, and whose husband held an important public office in the Island, on such a serious charge as sheep-stealing, but the Sheriff-Substitute seems to have had no hesitation, and, apparently without waiting for a precognition of the witnesses, committed Mrs Macdonald to prison on the very grave

charge preferred against her. An application was immediately made to him for her liberation on bail, but this he had no power to grant, and for eight days she remained in prison in Portree, until the consent of the Crown Office was obtained to the acceptance of bail. What the nature of the precognition afterwards taken by the Procurator-Fiscal and sent to the Crown Office may have been, it is impossible to say, but the result was, that a trial by Sheriff and jury at Inverness was ordered. The trial came off on 5th September 1884, and the result was, that, in the middle of the cross-examination of John Macinnes, the first witness for the Crown, the principal Procurator-Fiscal for the County of Inverness, who had nothing to do with the getting up of the case, abandoned the charge, asked the jury to return a verdict of Not Guilty, and stated that Mrs Macdonald left the bar without the slightest stain upon her character, a remark which was concurred in by Sheriff Blair, the principal Sheriff-Substitute of the County, who presided at the trial. Macinnes, in his cross-examination, stated that he did not then charge, and never had charged, Mrs Macdonald with the theft of the ewe and lamb, which he had taken possession of. When she refused to give up the fleece, he spoke to the policeman on the subject, but apparently there was no charge of theft, even as regarded the fleece. In the face of such evidence, it is hardly to be wondered at that the Procurator-Fiscal should have made haste to stop the cross-examination, and abandon the charge. But it may be asked how the charge ever came to be made? This is a question which probably only the Procurator-Fiscal of Skye is able to answer, and the public are entitled to get his answer.

The Report of the Crofters' Commission contains a recommendation that Procurators-Fiscal "should be prohibited from doing any professional work, or any business for profit, other than their proper business." Probably, if that recommendation were adopted as regards the Island of Skye, it would have little practical effect, the attention of the Procurator-Fiscal there being as it is, pretty much confined to his official duties. But in Skye, and in some other parts of the Highlands, the terms upon which Procurators-Fiscal hold office are such as should not attach to the holding of any public office involving the exercise of the enormous powers for evil entrusted to those officers. It is somewhat singular that it never seems to have been mentioned to the Royal Commission that several Procurators-Fiscal in the more

sparsely peopled districts of the Highlands are paid, not by a fixed salary, but by fees for specific work performed. The Government in this way offers a premium for the multiplication of criminal business, and it is too much to expect a public officer, with, perhaps, nothing to depend upon but his official income, to deal in an entirely disinterested spirit with every complaint made to him in his official capacity. We do not know the exact state of the facts, but we believe there is also a higher scale of payment for the more important class of cases which are reported to Crown Counsel, than for unreported cases. In this way a direct inducement is held out to magnify trifling cases into the appearance of important ones. We do not mean to say that any Procurator-Fiscal who is paid in this way is consciously biassed in the performance of his public functions by the fact that his remuneration depends upon the amount of crime in his district, or that that element enters in any way into the case now in question; but we do say that a public office of such responsibility as that of Procurator-Fiscal, an office, the holder of which has the power to blast the happiness and reputation of innocent members of the community, should not be held on terms which provoke to the prostitution of public functions for purposes of private gain.

When the recommendation of the Crofters' Commission already referred to, was brought under the notice of the House of Commons, the Lord Advocate stated as a reason for not giving effect to it, the additional expense which the adoption of the recommendation would involve upon the public. The reformation we now advocate, namely, the placing of all Procurators-Fiscal on salary, is one which can be carried out without an additional penny of expense to the public; and we trust that the ensuing Session of Parliament will see an end put to a system which is liable to such terrible abuse.

The House of Commons last year, on the motion of Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M P., asked for a Return of all the cases brought for trial to Inverness from the Western Isles and the Fort-William district during the last twenty years, the number of convictions obtained, and the cost of these cases. Why has this Return not been printed? We look forward to the information which it is sure to disclose with much interest, and trust that its appearance will not be further delayed. It will have a most important bearing on the subject discussed in this article.

GLENCAIRN'S DUEL.

THE following incidents occurred at the time of the Earl of Glencairn's Highland expedition in 1653. After having, with considerable trouble, raised a large body of men, he had to give up the command to General Middleton, who was appointed commander-in-chief. This appointment appears to have been very unpopular with Glencairn's men, who were greatly attached to him, and also to have caused considerable irritation on the part of the officers, which found vent in more than one duel.

On General Middleton assuming command, he ordered a review of the Earl's forces, to inspect the men, horses, and arms. As was to be expected among irregular troops so hastily gathered together, there were many deficiencies, which General Middleton's officers were not slow to observe and openly comment upon, much to the annoyance of Glencairn and his officers. Their angry feelings were, perhaps, still more inflamed by the fact of their having just at this time an unusual quantity of wine at their disposal; for, a day or two before, an English ship, laden with about forty tuns of French wine, had been driven ashore on the coast of Sutherlandshire, and was seized by General Middleton, who distributed the wine among the different officers. While the men were all assembled, Glencairn rode along the ranks, and told them that he now held no higher command than a Colonelcy, and while thanking them for the ready obedience they had given to him, he trusted they would serve their new commander equally well. The men were much moved by this address, and plainly showed they did not like the change; but vowed they would follow Glencairn to any part of the world.

The Earl then invited the General and all the principal officers to dine with him at his quarters, which were at the house of the Laird of Kettle, four miles from Dornoch, where the head-quarters were. After having entertained them to the best of everything the country afforded, he turned to the General, and pledging him in a glass of wine said, "My Lord General, you see what a gallant army these worthy gentlemen here present and I have gathered together, at a time when it would hardly be expected that any number durst meet together: these men have

come out to serve his Majesty at the hazard of their lives, and of all that is dear to them. I hope, therefore, you will give them all the encouragement to do their duty that lies in your power." Before General Middleton could reply, Sir George Munro, who had before made himself very disagreeable to Glencairn, by his slighting remarks on the appearance of his men, started up, and with an oath exclaimed, "my Lord, the men you speak of are nothing but a number of thieves and robbers; and ere long, I will bring another sort of men to the field."

This most uncalled for and offensive speech threw the company into confusion. Glencairn's officers rose with their hands on their swords, all speaking at once, demanding the remark to be withdrawn and apologised for. Glengarry, who was present, seemed to think the insult was specially intended for him, and could only be with great difficulty restrained by Glencairn, who commanded him to be quiet, saying, "Glengarry, I am more concerned in this affront than you are;" then, turning to Munro, he exclaimed with heat, "You, sir, are a base liar; for they are neither thieves nor robbers, but gallant gentlemen and good soldiers."

General Middleton now found it necessary to interfere, and raising his voice, commanded them both, on their allegiance, to keep the peace, pointing out the injury that would accrue to the King's cause, if they thus quarrelled among themselves, "therefore," he continued, "I will have you to make friends at once," and filling a glass with wine, he turned to the Earl, saying, "My Lord Glencairn, I think you did the greatest wrong in giving Sir George the lie; so you shall drink to him, and he shall pledge you."

Glencairn, seeing the truth of the General's remarks, was willing to overlook the insult to himself, and gracefully taking the glass drank to Sir George, who, however, did not respond in an equally agreeable manner, but in a surly way muttered some indistinct words. The matter was then passed by, and the company broke up to return to headquarters.

Glencairn accompanied the General for about a mile, when he returned with only two gentlemen, Colonel Blackadder and John Graham of Deuchrie. He appeared to have quite recovered from his annoyance, and laid himself out to be amused. The daughter

of the Laird of Kettle was a good musician, and played on the virginals, while the servants and attendants danced. Just as supper was served, and the Earl going to sit down, a servant announced that Alexander Munro, brother of Sir George, was at the gate seeking an audience of the Earl. Glencairn at once gave orders for his admittance, met him at the door, shook hands with him, and invited him to join them at supper, which he did, and afterwards spent two or three hours very pleasantly, with singing and dancing. Glencairn and Munro were observed to have a few minutes private conversation together, but this attracted no attention, as neither of them showed by their manner that anything unusual was going on, although in those few minutes the particulars of a deadly duel were arranged. Munro at length took his leave, and the household retired to rest.

The Earl slept in a double-bedded room, he occupying one bed, and Colonel Blackadder and Graham of Deuchrie, the other. When all were sound asleep, Glencairn rose, and without waking anyone but his servant, John White, whom he took with him, went out to meet Sir George Munro, half way between his quarters and Dornoch. Here Sir George met them, accompanied by his brother, Alexander, who had taken the challenge to the Earl. The duel was to be fought on horseback, with one pistol each, and afterwards with broadswords. They both fired at once, without any effect, and then, drawing their swords, they attacked each other with concentrated fury. After a pass or two, Sir George received a cut on his bridle hand, which caused him to lose control of his horse; on which he asked the Earl's permission to finish the duel on foot. Glencairn instantly dismounted, exclaiming, "You base carle; I will show you that I will match you either on foot or horseback!" He soon proved this was no idle boast, for in a few minutes Sir George was *hors de combat*, with a severe cut on his brow, which bled so profusely that he was quite blinded. Still, Glencairn was not satisfied, and made a lunge with the intention of running his enemy through the body; but John White, with a quick movement interfered, and forced up his sword, saying, "That is enough, my lord; you have got the better of him." Glencairn, however, was so enraged that he turned on his faithful servant and gave him a severe blow across the shoulders for daring to interfere. However, he did

not resume the duel; indeed, Sir George was quite helpless, and his brother had great difficulty in getting him back to Dornoch. The Earl and his attendant returned, and got into the house again without anyone knowing anything of the matter.

When General Middleton heard of the tragic affair he was exceedingly angry, and sent an officer, Captain Campbell, with a guard to secure the Earl, take his sword from him, and keep him a prisoner on parole, while he used every endeavour to heal the breach between them. He might have been successful, had not Glencairn been again deeply offended by the following circumstance:—

The recent duel was naturally the subject of discussion among the officers, who took different sides, and two of them, Livingston and Lindsay, got so angry over the dispute, that nothing would satisfy them but fighting a duel themselves, with the sad result that Livingston, who was a friend of Sir George Munro, was killed. Lindsay was immediately arrested, tried, and sentenced to be shot at the Cross of Dornoch at four o'clock the same day.

The Earl made every effort to save his friend's life, but the General turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties, and the sentence was carried out.

Glencairn was very annoyed at the evident partiality shown by the General to Sir George Munro, and finding it impossible to co-operate with them, he determined to leave them altogether. He accordingly marched away southwards with only his own troop and a few gentlemen volunteers; not a hundred men in all.

On learning of their defection, the General sent a strong party after them with orders either to bring them back or fight them. Glencairn, however, pushed on to Assynt, and secured the passes, so that he was able to defy double their number, and they returned without attacking him. Glencairn then continued his march to Kintail, thence to Lochbroom, Lochaber, Loch-Rannoch, Loch-Tay, and on to Killin, where he was joined by Sir George Maxwell with a hundred men, William, Earl of Selkirk, with sixty, and Lord Forrester with eighty more, so that he found himself at the head of about 400 horsemen. But the Earl was too good a subject to allow his personal feelings to stand in the way of his duty, so he sent the whole to General Middleton "so

that they might not be wanting in their duty to the King's service where occasion might offer."

Glencairn was now taken seriously ill; but still continued his efforts to raise men for his sovereign, and within two months had again got together two hundred horse. But all his loyal exertions were in vain; the cause was doomed, General Middleton was utterly defeated and his army scattered. Many of them came to Glencairn and offered their services. He, however, saw the inutility of further resistance, and decided upon capitulating with the victorious General Monk.

He accordingly entered into a treaty with him, but it was nearly a month before it was concluded; indeed, at one time the negotiation was broken off altogether, when the Earl made a sudden raid upon Dumbarton, killed between thirty and forty men, took twenty more prisoners, besides a number of horses and two hundred loads of corn. This successful attack made Monk anxious to complete the treaty of capitulation, which he did on the following favourable conditions, as described by one of Glencairn's officers, who was present:—

"That all the officers and soldiers should be indemnified as to their lives and fortunes, and that they should have passes delivered to each to secure their safety in travelling through the country to their own respective homes, they doing nothing prejudicial to the present Government. The officers were to be allowed all their horses and arms, to be disposed of as they pleased. They were also to have the liberty of wearing their swords when they travelled through the country. The common soldiers were allowed to sell their horses; they were obliged to deliver up their arms, but it was ordained that they were to receive the full value for them, as it should be fixed by two officers of Lord Glencairn's and two of General Monk's. All which particulars were punctually performed by the General. Two long tables were placed upon the green below the castle, at which all the men received their passes, and the common soldiers the money for their arms.

"This happened upon the 4th day of September 1654. The Earl of Glencairn that same night crossed the water, and came to his own house of Finlayston."

M. A. ROSE.

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The Celtic magazine

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